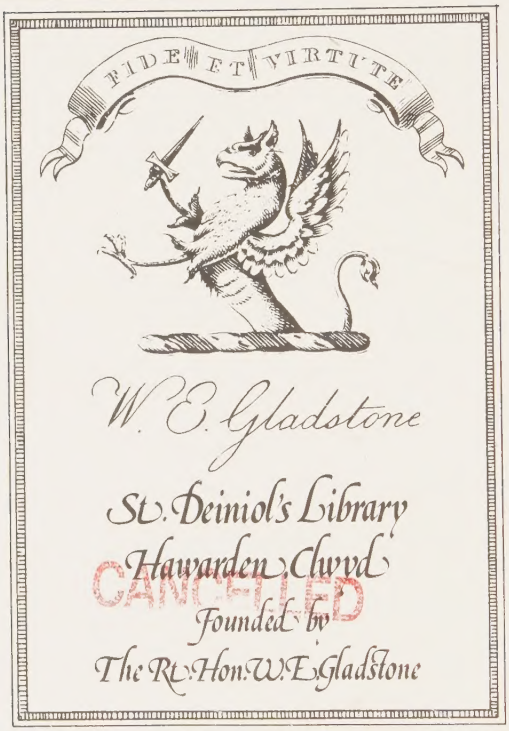
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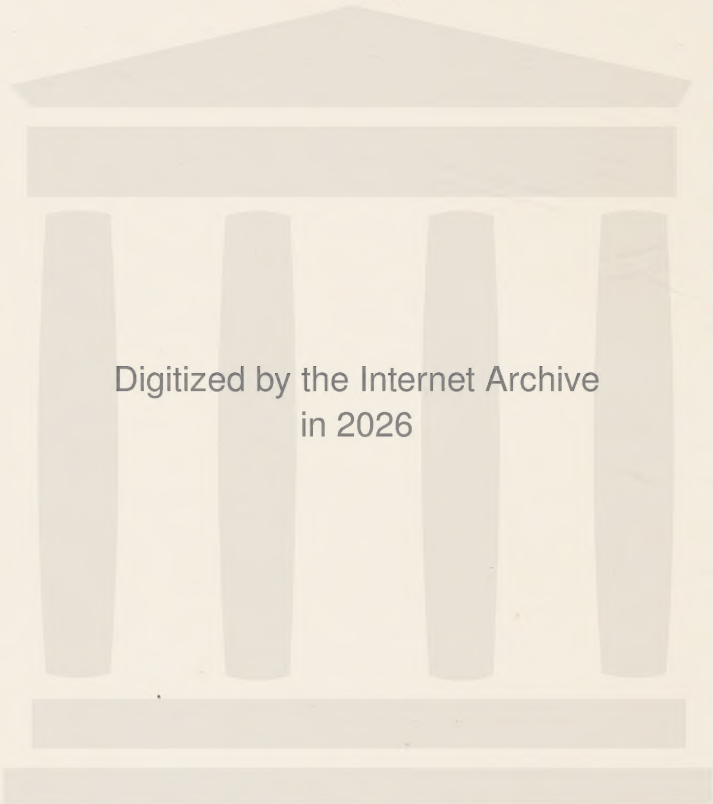
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EDWARD WESTERMARCK

PH.D.; HON. LL.D., ABERDEEN
MARTIN WHITE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE ACADEMY OF ÅBO (FINLAND)
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE", "THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORAL IDEAS", "MARRIAGE CEREMONIES IN MOROCCO" ETC.

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CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

In theory there is of course this difference between an omen and a magic cause, that the former *indicates* a future event, whereas the latter *produces* it. In both cases there is a sequence of two phenomena, *a* and *b*, but in the former case *a* is determined by *b*, and in the latter case *b* by *a*. There can be no genuine omen without being followed by the prognosticated event, whereas the same event may take place without a previous omen. On the other hand, it is quite possible that something which is apt to produce a magic effect is in some way or other prevented from producing it, but there can be no magic effect without its cause. Yet as both in prognostication and in magical causation there is a succession of two phenomena, it may be impossible to decide in each case whether the *post hoc* is a *propter hoc* or not. It is of course considered to be the effect of a cause if the preceding phenomenon, *a*, is an act performed for the purpose of producing it. It is probably looked upon more

or less in the same light if *a* is something which is generally believed to be possessed of magic energy. It may also be said that *a* is not a pure omen if the occurrence of *b* may be prevented, as, for example, when the death foreboded by the hooting of an owl is warded off if the owl is driven away or killed.[1] It will perhaps be argued that an omen may be conditional, that it may indicate the future occurrence of an event only in certain definite circumstances ; when a person starts on a journey there are many omens which forebode misfortune in case he goes on but not in case he turns back. Yet even in such cases there is probably some vague notion of a causal connection. We must not expect to find much clear thought on a subject which is of merely practical interest for the people concerned. The important thing is the sequence of events and not the nature of their connection.

In Morocco this confusion of thought is reflected in the terms of the language : the word *fāl*, or *fäl*, is used both for a magic influence and for an omen.[2] In Arabic writings the *fa'l* is represented as an omen consisting of spoken words, and it has come to mean a good omen, although it originally had a wider significance ;[3] the Prophet believed in good omens consisting in words, but told his followers not to put faith in bad omens.[4] The Moors speak both of good and of bad *fäl*, *fäl l-ḥäsän* and *fäl l-qăbêḥ*, and also use the verb *féllel*, "to give a *fäl*", for both kinds of it. A person who has a bad *fäl* given to him by somebody tries to throw it back on the latter by saying, *Fâlĕk f râsą̆k*, "May your *fäl* be on your head"; or, *Fâlĕk f k'ábą̆k*, "May your *fäl* be on your ankle"; or, *Fâlĕk f ġůrzĕk*, "May your *fäl* be on your stitch" (that is, the stitch

[1] *Infra*, p. 335.

[2] In Hebrew there is a word which means both to divine and to practise magic (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* [Berlin, 1897], p. 200 n. 2).

[3] *Ibid.* p. 205 ; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 363 ; Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 114.

[4] *Mishkāt*, xxi. 2. 1 (English translation by Matthews, vol. ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 381).

in your slipper).[1] A more general way of warding off a bad *fäl* is to curse it by saying *Álláh yeṇá'lû fāl.* A bad *fäl* is also called *ṭêra.* Among the ancient Arabs the words *ṭair* and *ṭīra* assumed the meaning of omen in general from the great prevalence of divination from birds ;[2] and the meaning of bad omen attached to *ṭīra* and *ṭiyāra* in Islam[3] is connected with, if not originally due to, the fact that the Prophet, according to the traditions, forbade omens taken from the flight of birds and the running of animals.[4] This prohibition, however, is by no means observed, as will be shown in the chapter dealing with the belief in magical influences and omens, as well as other superstitions, connected with animals. M. Delphin says that in Algeria the *ṭīra* is a bad presage, which " se révèle soit par un mot qui sonne mal, soit par un fait ".[5] But in Morocco at least the word *ṭêra* is used in many cases which distinctly suggest the notion of magical influences ; it is often applied to acts which are tabooed because they are supposed to lead to a death in the family.[6]

In our discussion of *baraka* we have already seen that in many cases that which is deemed good for other reasons is also supposed to possess magic energy productive of good effects. *Baraka,* or blessed magic virtue, is ascribed to the words of the Koran and everything else connected with the religion of the Prophet on account of their spiritual goodness ; while the *baraka* of animals like the horse and the sheep, of animal products like milk and honey, and of fruit trees and corn and other good things, is due to their material usefulness or agreeable taste. On the other hand, the notion of " uncleanness ", which is a magic force productive of evil, is an outcome of disagreeable feelings or aversions. Uncleanness, as already noticed, is particularly injurious to

[1] For other phrases see Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 415 *sq.*

[2] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 202 *sq.*

[3] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 114 ; von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte,* iii.-iv. (Wien, 1890), p. 69 ; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 362.

[4] *Mishkāt,* xxi. 2. 2 (English translation, vol. ii. 382).

[5] Delphin, *Recueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé* (Paris & Alger, 1891), p. 146.

[6] *Infra,* p. 37 *sqq.*

baraka or anything holy, but it is also in other cases a source of contamination. Contact with unclean infidels may be polluting. Once when I arrived at a governor's place in the Great Atlas mountains my host would not shake hands with me. In an Arab tribe in the interior a boy refused to accept a coin I offered him for some little service. When, on a journey in the neighbourhood of Marráksh, I halted on the banks of a river, a woman came there immediately after to fetch water but hesitated what to do, because, as my servants told me, she was afraid that I had drunk from the river. The Jews are a cursed people, and very dirty; you may eat their food but must not sleep in their beds—*L-ihûd kul tă'âmhum lā ṭ'n'as fĕ fráshum.* A man who has had sexual intercourse with a Jewess is so polluted by it that he has to bathe in seven different rivers in order to get rid of the defilement (Tangier).

Sexual intercourse is in itself polluting and must be followed by an ablution. A person who is sexually unclean sleeps badly, being haunted by *jnūn* or abandoned by his guardian angels. If he comes into contact with *baraka* he will not only spoil it or otherwise injure the holy person or object, but may also himself be hurt.[1] If he steps over another person the latter will have boils or other sickness in consequence (Andjra, Ṭemsâmän). He must keep out of sight of any one who has been bitten by a mad dog, so as not to cause the rabies to break out (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). At Fez I was told that it is bad for a person to have sexual intercourse on the night before he starts on a journey; but at Tangier I heard just the reverse. In the latter town and elsewhere it is considered necessary that blood-letting should be followed by three days' continence.[2]

Everywhere it is a stringent rule to refrain from sexual connection with a woman who has her monthly courses and with a woman who has just given birth to a child; in the former case the abstinence should last for eight or twelve or even fifteen days, and in the latter case for forty or sixty days, though this rule is by no means always observed. Menstruous blood (*demm l-ḥaiḍ*) is due to Ḥáwwa's eating

[1] *Supra*, i. 230 *sqq.* [2] See also *supra*, i. 410.

of the forbidden fruit in Paradise, which was transformed into such blood (Tangier), or to "the blowing of the *jnūn*" (Andjra), and the blood of a parturient woman (*demm n-nífās*) is equally polluting; witchcraft is practised with both. As to hymeneal blood (*demm t-t'ăḥlîya* [Tangier], *ṣdaq* [Fez], *ṣṣdaq* [Ait Waráin], *ṣbaḥ* [Ulâd Bú'ăziz], *ṣṣbaḥ* [Aiṯ Sáddĕn]) opinions differ. It is sometimes said to contain *baraka* and be wholesome for the eyes; among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, when the blood-stained garment of the bride is exhibited, the people come and look at it and rub their eyes with the stains.[1] But I have also heard it emphatically denied that there is *baraka* in such blood, and it is regarded as a seat of danger. In Andjra there are bridegrooms who take care that no offspring can result from the defloration of the bride, since many people believe that the child would be diseased if the semen came into contact with the hymeneal blood; while others maintain that the child will be all right if only the bride and bridegroom avoid cleaning themselves with the same towel. There is *bą̈s* in the male organ of generation. If a barber does not carefully clean the razor after shaving a man's pubes, the next person whose head he shaves will have boils (Andjra), or the part of a man's body he shaves next will get diseased (Tangier); he should clean it with water and ashes and then smear it with oil. If in starting on a journey in the morning you see the nakedness of a man who is urinating or bathing you should turn back:—*Idą lgīt^{s} le-mdélli ġēr wélli* (Ḥiáina).

It seems that sexual intercourse and, generally, the discharge of sexual matter are looked upon as polluting largely on account of the mysterious propensities of such matter and the veil of mystery which surrounds the whole sexual nature of man. But the defiling effects ascribed to them are also in all probability connected with the notion that woman is an unclean being. Particularly during menstruation and at childbirth she is supposed to be charged with mysterious baneful energy, no doubt on account of the marvellous nature of these processes and especially the appearance of blood; and it is presumably such frequent temporary defile-

[1] *Supra*, i. 199.

ment of a specifically feminine character that has led to the notion of the permanent uncleanness of the female sex.[1] But women are also for other reasons looked upon with an unfavourable and suspicious eye. Islam pronounces their general depravity to be much greater than that of men.[2] According to Muhammadan tradition the Prophet said :— "I have not left any calamity more hurtful to man than woman. . . . O assembly of women, give alms, although it be of your gold and silver ornaments ; for verily you are mostly of hell on the day of resurrection ".[3] The Moors are acquainted with the Muhammadan saying [4] that women are defective in understanding and religion *–N-nsa nāqiṣât'ů* (or *qillât'ů*) *'áqlin wā dīn* (Fez, Tangier) ; and God has excluded them from his mercy—*N-nsa nsâhum llah mĕn raḥámtů* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). They are friends of the devil. They are possessed by *jnūn*, who help them to practise witchcraft,[5] nay many women are really *jnūn* in disguise.[6] Their looks are dangerous,[7] their curses are more fearful than those of men,[8] their bodies exhale evil influences. In the Ḥiáina and among the Aiṭ Sádděn, if a strange woman spends a night as guest in another person's house, she is not allowed to undo her girdle unless a fowl is killed or a cut is made in the ear of a sheep ; the blood of the fowl or sheep is then supposed to destroy the *ḅas* emanating from her when she loosens her belt. Similarly, among the Ait Waráin a married woman, widow, or divorced wife must not open her girdle when she spends the first night in a relative's house or tent, unless an animal or fowl is killed, or a cut is made in the ear of an animal, and the threshold is sprinkled with the blood ;

[1] *Cf.* Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. (London, 1912), p. 663 *sq.* ; *Idem, Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 337, 338, 341 *sq.* ; *Idem, The History of Human Marriage*, i. (London, 1921), p. 416 *sq.*

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 219 ; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. (Cambridge, 1888), p. 238 *sq.*

[3] Lane-Poole, *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammad* (London, 1882), pp. 161, 163.

[4] Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. (Halle a. S., 1890), p. 296.

[5] *Supra*, i. 276, 571.

[6] *Supra*, i. 266 *sq.*

[7] *Supra*, i. 420.

[8] *Supra*, i. 490 *sq.*

and the same rule has to be observed whenever such a woman is guest for a night in the home of a stranger. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, again, she is in no circumstances allowed to loosen her girdle in another person's tent, and if she stays there overnight for the first time the host kills a fowl or makes a cut in the ear of a goat, and in the latter case he also secretly smears a little of the blood on her clothes.

Old women are particularly dangerous. An old woman is worse than the devil—*L-'ăgûza ăkt'ár mĕn š-šîṭan* ; nay the devil himself is much afraid of her—she bottles him up (Tangier). There is a saying that when a boy is born a hundred evil *jnūn* are born with him, and that when a girl is born there are born with her a hundred angels ; but every year a *jẹnn* passes from the man to the woman and an angel from the woman to the man, so that when the man is a hundred years old he is surrounded by a hundred angels and when the woman is a hundred years old she is surrounded by a hundred devils (Andjra). He who has an old woman for wife has all sorts of trouble—*Li 'áddû šârfa 'áddû naqîma* (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, " In the name of God the merciful the compassionate " ; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Iglíwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

A bride is also a somewhat dangerous person. Her glance or the sight of her may cause misfortune.[1] The ceremonies which precede, or are connected with, her arrival at the bridegroom's place are largely intended to prevent her carrying evil with her to her new home. It is presumably for this purpose that she, on her way thither, is taken to a river which she has to cross on her mule three times to and fro,[2] and that, if the procession passes a shrine, she has to ride round it three times and *fâṭḥa* is made.[3] For a similar purpose she is taken three or seven times round the bride-

[1] *Supra*, i. 420 ; Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 148, 163, 169, 172, 181, 189, 219.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 185, 190.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 185, 186, 190.

groom's house or tent [1] or the mosque of his village [2] or the village itself ; [3] purifying substances, like milk,[4] water,[5] and henna,[6] are offered her or sprinkled on her ; and the wheat, flour, *sĕksû*, or *tšîša* which is given her and which she casts over her head is represented as a means by which she rids herself of evil influences.[7] The animal which she has ridden is purified in some way or other,[8] and the saddle used by her is smeared with henna or blood.[9] Before she is carried into the bridegroom's tent guns are fired off close to her in order to prevent her evil influences from affecting the *îslān*, that is, the bridegroom's bachelor friends.[10] Other guests at a wedding seem also to be exposed to some danger, since various rites performed by them, and especially by those who come into close contact with the bride or bridegroom, suggest a prophylactic or purificatory origin.[11] It is bad *fäl* to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shāwîa, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's *baṣ* ; and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad *fäl* if two *'ammāṛîyāṭ*[s] (more often called *a'mâmer*), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the *'ammāṛîya* means a bier.[12] But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an *'ammāṛîya* or, as in the Shāwîa and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, *'ammāṛîyāṭ*[s] are not used at weddings. Moreover, at Tangier there is a belief that if women who have been brides on the same date meet in the street, one of them will be divorced or die before long.[13]

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 196-198, 200, 206, 209, 215.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 199, 200, 203, 208, 215.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 203, 215. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 194, 203, 207, 210, 212 *sqq.*

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 203, 209, 212, 215 *sq.*

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 214, 217. [7] *Ibid.* pp. 197, 207, 208, 217.

[8] *Ibid.* pp. 194-196, 201, 205, 207, 211, 214, 218 *sq.*

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 210, 219. [10] *Ibid.* pp. 210, 218.

[11] See *ibid.* p. 327 *sq.*, and the references in the footnotes.

[12] See *infra*, p. 453.

[13] *Cf.* Emily, the Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story* (London, 1911),

The idea that a bride is apt to carry evil with her to her new home is easy to understand considering that she is both a newcomer and a woman; and the *bạs* attached to a wedding may be explained by the belief that bride and bridegroom are much haunted by *jnūn*, which are, presumably, vague personifications of the supernatural dangers threatening the young couple on account of the new state of life into which they are about to enter, and of the particular character of the act by which marriage is consummated.[1] After a wedding careful notice is taken of anything of importance which happens in the house or tent or village. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, if shortly after the bride's arrival at her new home a death or some other unhappy event takes place there or in the village, it is attributed to her unlucky *ṭaúnza*, or fringe, whereas good events indicate that she has a lucky fringe. There is a similar belief among the Shlöḥ of Glawi and Aglu: if the woman whom a man has married has a good *taúnza* he will prosper, but a bad *taúnza* will bring him misfortune. In Aglu, where all the young men of a village who marry in the same year generally have their weddings on the same day in the autumn, it is believed that if shortly after this occasion a swarm of locusts makes its appearance instead of the expected rain, the plague has been caused by the weddings, and the newly married people are therefore taken outside the village and told to make sacrifices at a saint's tomb so that the locusts shall fly away.

But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even the community at large expect various benefits.[2] For marriage is a good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulâd

p. 308 :—" Three brides of the same date must not meet for forty days; if they do the consequences are that one or other will be divorced in the same period ".

[1] *Supra*, i. 388. [2] *Supra*, i. 198 *sq.*

Bû'ăzîz, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), and it is bad *fäl* if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good *fäl* if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the *bạs*, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad *fäl* to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shāwîa). So also the contrary belief that it is good *fäl* to meet a funeral (Shāwîa, Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the *bạs*; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier). In Andjra I was told that it is good *fäl* for a traveller to find on the road the dead body of a person because his *bạs* is attracted by it. On the other hand, a native of Aglu said that if a person in starting on a journey meets people carrying the body of a man who has been killed he should turn back, although if he meets a funeral he may go on.

Manslayers are unclean. Poison oozes for ever out from underneath their nails (Andjra, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin); hence anybody who drinks water in which a manslayer has washed his hands will fall dangerously ill (Andjra), and those who may have to eat with him from the same dish will take care to avoid any portion of the food which he has touched with his fingers (Ait Waráin). Indeed, people refuse to eat together with a homicide (Ḥiáina)—members of the Därqâwi brotherhood are particularly careful in this respect (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); food partaken of in his company is indigestible (Andjra). The meat of an animal which he has killed is bad to eat (Andjra, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Sádděn). When the heart of such an animal is cut, its inside is found to be black with blood (Ait Waráin). In many tribes a homicide must not perform the sacrifice at the Great Feast with his own hands.[1] In the Ḥiáina he is not allowed to

[1] *Infra*, p. 118.

butcher an animal, nor to skin one, nor to cut up its meat, and at a market he must keep at a little distance from the meat offered for sale by the butchers; when the governor wants to squeeze money out of the butchers he sends to them a homicide, who can punish any obstinacy on their part simply by touching the meat to make it unsaleable. A homicide is not allowed to go into a vegetable garden or an orchard, nor to tread on a threshing floor or enter a granary, nor to go among the sheep, nor to visit a mosque (Ḥiáina). It is a widespread belief that if a homicide comes to a place where people are digging a well, no water will appear, or the water which has already appeared will run away (*ibid.*, Andjra, Aglu). In Andjra I was told that even a person who has killed somebody in war is *meskûn* or *mejnûn*; but elsewhere the taboos just mentioned were expressly said to refer to private manslayers alone.

On the other hand, homicides also act as doctors. In Andjra, if a person suffers from pain in some particular part of the body, a homicide thrusts his dagger three times towards the affected part without touching it; and if a person is generally ill and confined to bed he pretends to stab the patient all over his body, at the same time reciting something from the Koran. Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called *náḥṣa*, *nóġza*, *bâb*, or *bîbân*, among the Iglíwa *nnaḥst* or *nnoġzt*, among the Ait Waráin *táuwurt*, among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer *ḏauworṯ*. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh. In the Ḥiáina he thrusts his dagger three times towards the chest without touching it, and he does so in the morning before breakfast; or he rolls up a small piece of calico, sets light to it, and then touches the affected part of the body with it. In Sūs a person who has a sty (*ilḍ*) is cured by a homicide pretending to stab it seven times. The curative power attributed to a homicide is obviously due to an association between the idea of killing a man and that of killing an illness.[1]

[1] See also *supra*, i. 326; *infra*, p. 404 n. 1. *Cf. infra*, p. 558 *sq.*

The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell. Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes and wearing a new bag (*ḍäjbirṭ*); and he wears it not on his left side, as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these crimes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive of evil.[1] On the spot at the market-place where the judge and the notaries (*'ăḍûl*) are sitting no grass will grow because it has been contaminated with the *bạs* of wrongdoers (Ḥiáina). At Fez, if a person is going to do something of importance, for example to buy a horse or to make arrangements for his son's wedding, he avoids passing the place where the judge and the notaries are sitting; if he passed it he would not succeed in his business, since there is much sin in such a place.[2] If the first person you meet in

[1] See also *supra*, i. 238.

[2] *Cf. supra*, i. 238.

the morning when you set out on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). Stealing, lying, and fornication are said to be "bad *fäl*" (Andjra). If a boy or girl pilfers food he or she will have white spots on the face on the eighth day (*ibid.*). According to an old Andjra woman, it was a belief in times of yore that a person by telling lies shortens his life, lessens his size, and decreases his money, whereas he who always speaks the truth thereby increases his age, strength, family, understanding, and property. People who tell stories in the daytime will have children who are born baldheaded (*ibid.*).

There are still to be mentioned certain classes of persons who, on account of some unpleasant peculiarity, are held to be magic causes or omens of ill-luck. We have seen above that some persons for this reason are supposed to possess the evil eye.[1] The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz say that it is better to meet a person who is reputed to have an evil eye than to meet a glutton (*ûkkāl*):—*Lláhûma yîtlâga m'a wáḥĕd ṣ-ṣga' úla m'a wáḥĕd ûkkāl.* It is unlucky to meet a blind or a one-eyed person in the morning when you start on a journey (Ḥiáina);[2] the one-eyed is like Šîṭan, the devil, who also has one eye only (Fez). If you meet such a person in the morning you should go back to your house and have a nap, as otherwise you will not succeed in what you are about (Aglu). In Dukkâla it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly baldheaded person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move:—*La-'wár l-fĕggsi u l-qra' ṭ-ṭâlsi u š-šhäb l-'ádsi tlâṯ'a lä tlâgau f s-sfîna trâssi.* The Aiṯ Wäryâġer say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel. In the Ḥiáina it is considered unlucky both for the person himself and for others to have a *naḥla*, or feather, in the hair over the forehead; to have a feather on one side of the crown, on the other hand, is lucky in the case of a

[1] *Supra*, i. 419 *sq.*

[2] *Cf.* Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* (London, 1830), p. 5:—"The Arabs regard a one-eyed man as of bad omen, and nobody wishes to meet him".

man though unlucky in the case of a woman, but to have a feather on both sides of the crown is just the reverse. It is good *fäl* for a man to have much hair on his chest (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâger), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called *š-ša'r de s-sbô'ă*, or "lion's hair". It is also good *fäl* for a person to be born with six fingers on one or both hands (Fez, Tangier, Dukkâla); they suggest exuberance. And for a similar reason any abnormal outgrowth on the body with which a person is born is supposed to be a portent of good luck (Fez, Tangier).

A left-handed person is a bearer of ill-luck. When a scribe from Dukkâla mentioned to me the Arabic word for such a person (*'ásri*; at Tangier *'ósri*), he spat and said that the *'ásri* is a *ṣga'*. To meet him in the morning is unlucky; nobody but another *'ásri* employs him as a ploughman; and if an animal is tied with a rope made by such a person the rope will break and the animal get loose. My Berber secretary from the Aiṭ Sádděn refused to eat a fowl which had been killed by one of my servants who was left-handed. The disfavour with which a left-handed person is regarded is due to the notion that the left side is bad and the right side good, which is found among so many other peoples and also prevailed among the ancient Arabs.[1] It is bad *fäl* to use the left hand for good acts, which in accordance with custom are performed with the right, such as eating, giving alms, offering and receiving food or drink or other things, greeting a person, telling the beads of one's rosary; whereas the right hand should not be used for dirty acts, such as cleaning one's anus or genitals or blowing one's nose, and when you spit you should do it to the left.[2] Whatever the left hand writes is bad *fäl*, and even a left-handed man tries to use his right hand in writing words from the Koran. We shall subsequently notice a similar distinction between right and left in the meaning attached to some of those spasmodic jerks or bodily sensations which are regarded as portents of good or evil. Yet in certain magical practices, even though

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 202.

[2] *Cf.* al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii. 35 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. i. [Paris, 1903], p. 153).

performed for no evil object, the left hand is used,[1] obviously because there is magic energy in the unusual.

Black people are regarded as unlucky. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz there are persons who would only buy slaves of a somewhat lighter shade.[2] A scribe from the same tribe, resident in Mazagan, told me that he always ate some bread and salt in the early morning before he left his house, since otherwise some misfortune was sure to befall him if he happened to meet a black man or a person who had an evil eye ; but he said that another method of averting the danger was to ask the black man to smile so that he showed his teeth, the whiteness of which would neutralise the evil caused by his blackness. In the Ḥiáina, if a party of hunters or other people in starting in the morning meet a black person, they say to him, *Báiyaḍ*, *báiyaḍ*, "Whiten, whiten" ; if he then opens his mouth and shows his teeth it is all right, but if he keeps his mouth closed it is a bad omen. That black people are evil-omened may in some degree be connected with the contempt in which they are held ;[2] but the colour black is by itself a bad omen and a source of evil,[3] no doubt on account of the gloomy impression it makes on the human mind, which is averse to darkness.

Many families or persons avoid buying animals which are perfectly black, as they believe that such animals would bring misfortune.[4] Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz there are persons who sell any black foal or calf brought forth by their own mares or cows, or who give it to somebody to keep for them until it is grown-up and then sell it. They also maintain that a black dog may cause death in its owner's family ; I was told of a case in which two brothers died

[1] *Supra*, i. 88, 112, 341, 357, 555, 559. *Cf. infra*, p. 382.

[2] A negro is only worth salt :—*L-'abd qîmâtˢ l-mélḥa.* Generosity is rare in him :—*L-'abd ída jăd mĕn qállätˢ ḥásbů.* A free man is made to obey with a wink, a negro only with a box :—*L-ḥorr bĕ l-ġámza u l-'abd bĕ d-débza* (Dukkâla). The conceit of the latter is so great that if he is not beaten every Sunday he says that there is nobody like him :—*L-'abd ída ma yąkúl ši l-'ďṣa ne l-ḥád ne l-ḥád käiqůl ma bḥálů ḥad.* But a negro is stronger than a white man ; he has an extra rib and also an extra cup of blood :—*L-'abd zăyĕd ḍál'a u käs de d-demm.*

[3] See also 'Index', *s.v.* Black. [4] *Cf. infra*, pp. 287, 289 *sq.*

because their father had a little black dog with red legs. Many people in different parts of the country dislike having black dogs, as being bad for the house, and black pups are frequently thrown away.[1] As has been said before, a black dog the ears of which have not been cut is supposed to be a *jenn*,[2] and the same is the case with a black cat (Ḥiáina). A black hen is used in witchcraft for the purpose of causing quarrels between friends.[3] In Andjra it is considered unlucky to give a black bullock, sheep, or goat as *hḏîya*, or "present", for a wife, as it would make the married life "black". The ominousness attributed to the sight of a raven [4] and to the fluttering of a black moth about a light [5] is obviously due to their colour. If the heart of a slaughtered animal is found to be black it is bad *fäl* for him who slaughtered it (Tangier), or it means that his heart is black (*ibid.*, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi).[6]

In various parts of the country there are families whose members never wear anything black lest some misfortune should happen to them or their relatives (Dukkâla, Salli, Tangier, Andjra, Aiṯ Sádděn, &c.). A scribe from Dukkâla told me that an uncle of his fell into the sea and was drowned because there were black stripes on the white cloak (*jillabîya*) which he had on. In the same province the cloth of which a person's first tent is made is never blackened, because it would be bad *fäl* for him if it were. At Fez it is bad *fäl* to offer a person anything black, especially in the morning. Among the Ait Temsâmän it is considered bad for a person to meet in the early morning not only a black man or woman (*ismaġ*, *ṯismaḫṯ*) but a donkey with a black mouth, and he tries to ward off the evil by the usual phrase, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate". In the Ḥiáina it is bad *fäl* to meet the first thing in the morning a black animal and a man dressed in a black cloak, as well as a black person; if anybody on setting out on a journey in the morning

[1] The Prophet is reported to have said:—"Kill black dogs having two white spots upon their eyes; for verily this kind of dog is the devil" (*Mishkāt*, xviii. 2. 1 [English translation, vol. ii. 308]).

[2] *Supra*, i. 268. [3] *Supra*, i. 360. [4] *Infra*, p. 333.

[5] *Infra*, p. 359. [6] *Cf. infra*, p. 129.

meets a black dog or somebody carrying tar he ought not to proceed, nor must tar be taken into another person's house lest it should cause misfortune. In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Aiṯ Wäryâġer; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, *Ḥašak*, or if he addresses more than one person, *Ḥašakum*, "With your permission", to which the answer is, *'Azk ălláh* (in Rifian *'azzĕk ălláh*), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, *'Azkĕm ălláh*, corresponding to our "pray". Among the Aiṯ Sádděn, if a woman is dyeing a tent-cloth (*afli^{dd}j*) with sulphate of iron (*jjäj*) to make it black and sees somebody coming, she warns him not to pass.

Sooty kitchen utensils are regarded as dangerous. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz an earthenware pan (*ṭájīn*) must not be carried about in the village with the sooty side visible. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn, if a person who sets out on a journey or goes out hunting, or goes to visit a shrine or to attend a market, meets a woman carrying an earthenware pan (*afan* or, if small, *ṯäfanṯ*) or a pipkin (*lma'un*) with the black side turned towards him, he returns home. At Tangier a person must not pass between or in front of other persons with a sooty pipkin (*qádra*), an earthenware saucepan (*ṭájīn*), or a pan used for frying or the baking of bread (*máqla*) in his hand; and if anybody lends to another his *máqla* made of copper he strews into it some flour, which is good *fäl* calculated to neutralise its blackness. Among the Ait Temsâmän, also, nobody is allowed to pass between other persons carrying a sooty pipkin (*ṭaqnušṯ*), earthenware saucepan (*ttajin*), or pan used for baking (*anaḥdäm*). In Andjra, if a person leaves a place and the people there do not want him to return, they break an earthenware pan used for the baking of bread (*máqla*) and throw the pieces after him, saying, *Ăḥna sīyíbna l-kḥôla u ăḥna ma t^{s}waḷîna ḍrôra*, "We threw the blackness, and no trouble will come near us",

meaning that the other person went away with his trouble for ever.

There are other cases in which people make use of the colour black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,[1] and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the principle of homœopathic magic.[2] To have intercourse with a black woman is a cure for back-ache (Ġarbîya, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.).[3] The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye.[4] The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough.[5] Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes.[6] In sacrifices to *jnūn* the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes.[7] The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse.[8] There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.[9]

While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good *fäl*.[10] The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.[11] At Fez at the betrothal feast of a young man some milk is ceremonially

[1] *Supra*, i. 436 *sqq*. [2] *Infra*, pp. 258, 264, 265, 271.

[3] See Quedenfeldt, 'Krankheiten, Volksmedizin und abergläubische Kuren in Marokko', in *Das Ausland*, lxiv. (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 79.

[4] *Infra*, p. 294. [5] *Infra*, p. 303. *Cf. infra*, pp. 302, 340.

[6] *Supra*, i. 599; *infra*, p. 308 *sq*. [7] *Infra*, p. 116.

[8] *Supra*, i. 98. [9] See *supra*, i. 320.

[10] As an illustration of these feelings with regard to black and white may be quoted the following statement made by Sir Drummond Hay:— "The fact of the Sultan having mounted a milk-white horse is meant to be emblematic of peace and goodwill. When His Majesty is displeased he rides a black horse, and according to the royal humour he is said to vary the shade of the steed he mounts" (Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* [London, 1896], p. 216 *sq*.).

[11] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Milk.

given to him and his friends to drink in order to make his life "white";[1] at the corresponding feast in his fiancée's home milk is, with a similar purpose in view, offered to her and the women guests;[2] and the same ceremony is repeated at a later feast preparatory to the wedding which is celebrated in the bride's house,[3] as also on her arrival at her new home.[4] At country weddings, when the bridal procession passes a village on its way to the bridegroom's place, the bride is sprinkled with milk or milk is offered to her, and this is sometimes said to make her a good wife[5] or to give her good luck,[6] and sometimes to make her future "white".[7] If a person meets another who is carrying milk and drinks of the milk which in such circumstances should be offered him, or dips his finger into it, the day will be "white" or lucky for him (Fez, Andjra, Aiṭ Ndēr);[8] and at Fez I was told that the offering and acceptance of any other white thing, especially in the morning, will produce a similar result. In various tribes milk, flour, wool, and eggs are, on account of their whiteness, used in rites intended to have good effects on newly bought animals.[9] Owing to the same quality eggs figure prominently in marriage ceremonies. In Andjra, on the occasion when the corn to be used for the wedding is cleaned in the young man's house, an egg in a bowl is put on the top of one of the heaps of corn lying ready in the yard, "in order that the wedding shall be without rain[10] and the life of the bridegroom shall be white"; and the egg is afterwards buried under the threshold of the house that it shall be stepped over by the young couple, whose lives are thereby supposed to become happy.[11] Among

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 25.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 27 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 139. [4] *Ibid.* p. 194.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 170. [6] *Ibid.* pp. 180, 185. [7] *Ibid.* p. 172.
[8] *Cf.* Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori* (London, [1914]), p. 220 (North African Hausa); Eijūb Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. (Leipzig, 1884), p. 107 (Metāwile).
[9] *Infra*, p. 285.
[10] For instances in which eggs are used to make the weather bright, see *infra*, pp. 278, 281.
[11] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 89 *sq.*

the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".[1] Among the Tsūl, who have the same custom, the egg is afterwards removed from the bowl and eaten by the bride and bridegroom on the second night they pass together, in order that their future shall be bright.[2] At Tangier, when the bride is belted on the evening of the seventh day after her arrival by two little boys, a raw egg is given to each of them to make her life "white".[3]

The whiteness of silver is also constantly referred to by the natives when they speak of this metal as a charm for good luck. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the young man sends to the family of his fiancée a silver coin, which is afterwards put underneath the handmill when wheat is ground and then taken by the girl or her mother, in order to make things "white" and lucky;[4] and among the same tribe, when the bride has been lifted out of her tent to be taken to the bridegroom's place, a brother or friend of the latter gives her a silver coin to make her "white" like silver, that is, a good wife.[5] Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, when the new slippers which have been sent by the bridegroom are put on the feet of the bride immediately after she has been painted with henna, a silver coin is, professedly for the same purpose, placed in the right slipper.[6] It is generally considered necessary that the cloak worn by the bridegroom should be white, partly, I believe, for the sake of purity, but also, as is expressly said, in order that his days shall be "white".[7] We have previously seen that when an incantation has been read over a sick person, or a charm has been written as a cure for his illness, he must necessarily give some money to the doctor or scribe, or if money is lacking something white instead.[8] White is also a lucky colour when found in animals. An excellent horse is one which has five white parts, namely, its forehead and its four legs;[9] and white fowls are considered to bring good luck.[10]

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 115. *Cf. ibid.* p. 113. [2] *Ibid.* p. 101. [3] *Ibid.* p. 293. [4] *Ibid.* p. 33. [5] *Ibid.* p. 174. [6] *Ibid.* p. 150. [7] *Ibid.* p. 106. [8] *Supra*, i. 156, 218. *Cf. supra*, i. 166; *infra*, p. 411. [9] *Supra*, i. 98. [10] *Infra*, pp. 65, 203, 310, 379.

Another colour which is good *fāl* is green, the symbol of vegetation.[1] To offer a person something green, especially in the morning, is to give him good luck (Fez). Grass is thrown in the direction of the new moon to make the month "green" or blessed.[2] Among the Ait Waráin a green candle is lighted close to a new-born child in order to make the child good.[3] Among the Tsūl, when the wedding has come to an end and the young wife has been girdled, she goes and gathers some fresh palmetto leaves, so that her days shall be "nice and green" and the year blessed. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, when the new pieces of tent-cloth are inserted in the place of the old ones, one or two fresh palmetto leaves are sewn in between them. Green is, and especially used to be, the colour most favoured by the shereefs.[4] Yellow, the colour of the shining sun and of the most precious of metals, is also possessed of magic virtue. The game called *sīg*, which is played with the quarter parts of split bamboo cane, is believed to cause sunshine;[5] and, as said above, if little boys ride on bamboo canes "the good is coming" or the year will be good.[6] A person wearing yellow slippers which are always clean and bright is thereby protected from the evil eye, people will respect him, he will never suffer want, and his face will not turn yellow (Tangier). It is to its colour that saffron owes its prophylactic virtue.[7] Blue and red are also charms against the evil eye,[8] and some curative power is ascribed to the latter. At Fez, if a child is troubled with hiccup (*fŭwâqa*) a piece of red paper or calico or silk is fixed with spittle on its forehead above the nose. In Jbel Ḥbīb I saw a man wearing a red thread through the upper part of his right ear as a remedy for a diseased eye.

[1] See also *supra*, i. 117, 128, 243; *infra*, p. 169.
[2] *Supra*, i. 124. [3] *Infra*, p. 384.
[4] *Cf.* Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 206.
[5] *Infra*, p. 278. [6] *Supra*, i. 601.
[7] *Supra*, i. 443. Over large parts of Asia, ancient and modern, yellow is the supreme and most sacred colour; in ancient Egypt it was held in high honour; in Greece and Rome it was a favoured colour, mentioned with a tone of delight (Havelock Ellis, 'The Psychology of Yellow', in *The Popular Science Monthly*, lxviii. [New York, 1906], p. 458 *sq.*; Ewald, *Die Farbenbewegung* [Berlin, 1876], p. 65 *sqq.*).
[8] *Supra*, i. 431, 439, 440, 443. See *infra*, p. 421.

Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a person suffering from jaundice who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft,[1] and in wedding rites.[2] I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.[3]

Qualities of taste are supposed to produce magic effects, good or bad according as the taste is agreeable or not. If schoolboys eat sour things they will become stupid, whereas sweet things make them docile (Andjra, Tangier). Red raisins, in particular, exercise a wonderful influence on their intelligence. An old schoolmaster at Tangier assured me that if a boy eats twenty-one raisins every morning on an empty stomach for forty successive mornings, he will learn in six months as much as he would otherwise learn in a whole year; and he added that scribes also profit greatly by a similar diet. The benign virtue of sweet things is utilised in childbirth[4] and marriage rites. The raisins, dried figs, or dates which are offered the bride or thrown over her are in some tribes said to bring good luck on account of their sweetness,[5] or to make everything sweet,[6] or to make the bride sweet to the bridegroom's family.[7] To achieve the last-mentioned object a date or raisin is, among the Aiṯ Yúsi, put into the right slipper of the bride.[8] At Fez, a few days after the proposal on behalf of the young man has been accepted, some women of his family or kin, including his mother, go to visit the girl's mother, and she offers them, besides other food, honey in order that her daughter shall be "sweet" to the family of her future husband and there shall be no quarrel between them.[9] That *baraka* ascribed to honey[10] is of course due to its sweetness. The *baraka* of

[1] *Supra*, i. 572.
[2] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 148, 284.
[3] *Idem*, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. 447, 466 *sq.*
[4] *Infra*, pp. 376, 381.
[5] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 204.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 206 *sq.* [7] *Ibid.* p. 209. [8] *Ibid.* p. 150
[9] *Ibid.* p. 23. See also *infra*, p. 193 *sq.* [10] *Supra*, i. 104.

salt[1] is likewise connected with the taste of this, the most indispensable of all seasonings. The bitter taste again, being disagreeable, is productive of evil. If a woman wants a man to divorce his wife—for example, if she wishes to get rid of a rival—she puts the gall of a fox in the bed in which the man and his wife are sleeping together, in order to sow discord between them leading to divorce ; and my informant said that it is the bitter taste of the gall that makes them quarrel (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). The gall of a raven is used for a similar purpose (*ibid.*).[2] Absinthium mixed with tea is supposed to cause quarrels between persons who partake of it together for two or three days in succession.[3]

It is no doubt, in the first place, on account of their foulness and nasty odour that excrements of men and of animals which are not allowed to be used for food are regarded as "unclean" and haunted by *jnūn* ;[4] yet the unlawfulness of these animals from the dietary point of view must also have something to do with the matter. For the dung of cattle, camels, sheep, and goats is not considered unclean but, on the contrary, is even supposed to have some *baraka*,[5] presumably because of its usefulness as manure. Curative or other beneficial effects are nevertheless in certain cases ascribed to the excrements of animals which are not used for food,[6] and even to those of people.[7] I know a man in the Ġarbîya who applied his own excrements to his neck when its skin was scaling off ; he sat in the sun until the filth had dried, and then washed it off. In Andjra I was told that a person suffering from fever caused by the eating of figs is made to inhale the fume of a Moslem's excrements, which are burned for this purpose. At Fez the itch (*ḥăkka*) is cured by a bath in the Bûḫrârĕb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (*bûṣffar*) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a person who has jaundice

[1] *Supra*, i. 115. *Cf. supra*, i. 310.
[2] *Infra*, p. 332.
[3] *Supra*, i. 112.
[4] *Supra*, i. 280.
[5] *Supra*, i. 103 ; *infra*, p. 294.
[6] *Infra*, Chapter XVIII.
[7] See also *infra*, p. 385. For the use made of human excrements in summoning *jnūn* and by jugglers, see *supra*, i. 360, 362 ; *infra*, p. 340.

(*bōsáffir*) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them. In Andjra a newly bought earthenware oil-lamp is put underneath an uncircumcised boy in order that he shall make water in it, and the urine is left there for three days; then the lamp will not "drink the oil", because there is *baraka* in the urine of a little boy. At Fez, where the water-closets are cleaned by the unmarried girls of the households, they are thereby supposed to become lucky in their married life; but in this case the salutary effect is evidently attributed to the act of cleaning, which is said to make their fortune (*sa'd*) "white".

An object which, on account of its shape, is much feared among people who live in tents is the small curved or swallow-tailed piece of wood, called in Arabic *ḫorb* (plur. *ḫrāb*) and in the Berber of the Aiṭ Yúsi *aḫrib* (plur. *iḫrîběn*), which is used for attaching the tent-cloth on the right and left sides of the tent to the peg (Arab. *ût'ěd*, plur. *ūt'âd*; Berb. of the Aiṭ Yúsi *ṭágžŭsṭ*, plur. *ṭigžŭsin*) by means of a rope. It is said to have the power of the evil eye and even to be more frightful than a human eye. Among some tribes this is only the case with the *ḫrāb* in the four corners of the tent or, particularly, the two on either side of the entrance. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz consider these two *ḫrāb* to be very dangerous, if the tent is pitched in such a manner as to make one of them overlook a neighbour's yard, where he keeps his animals. The two foremost *ḫrāb* of two neighbouring tents should be opposite each other—*ḫorb mgâběl ḫorb*. If this rule is not observed, the neighbour may complain about it to the governor, and in any case he would protect himself by putting between the tents a pan or pipkin with the sooty side turned towards the dangerous *ḫorb*; but this may lead to new quarrels, since the black object is bad *fäl* for the other party. The projecting *ḫorb* is dangerous even though there is a considerable distance between the two tents, but not if they are separated by a row of cairns. The Aiṭ Yúsi and the Aiṭ Sádděn maintain that all the *iḫrîběn* hurt the animals if overlooking them, and the inhabitants of another tent as

well if turned towards its entrance. In summer the tents of a village (*ṯigᵘ́immi*, plur. *ṯigᵘ́mma*) are pitched in two or more rows, not necessarily of the same length, whereas in winter, when the village is more exposed to robbers and jackals, it is made in the shape of a square or rectangle; and the animals are kept overnight outside the entrance of the tents of their respective owners, though in the morning before being taken to the pastures they are often moved to the place behind the tent. Thus one tent in a row must not project ahead of another, nor must the right or the left side (*ṯizzmäm*) of a tent be turned towards the front or back (*afûs*) of another. The *iḫrîběn*, however, have no power to strike beyond a landmark made of a low wall of earth (*aḡḏem*), and the evil influences emanating from them may also be neutralised by a piece of an old and black *afliᵈᵈj* (such a rag is called *aḥläs*, *ṯaḥläsṯ*, or *abṭṭan*) stuck up in front of them, which is said to absorb the *bạs*. When a tent is pitched, one or two of the *iḫrîběn* are smeared with henna mixed with water or spittle, which is regarded as good *fäl*. There is a similar custom among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, who smear the dangerous *ḫrāb* with a mixture of henna, cloves, and rose-water, as I was told, to give *baraka* to the tent and to make them harmless.

There are still other precautions which have to be taken when tents are pitched. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the ridge-pole of one tent must not be on a line with that of another—*l-ḥommâr ma igâběl l-ḥommâr*; if this rule is not observed, the people inhabiting the tents and the animals which are kept between them will have to suffer. In the same tribe one of the needles (*mḫaiṯ*, sing. *mắḫyaṯ*) with which a tent has been sewn must be hung up inside it and left there for three days; it is called *'ázri l-ḫáima*, "the bachelor of the tent". So also among the Aiṯ Yúsi and the Aiṯ Sádděn the needles (*issĭgᵘna* [Aiṯ Yúsi] or *issĭgᵘnan* [Aiṯ Sádděn], sing. *issĭgᵘni*) are hung up on the ridge-pole (*aḥămmar*) for three days, or among the former, according to another account, for seven days, after which they are given back to their owners; and I was told by an old Aiṯ Yúsi woman that if they were returned before they had been hanging in the tent

for three nights, the *bạs* (*lbạs*) would strike the tent and cause it to be burned.

Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened. It is bad *fäl* to find a nail (Fez, Tangier) or a needle (Tangier) in the street or on the road. In the Ḥiáina it is believed that if a prickly-pear bush is allowed to flourish opposite the door of a house, its leaves will make the house empty. If you hand to a person a pair of scissors, you should put them on the upper side of your right hand, or you should lay them on the ground and let the other person pick them up, lest you should have a quarrel with him (Tangier, Andjra). Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). The Aiṯ Sádděn consider it very bad *fäl* to make a cutting in the *ṯärrselṯ*, or vertical pole supporting the roof of a house or tent, or even to pretend to do it; hence a boy who touches the pole with a knife is stopped at once.

The fear of ill-omened persons, animals, or objects extends to their names, for which euphemistic expressions are often substituted.[1] When a Jew is mentioned to the Sultan or a high official or some other person in a prominent position he should not be called *ihûdi* but *démmi* (written *ḏemmi*), which means a "client" (Fez). A *qáḥba*, or prostitute, is called *baġîya*, which indicates a woman who is "desirous" of men. A person who is blind (*â'ma*) is *bṣēr*, "sharp-eyed", and one who is one-eyed (*'ăwar*) is *férdi*, "single" or "odd", or *férdi mĕn 'ainîna* or *'ain*, "odd-eyed".

Many animals have euphemistic names. A dog is styled *qâni'ĕ* (Fez) or *qâne'* (Tangier), "contented". In the Ḥiáina

[1] *Cf.* Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* (Kiøbenhavn, 1779), p. 208 *sq.*; de Dombay, *Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae* (Vindobonae, 1800), p. 39 *sq.*; Marçais, 'L'Euphémisme et l'Antiphrase dans les dialectes arabes d'Algérie', in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet* (Gieszen, 1906), p. 425 *sqq.*; Monchicourt, 'Répugnance ou respect relatifs à certaines paroles ou à certains animaux', in *Revue tunisienne*, xv. (Tunis, 1908), p. 5 *sqq.*; Poivre, 'Répugnances ou respect relatifs à certaines paroles ou à certains animaux', *ibid.* xv. 271 *sq.*; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 364 *sqq.*

it is in the morning, in the presence of people not belonging to the household, called *märbŏ́ḥ*, "bringer of profit"; a fox is then called *märbóḥa*, and a jackal *ṭ-ṭâleb 'Ăli*, "the scribe 'Ali". The Aiṭ Sádděn call a jackal (*ušší̆n*) *ṭṭālb 'Ăli* at any hour of the day; and in the morning they name a hedgehog (*insi*) *amărbŏ́ḥ*, "bringer of profit", and a fox (*iḫ'äb*), a wild-boar (*aḥălluf* or *abûlḫer*), and a porcupine (*ärui*) *wårṣṣbaḥ*, "one who has no morning". Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a fox is in the morning spoken of as *ṭ-ṭâlĕb 'Ăli*, a name which is said to be given to it by its own wife. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a fox is styled *sī 'Ăli*, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Alluš. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name *ṯ'á'leb*—a confusion between *ṯ'á'leb* and *ṭâleb*. The gall-bladder (*märrára*) of an animal is termed *ḥlûwa*, "sweet" (Fez, Tangier). The dung of cattle is in many places euphemistically named "henna" (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr); while the Aiṭ Sádděn call it in the morning *lḥănna izziärn*, "the henna of the cattle", instead of the usual *zzbel*. Wine and spirits are called *l-käs l-ḥarr*, "the hot cup".

Euphemistic names are very frequently given to black things. *Swẹ̆d* or *swud* is a better word for black than the usual *kḥal*; but a black horse is styled *l-'aud lĕ-dhăm*. The Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi use the berberised word *ldhăm* for a black horse, mule, or donkey. Tar (*qăṭrān*, *qĕṭrān*, or *gĕṭrān*) is often named *biaḍ* or *biaṭ*, "white", but at Fez it is called *lă-'sel l-ḥárra* and in the Ḥiáina *l-'ásel l-ḥarr*, "hot honey". The Aiṭ Sádděn call it in the morning *bûrbäḥ*, "disposer of profit", instead of the usual *llâṭoḥ*; and the Ait Waráin, I am told, never speak of it by any other name but *bûrbäḥ*. The Aiṭ Yúsi call sulphate of iron, which is used for the blackening of the tents, *lḥănna ífilän*, "the henna of threads"; and some of the Aiṭ Sádděn apply to it the same term in the morning, instead of the ordinary *jjäj*, while others refrain from mentioning it altogether. In the same tribe it is considered unlucky to speak of a piece of an old tent-cloth, *aḥläs* or (if small) *ṯaḥläsṯ*, in the morning; if a woman nevertheless does so she calls it

the *aḥläs* of such or such a tribe or village, the people of which have killed some near relative of hers, or *aḥläs n irûmin ḏ ûḏäin*, " the *aḥläs* of the Christians and Jews ", or *ṯáḥläsṯ n únna ur iyeḥmîln*, " the *ṯaḥläsṯ* of any one who does not like me ".

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz an earthenware pan (*ṯájīn*) is called by the men *farrâḥ*, " bringer of joy ", and a pipkin (*gḗdra*) *bórma*; and if a woman, in speaking to a man, makes use of either the word *ṯájīn* or *gḗdra*, the latter replies, *Llah ijâ'lĕk ṯhorgíh á'la ûjhăk*, " May God make you break it over your face ". But though the women among themselves are allowed to use those words, they also euphemistically call the pan *ḥdīm*, " manservant ", and the pipkin *ḥdîma*, " maidservant ". In the Ḥiáina a pipkin may inside the household be called either *gḗdra* or *bórma* (or *bûrma*), but outside it the proper term is *msáḥḥra*, " a woman who is compelled to serve ", while an earthenware pan is called *msáḥḥar*, as if it were a manservant. The Aiṯ Sádděn insist that in the morning, or before some member of the household sets out on a journey, or in the presence of a shereef who understands their language or a governor, an earthenware pan (*afan* or, if small, *ṯäfanṯ*) shall be called *umlil* or *ṯumlilṯ*, " white ", and a pipkin (*lma'un*) of any size *ṯumlilṯ*. At Fez charcoal (*fḥam*) is euphemistically called *biaḍ*, " white ", and the same is the case in the Ḥiáina, although the ordinary word which is there used for it, *fâḥär*, is itself a euphemism meaning " stout ".

At Fez, if a person asks another to give him powder (*bârûd*), he calls it *mesk r-rjāl*, " the musk of the men ". Lead (*rṣaṣ*) is termed *ḥfīf*, " light " (*ibid.*), and a bullet (*rṣâṣa*) *ḥfîfa* (Tangier) or *ṯ'ĕffaḥ*, " apples " (Fez, Ḥiáina). Fire is very frequently called *'áfiya*, which is only another pronunciation of the word *'āfîya*, " health "; while *nār* is particularly used for hell-fire. The Ait Waráin avoid mentioning the word *timssi* (fire) when they ask any one to lend them fire, and use the term *l'áfĕšt* instead.

The broom is euphemistically called *măṣlâḥa*, " one that is making [something] good " (Tangier). At Fez, if a person asks another to give or lend or sell to him a big needle, such

as is used for the sewing of coarse material, he says *méftˢaḥ*, "key" (literally "opener"), instead of *máḫyaṭ*, and if he asks for an ordinary sewing needle he says *meftˢáḥa* instead of *yíbra*. In the Ḥiáina a *máḫyaṭ* is in the morning called *mŭftˢaḥ* and a *yíbra mŭftˢáḥa*.[1] Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the words *ṭäsärutt*, which means both sewing needle and key, and *issĭgʸni*, which means big needle, must not be mentioned in the morning, but a sewing needle should be called *ṭälmĕfṭáḥt*, "small opener", and a key and a big needle *almĕfṭáḥ*, "opener"; and at the threshing floor the word *issĭgʸni* must not be used at any time of the day. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the men call the *ḫorb* of a tent *mĕrbäḥ* (plur. *mrâbäḥ*), "bringer of profit", and if a woman uses the word *ḫorb* in speaking to a man the latter says, *Llah ijá'lu yiḫŏrj á'lek*, "May God make it fall on you". The Aiṭ Yúsi call the *iḫrîbĕn* in the morning by the name of the whole side of the tent, *ṭizzmäm*. In the Ḥiáina the threshold (*'átˢba*) of the house is called *baḥ r-räzq*, "the door of prosperity", a term which in Tangier is only used for the threshold of a shop.

In asking somebody to extinguish a light many people avoid the direct expression *ṭfi ḍ-ḍau* and say *bîyitˢ ḍ-ḍau*, "Make the light spend the night". When a person is going to ford a river he says *ná'di l-wād* instead of *nâqṭa' l-wād*, because *nâqṭa'* also means "I shall cut". Another instance of avoiding a word on account of the unpleasant ambiguity of its meaning is to call one's maternal uncle *ḫbîbi*, "my dear one," instead of *ḫâli*, which also means "empty".

We have previously noticed euphemistic names given to the *jnūn* and the devil;[1] and euphemisms and periphrases are also used for the other great enemies of mankind, illness and death. A person who is ill is said to be *'aiyân*, "tired", and one who is hopelessly ill *mä'dûm*, "lost". If a person who is very ill speaks of it himself he says, *Ana fă r-ráḥma d ălláh*, "I am in God's mercy"; or, *Ana fĕ l-kráma d ălláh*, "I depend on God's generosity"; or, *Ana kīf ḫabb ălláh*, "I am as God will". Of a person who is seriously

[1] *Supra*, i. 262, 263, 412.

ill and whose face has turned yellow it is said, *Sáqṭatˢ l-wárqa dyâlû*, " His leaf has fallen " ; and of one who has died of a disease, *Ḥâdi mûdda u l-wárqa dyâlû sáqṭa*, " Since some time his leaf is fallen " (Fez). These expressions are allusions to the person's leaf on the tree of Paradise which falls when a person is destined to die.[1] A death is announced to the Sultan by the statement that So-and-so *'ábba bạs sîdna*, " took away the *bạs* of our lord ".[2]

There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to hear the words *mbârak*, " blessed ", or *mesʿúd*, " lucky " ; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkâla). The Aiṭ Wäryâġer regard it as good *fäl* for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Mōḥ (Mûḥámmed), but as bad *fäl* to hear 'Ḗsa or Mûsa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad *fäl* in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as *fäl*.[3] For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying " No ", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If in similar circumstances the *múdden's* call to prayer, or the *zġârītˢ* of women, or the music of *ṭabbâlīn* is heard it is good *fäl*, but it is bad *fäl* to hear somebody weeping (Fez). If a person unexpectedly appears at the moment when other

[1] *Infra*, p. 89 *sq*.

[2] The Tuareg do not say of a person that he " has died ", but make use of a periphrase instead (Hourst, *Sur le Niger et au pays des Touaregs* [Paris, 1898], p. 227 ; Aymard, *Les Touareg* [Paris, 1911], p. 57). In Palestine people have a great objection to announcing a person's death directly to any one (Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 155).

[3] *Cf*. Delphin, *op. cit*. p. 146 (Algeria).

people are speaking of him, he will live long. They say to him, *Bâqi 'ăómrăk ṭwīl* (Tangier, Andjra, &c.), "Your life is still long", or *Iġzzíf la'mărnĭk*, "Your life is long" (Iglíwa); and in Andjra and Aglu he stamps three times with his right foot.

All sorts of events which are apt to produce a disagreeable feeling are looked upon as inauspicious. If a person has some serious misfortune on the day when he is going to make arrangements for his marriage with a certain woman—for example, if he is caught by the authorities—he refrains from marrying her. An old man from the Ḥiáina told me that the following events are bad *fäl* for you if they occur when you are setting out on a journey in the morning:—to knock your foot against a stone[1] or get a thorn into your foot just outside your door; to see two men or dogs or cocks fighting or two donkeys biting each other; to meet two men one of whom wants to take the other one to the governor or the sheikh to accuse him of some offence, or to compel him to make an oath; and to meet a person who is being taken to prison. And whether you are starting on a journey or not, it is bad *fäl* for you to hear, the first thing in the morning, somebody weeping or to see two persons quarrelling or animals fighting, or the corpse of an animal; whereas it is good *fäl* if you meet children who are playing or women who are singing or some one who is praying.

If an animal on which a person is riding when he sets out on a journey falls down three times, he should not proceed (Aglu). If anything falls down when you are riding you ought not to go to the place to which you intended to go, and if an object falls from your hand while you are doing something you ought not to complete it (Dukkâla, &c.). Once when two persons were playing with sticks at Mûlăi Abdllah's shrine in Dukkâla and a third person passed between them, one of them dropped his stick; the other people who were present advised them to stop playing, but they did not follow

[1] There are similar superstitions among the Fors (Felkin, 'Notes on the For Tribe of Central Africa', in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xiii. [1886], p. 230) and the Nandi (Hollis, *The Nandi* [Oxford, 1909], p. 79).

the advice, and in consequence the one who had dropped his stick shortly afterwards lost his eye. On the other hand, I have also heard the opinion that it is good *fäl* if the animal on which you are riding falls down, or if you drop anything you hold, because then it removes the *baṣ*, which at the same time falls to the ground (Andjra).

If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shāwîa, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi); otherwise he will have some misfortune.[1] Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him. So also when the ploughman fetches the animals, plough, and seed from the master's house in the morning he must not be called back once he has left, but if the master has forgotten to tell him anything he has to go to him (Ḥiáina).[2]

The uncanny feeling caused by an unusual event makes it bad *fäl*. If a hen is heard crowing like a cock somebody in the house will die, unless it is killed at once, in which case the *baṣ* will fall back upon the hen (Ḥiáina).[3] If a person in buying a thing happens to take out of his bag the exact amount of money without counting the coins, it is said that the devil counted them for him, and he should throw them back into the bag to avoid ill-luck (Andjra), or he should spit on the money (Tangier). But there are also people who consider it good *fäl* and kiss the hand which took the money from the bag (*ibid.*).

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of

[1] In Syria, also, a person who sets out on a journey must not turn back to fetch anything he may have left behind (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 97). There is a similar superstition among the Fors of Central Africa, particularly in the case of a person who goes out hunting (Felkin, *loc. cit.* p. 230). Among the Nandi "to call back a person who has started on a journey portends evil" (Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 79).

[2] *Infra*, p. 219. [3] *Cf.* Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 85 (Syria).

jnūn[1] or the devil.[2] It is bad *fäl* to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). It is bad to leave your bed unmade when you go out in the morning (Ḥiáina). If a woman puts on her head the turban (*rázza*) or fez (*ṭárbūš*) of a man, the glass- and earthenware of the house will break (Fez). It is bad *fäl* for a man to use a palmetto rope as a turban, or to wear a turban made of camel's-hair which has not been cut off with shears, as it should be, but pulled out by hand (Ḥiáina). It is bad to reverse your cloak when you take it off (Fez); a married man who does so will divorce his wife (Ḥiáina). It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or that "the world will be reversed for him" (Andjra); but scribes maintain that although it is bad *fäl* to do it purposely, he who does it unawares will soon get a new garment (Tangier).[3] It is bad *fäl* to put out the hand through one of the arm-holes slit in the upper corners of the *ᵈjĕllâb* or through the small opening in its front (Andjra).[4] It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Iglíwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or that one of his children will die (Ḥiáina). To wear a single slipper is in fact strictly prohibited in the Muhammadan traditions, because in the days of ignorance the removal of one of the sandals was a symbol of annulling an oath of allegiance.[5] It is bad to sleep with one's slippers[6] or belt underneath the head; he who does so will have nasty dreams (Tangier). It is bad *fäl* to eat or drink standing,[7] to drink water from one hand only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Ḥiáina), and to drink with the mouth

[1] *Supra*, i. 271 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 409 *sq.*

[3] In Syria a person who has put on his shirt or trousers reversed without knowing it is supposed to be proof against witchcraft (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 82). For a similar superstition at Libanon see Tallqvist, *På helig och ohelig mark* (Helsingfors, 1918), p. 119.

[4] *Cf. supra*, i. 272.

[5] Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. (Leiden, 1896), pp. 47, 49 *sq.*

[6] *Cf. supra*, i. 272.

[7] *Cf. supra*, i. 271 *sq.*

in the water like an animal (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus, and if you eat standing or eat in a doorway you will become poor (Tangier). It is bad *fäl* to leave a vessel from which people are in the habit of eating turned upside down overnight (*ibid.*); the *baṣ* will remain in it (Ḥiáina). If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Aiṯ Wäryâġer).[1] It is bad *fäl* to fold one's hands (Tangier, Aglu).

To whistle inside a house or tent is to make it empty—*T-tṣfār i'áiyăṯ l lă-ḥla* (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz) or *t'ädd'ăi be l-ḥlā* (Fez); in other words, its inhabitants will either die or abandon it (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Fez, Tangier, Andjra). The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor,[2] and bad *fäl* to do it on the road (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). But it is the custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). From a passage in the Koran [3] it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.[4]

To gnash the teeth in one's sleep is to call for the death of a member of the family (Tangier) or, if habitual, "to eat one's nearest relatives"—that is, one of them will die—(Ḥiáina), or he who does so is going to kill somebody (Andjra). If a woman sneezes while engaged in weaving, a member of the household will die before long; but if she sneezes while grinding corn in the daytime, the house will have a guest in the evening (Ḥiáina). To sneeze when somebody is talking is good *fäl* (Dukkâla), or indicates that what is said is true (Tangier),[5] and it does so also if it is the talker himself who sneezes. The Prophet is related to have

[1] *Cf. supra*, i. 409.

[2] Among the Nandi nobody is allowed to whistle in the plantations (Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 20).

[3] *Koran*, viii. 35.

[4] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 666.

[5] *Cf.* Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 106 (Syria).

said that God loves sneezing, and that if a person sneezes and immediately afterwards says, as he should do, " God be praised ", it is incumbent upon everybody who hears it, or at least one of the party, to exclaim, " God have mercy on you ".[1] This prescription, which is generally followed in Morocco, suggests that sneezing was originally looked upon as dangerous.[2] When a person belches he says, *Astaġfir ălláh*, " I implore the pardon of God ".

The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens, which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body.[3] Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Ḥiáina, Tangier, Aglu, Iglíwa, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). In Aglu itching of the big toe of the left foot presages the news of a death ; but at Tangier it is believed that if the big toe of either foot itches, a member of your family who happens to be ill will die. According to a scribe from the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow. A very prevalent belief is that if your right palm itches you will receive money, and if your left palm itches you will give out money (Dukkâla, Shāwîa, Rabat, Ḥiáina, Iglíwa, Aglu) ; but at Tangier there is just the opposite belief.[4] If your right

[1] *Mishkāt*, v. 1. 1, xxii. 6. 1 *sq.* (English translation, vol. i. 339 ; vol. ii. 413 *sq.*) ; Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 600.

[2] *Cf.* Haberland, ' Die Vorbedeutungen am eigenen Körper ', in *Globus*, xxxv. (Braunschweig, 1879), p. 60 *sq.* For superstitions and customs connected with sneezing see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. (London, 1891), p. 97 *sqq.* ; Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe* (London, [1898]), p. 206 *sqq.*

[3] For omens drawn in Morocco from the twitches of muscles and itchings *cf.* Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story* (London, 1911), p. 308 ; and for such omens elsewhere see Haberland, *loc. cit.* p. 61 *sq.* ; Preuss, ' Die Vorbedeutung des Zuckens der Gliedmassen in der Völkerkunde ', in *Globus*, xcv. (Braunschweig, 1909), p. 245 *sqq.*

[4] So also in Syria (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 100).

cheek itches you will have pleasure, whereas itching of the left one is a bad omen (Tangier). It is said that if your right eyebrow itches and you rub it with one finger, one person is speaking kindly about you, and that if you rub it with two fingers two persons are doing so; whereas if your left eyebrow itches jealous people are talking badly about you (Aglu, Ḥiáina). But I have also heard the opposite opinion that itching of the right eyebrow means bad talk about you and itching of the left eyebrow good talk (Dukkâla, Tangier);[1] while in Andjra I was told that itching of either eyebrow indicates that some of your relatives are speaking of you. If your beard itches and you scratch it with your right hand you will receive something, but if you scratch it with your left you will not receive anything (Aglu).

In other cases of omens drawn from itching no difference is made between right and left. If your moustache itches, you will soon shake hands with somebody (Tangier, Dukkâla, Iglíwa, Aglu); hence it is the custom at Tangier, after scratching it, to kiss the hand, as is done when a person greets another. A scribe from the Ḥiáina, however, told me that the itching of the moustache below the nose means that you will soon partake of a good meal, while itching of the lips is *sl̤am*, indicating that somebody whom you like will call upon you. If your nose (Dukkâla, Iglíwa, Aglu) or the tip of it (Ḥiáina, Tangier) itches, you will eat meat; whereas itching at the bridge of the nose means that you will soon hear the news of a death in your family (Ḥiáina).[2] If the sole of one of your feet (Ḥiáina, Iglíwa, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) or of your right foot (Dukkâla, Shāwîa, Aglu) itches you will travel, or the itching of either sole indicates that you will soon visit a house or a place where you have never been before (Tangier). Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Aiṯ Wäryâġer); but in Andjra I heard that this sensation, which is called *būmiššáš*, presages rain. I was also told there that if the skin chaps at the back

[1] In Syria itching of the left eyebrow indicates that a friend will soon come as guest, whereas itching of the right eyebrow presages evil tidings (Eijūb Abela, *loc. cit.* p. 97).

[2] *Cf.* Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 308.

of the heel the wind will change, although much chapping indicates that the heel has come into contact with water which has been used for the washing of a dead body. If your ears are tingling it means that death is passing by your head (Andjra), or is " trying you " (Dukkâla), or is measuring your life and finds it long (Aglu); or that little children who have died are chinking something in Paradise (Tangier); or that another person's leaf on the tree of Paradise is falling and touches your own leaf (Iglíwa). At Fez it is called *ṭnīn l-mūt*^{s}, " the tingling of death ".

In a large number of cases the belief in *fäl* obviously consists of *a priori* assumptions based on associations. If the expected event happens it is naturally looked upon as a confirmation of the belief, whereas instances to the contrary mostly escape notice or are explained away in one way or another. But there are also cases in which the belief in a *fäl* has originated in hasty conclusions drawn from experience. It is readily believed that an event which follows upon another is caused by it. For example, the reception of a letter from home which induced me to leave the village Ḍār l-Ḥjar in Andjra, where I had been staying for months, was associated with the whitewashing of a room in my cottage which had taken place on the same day. Even an individual belonging to a class of persons whom it is bad *fäl* to meet in the morning may on strong evidence be regarded as an exception to the rule. During my stay in Mogador there was a black woman whom people liked to meet in the street in the morning, because they thought that it gave them good luck. So also, as said above, there are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

Of great interest in this connection are the taboos which particular families have to observe for fear lest otherwise a member of the family should die, or, in less extreme cases, some other evil should befall them. This *ṭêra*, or bad *fäl*, is hereditary in the family, and when it goes sufficiently far back in time the taboo based on it must consequently be observed by all the relatives on the father's side. I was told that every family in Fez regards some particular act as *ṭêra* for its members and that its performance would cause a death

among them. But a family may have more than one particular *ṭêra*, and different unrelated families may have the same *ṭêra*. There is a saying, *L-'ain ḥaqq û ṭ-ṭêra bâṭal*, "The evil eye is true and the *ṭêra* is false"; but even he who is a sceptic in theory is probably a believer in practice. When a person speaks of the *ṭêra* of his own family he avoids this word and says *mâḥrûj 'ăḷîna*.

The forbidden acts vary indefinitely in different families. My landlord in Fez and other members of his family could never buy a spoon, but somebody else had to procure it for them. For other families it is *ṭêra* to buy needles or lemons or olives or butter, or to buy the sheep which is going to be slaughtered at the Great Feast some time in advance for the purpose of fattening it, as many people are in the habit of doing. My Arabic secretary, belonging to an old Fez family, told me that it was *ṭêra* for his family to let any of their hens or pigeons hatch an egg, and that it also was *ṭêra* for them to arrange the circumcision of their boys, which should be done stealthily by a person belonging to another family. In the Ḥiáina it may be *ṭêra* for a family to allow a stranger to live with them in the same dwelling, and it may be *ṭêra* to buy butter. At Tangier there are families who have to refrain from eating the head or the tongue or the ears of any animal, or from eating goat's flesh, or from doing this or that, lest some misfortune should befall them.

There are similar customs in Berber-speaking tribes. A man from the Ait Waráin told me that nobody in his family was allowed to eat the feet of an animal. For other families in his tribe it is *ṭêra* to eat some other part of the body, for example the shoulder, or to eat fat or some particular kind of meat, like mutton or beef or hare, or any kind of meat or fish, or to drink milk. A native of the At Ubáḫṭi said that if any member of his family sold his own butter there would be a death in his tent or among his animals—although no evil would result from selling butter which he had bought,—and that if red earth (*lḥämri*) were taken out of the tent one of its inmates would die or become ill or some of the cattle would die or be stolen. Another man from the same tribe asserted that the last-mentioned

restriction also applied to his family, with the exception that there would be no evil consequences if the red earth which was taken out of the tent were given to another member of the family. Among the Ait Temsâmän there are families for whom it is *tteāṯ* (*ṭêra*) to make whitewash and to whitewash anything, or to make a mat of esparto (*ari*) ; and there are other family taboos like these : a man who has left for the market must not go back to fetch a thing which he has forgotten to take with him, although he may send some other person for it, and if anybody who is going somewhere happens to tumble, or if the animal he is riding falls down, he must not proceed but has to return.

There is no doubt a striking resemblance between these customs and taboos of a totemistic kind : they have reference to groups of kindred, they are hereditary, transgressions are followed by supernatural penalties, and in many cases they are prohibitions of eating a certain kind of food. Yet there is no reason whatever to regard them as survivals of ancient totemism, which is not known to have existed either among Arabs or Berbers.[1] The explanation given of these family taboos by the natives themselves seems quite satisfactory. A boy dies soon after he has been circumcised, and the same happens to his younger brother ; then the next son is taken stealthily by some of his mother's relatives or, if she and her husband are of the same family, by some unrelated person, to be circumcised without the knowledge of his parents. If the boy remains alive the same procedure will for the future become the custom of the family, as it is believed that the elder boys died because they had been circumcised on the initiative of their parents. Among the Ait Temsâmän, I was told, there are families who do not allow members of other households to partake of the biestings of their cows, because they have noticed that after they have shared the biestings with strangers the cow has died ; and there are other families who have found by experience that it is *tteāṯ*, or bad *fäl*, if any grown-up person partakes of the biestings. In other cases a family taboo is based, not on individual

[1] *Cf.* van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 226 *sqq.*

experience, but on information received from a learned scribe who by the aid of his books has found out that the children of a family die because its members eat a certain kind of food, from which they will have to abstain thenceforth.[1]

It is interesting to notice that customs quite similar to those I have now described are found among other African peoples. Thus among the Nandi, "besides holding certain animals sacred, there are various things which the members of the different clans may or may not do". For example, the members of one clan may not make traps, nor build their huts near a road; those of another may not plant millet, or may not hunt, or may not eat the meat of an animal killed by a lion, and so forth.[2]

There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes.[3] Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even the only lucky day for it, being the first day of the week.[4] In several tribes the reaping also begins on that day,[5] and in some tribes the threshing.[6] In fact, it is a good day for the beginning of any enterprise (Tangier).[7] It is a favourite day for the

[1] *Supra*, i. 403.

[2] Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 7 *sqq.* Among the Bangala of the Upper Congo River every kind of food is permanently tabooed to some one, and very frequently the taboos are hereditary (Weeks, 'Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xl. [London, 1910], p. 366). *Cf.* Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 116 (Banyankole).

[3] *Supra*, i. 133, 134, 224-226, 235, 236, 255 *sq.* See also 'Index', *s.v.* Friday.

[4] *Infra*, p. 209. See also Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 310.

[5] *Infra*, p. 224. [6] *Infra*, p. 229.

[7] *Cf.* Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (London, 1895), p. 49:—"Sunday is a favourite day with Muhammadans for the beginning of an enterprise". This statement is partly corroborated by Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien, 1908), p. 309; and by Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 80 (Syria).

fetching of the bride to her new home (Tangier, Andjra, Iglíwa, Ait Tamĕldu, Aglu),[1] matrimonial intercourse being very auspicious on the night between Sunday and Monday (Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Iglíwa, Aglu);[2] it is said that a boy conceived on that night, or on the eve of Friday, will become a *mujâhed* (Ḥiáina). In some tribes Sunday is a day of circumcision (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Iglíwa). The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz hunt on it, and if the hunters stay away overnight they continue the hunt on the following morning. The Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi consider Sunday a lucky day for travelling,[3] whereas in Andjra people do not like to start on a journey on that day. Charms are often written on Sundays; and a charm written with rose-water mixed with saffron on the first Sunday of the month before sunrise is considered particularly powerful.

Monday is also in some tribes considered a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing,[4] reaping,[5] and threshing.[6] The Aiṭ Wäryâġer maintain that it is a good day for the beginning of any kind of work. Both among them and the Aiṭ Sádděn it is one of the two most suitable days for the fetching of the bride. At Tangier it is considered lucky to be born on that day.[7] Monday, like Sunday, is a good day for travelling (Tangier, Aglu, Iglíwa).[8] In Aglu it is held particularly lucky if a person who starts on a journey on a Monday morning meets on the road somebody carrying milk or water; he dips his finger into the milk and licks it, or he drinks of the water. Among some Berbers Monday is the best day for hunting,[9] and in Andjra the best day next to Saturday. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and the

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 175 *sq.* (Cairo).

[2] *Cf. ibid.* p. 271.

[3] *Cf.* Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 80 (Syria).

[4] *Infra*, p. 209 *sq.*

[5] *Infra*, p. 224.

[6] *Infra*, p. 229.

[7] See *infra*, p. 399.

[8] See also de Urrestarazu, *Viajes por Marruecos* (Madrid, *s.d.*), p. 207. *Cf.* Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* (Alger, 1908), p. 62; C. G. and Brenda Z. Seligman, 'The Kabâbîsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, ii. (Cambridge, 1918), p. 156. For an opposite statement see Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 309 (Ntifa).

[9] *Cf.* Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 309 (Arabia Petraea).

Iglíwa it is one of the days suitable for circumcision.[1] It is a good day for the writing of charms ; at Fez it is held to be even better than Sunday.

Tuesday is in Andjra, like Friday, one of the days chosen for the commencement of the sowing of maize and durra. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer it is a good day for visiting saint-shrines. It is a day for writing charms which are intended to cause evil ; but at Fez I was told that these charms should be written at the end of the month, after the twentieth day of it, when the nights are black like the purpose they serve. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, however, charms for good purposes are also written on a Tuesday. It is a day for shaving (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aiṭ Sádděn, Iglíwa), and, all over the country, a day for blood-letting.[2] It is the day when people are attacked by the most dangerous of all evil spirits, the Ulâd bel lă-Ḥmár, who are closely associated with blood ;[3] and there is on that day bad blood in the body which ought to be removed (Fez), and it also comes away easily (Iglíwa). Generally speaking, Tuesday is an inauspicious day—*T-tˢlâtˢa nhār nḥēṣ* (Fez).[4] In Andjra it is said that on Tuesdays the *jnūn* are quite unmanageable : if they are imprisoned they escape, and nothing keeps them off, not even the Koran. It is unlucky to be born on a Tuesday ; at Marráksh I was told that a child born on a Tuesday about *'âṣar* is sure to die.[5] A bride must not be brought to her new home on a Tuesday (Fez, Tangier, etc.) ;[6] among the Tsūl she may be fetched on any other day of the week. No good undertaking should be begun on a Tuesday : students should not resume their studies after a holiday, nor builders commence any new work (Fez), nor anybody start on a journey (*ibid.*, Tangier, Aglu).[7] In Andjra many or most people

[1] *Cf.* Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 157 (Kabābīsh). For days held suitable for circumcision in Morocco see also *infra*, pp. 420, 421, 423.

[2] *Cf.* Lane, *op. cit.* p. 271 (Egypt). [3] *Supra*, i. 275, 277.

[4] This is a widespread opinion in the Moslem world (Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 92 ; *Idem*, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 271 ; Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India* [Madras, 1863], p. 274). [5] *Infra*, p. 399 *sq.*

[6] See also Addison, *West Barbary* (Oxford, 1671), p. 183.

[7] The same statement is made by Señor de Urrestarazu (*op. cit.*

consider Tuesday to be an unlucky day for hunting, though others say that on that day the saints of the district are willing to help. Target-practice is avoided there on a Tuesday. Clothes which are washed on that day will shrink (Marráksh, Iglíwa).[1] A person must not pare his nails on a Tuesday (Tangier).

Wednesday is at Fez regarded as a lucky day. It is said, *L-árbʿa būlārbâḥ*, "Wednesday is the master of gain"; and it is considered fortunate to be born then. The latter opinion, however, is not held at Tangier. At Fez Wednesday is the best day for the fetching of the bride; and it is also a good day for doing it among the Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi, who consider matrimonial intercourse on the night between Wednesday and Thursday auspicious. In the Ġarbîya, while the shereefs Ulâd Sîdi ʿAbdlhâdi in the village of Brīš inaugurate the first ploughing season on a Sunday, the other farmers of the tribe begin their ploughing on a subsequent Monday or Wednesday.[2] The Aiṭ Wäryâġer consider Wednesday, like Monday, to be a good day for beginning work of any description. At Tangier and among the Iglíwa Wednesday is the best day for the washing of clothes. The latter say that a person who starts on a journey on that day is sure to return;[3] whereas in Aglu and Tangier it is supposed to be inauspicious to do so before *ḍhor* (about 1.20 P.M.), and in Aglu on the last Wednesday of a month of the solar year at any hour of the day. At Fez and among the Ait Waráin circumcision is performed on a Wednesday, but elsewhere it is avoided on that day (Ulâd Bůʿăzîz, Iglíwa); at Fez Wednesday may have been chosen for circumcision because all the barber's shops are then closed.[4] So they are in other Moorish towns as well,

p. 207) and Emily, Shareefa of Wazan (*op. cit.* p. 306), who also says that it is most unlucky to commence any big undertaking on a Tuesday. On the other hand, M. Laoust asserts (*op. cit.* p. 309) that among the Ntifa people by preference start on a journey on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

[1] Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, states (*op. cit.* p. 309) that clothes washed on a Tuesday or Saturday or on the last Wednesday of the month are supposed never to come out properly cleansed.

[2] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 310 (Ntifa).

[3] See also *ibid.* p. 309 (Ntifa).

[4] *Infra*, p. 419 *sq.*

Wednesday being generally held to be a day on which nobody should have his head shaved.[1] It is said that he who is shaved on a Wednesday (Andjra)[2] or on three successive Wednesdays (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) will die by violence, or that he who is shaved on forty Wednesdays *imût^s be l-ḥdîd*, that is, will be killed with a dagger or knife or sword (Fez, Tangier).[3] Blood-letting is also frequently avoided on Wednesdays (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Andjra, Tangier, Iglíwa),[4] though not at Fez. According to the Muhammadan traditions the Prophet said, "Whoever is let blood on a Wednesday or Saturday, and gets leprosy, must blame none but himself".[5] At Tangier women do not comb their hair on a Wednesday; if they did it would fall out. There and elsewhere (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Iglíwa) people refrain from paring their nails on that day. To sleep in the afternoon after *'âṣar* is particularly bad on a Wednesday (Tangier); the *jnūn* are very dangerous on Wednesdays, even some half an hour before *'âṣar* (Andjra).

Thursday is in some tribes held to be a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing,[6] the reaping,[7] and the threshing;[8] the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi consider it even a better day than Sunday for the beginning of the ploughing. It is a very suitable day for the fetching of the bride (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aiṭ Sádděn, Iglíwa, Ait Taměldu),[9] the eve of Friday being an excellent time for

[1] This taboo, however, is not observed among the Aiṭ Sádděn and is becoming obsolete in the Ḥiáina.

[2] *Cf.* Tremearne, *op. cit.* p. 219 (North African Hausa).

[3] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 310 (Ntifa).

[4] See also *ibid.* p. 310 (Ntifa).

[5] *Mishkāt*, xxi. 1. 2 (English translation, vol. ii. 376). *Cf. ibid.* xxi. 1. 3 (vol. ii. 380).

[6] *Infra*, p. 209.

[7] *Infra*, p. 224.

[8] *Infra*, p. 229.

[9] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 175 *sq.*; Burckhardt, *op. cit.* p. 114; Mrs. Todd, *Tripoli the Mysterious* (London, 1912), p. 94. Among European peoples Tuesdays and Thursdays are frequently considered the most suitable days for weddings (von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten und einiger andrer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften, in Vergleichung mit denen der indogermanischen Völker* [Berlin, 1888], p. 51 *sq.*; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. [Leipzig, 1910], p. 60).

matrimonial intercourse (Fez, Ḥiáina, Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Iglíwa).[1] It is a good day for travelling (Mogador, Aglu).[2] Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz it is, with Sunday, a day for hunting. It is also among them one of the days for circumcision. At Fez it is considered a still better day than Sunday for the writing of charms for good purposes. In the same town a person should not pare his nails either on a Thursday or a Saturday at *'âṣar*.

Saturday is very generally considered the best day for hunting. It is a good day for enjoyment and picnicking (Marráksh); at Fez it is the custom to go out to the country for this purpose on all Saturdays in the spring when the weather is fine, and many shops are closed in consequence. It is also a day for travelling (Fez, Tangier, Mogador, Aglu);[3] the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi maintain that it is the best of all days for starting on a journey, and that he who does so on a Saturday has nothing to fear.[4] It is a good day for blood-letting (Fez, Tangier, Iglíwa) and shaving (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Iglíwa;[5] at Fez shaving is allowed, but not particularly auspicious); but in Andjra it is believed that he who is subject to blood-letting on a Saturday will die by violence, and according to the Muhammadan traditions Saturday is likewise a bad day for it.[6] At Fez I was told that blood-letting is good because on that day also, as on Tuesday, there is bad blood in the body which ought to be removed; and in Andjra and Tangier it is said that shaving

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 271. Among the Turks "Donnerstag ist der allgemeine Heirathstag. Infolge der Empfängniss des Propheten Mohammed, wird die Nacht, die von Donnerstag auf Freitag folgt, als die günstigste betrachtet; sie muss daher auch die erste Hochzeitsnacht sein. Witwen und Geschiedene heirathen am Montag" (Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei* [Amsterdam, 1897], p. 25 n. 1).

[2] See also de Urrestarazu, *op. cit.* p. 207; *cf.* Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 80 (Syria).

[3] See also de Urrestarazu, *op. cit.* p. 207; *cf.* Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 62 (Tuareg of the Ahaggar).

[4] The opposite belief is held in Egypt (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 272).

[5] See also Quedenfeldt, *loc. cit.* p. 77 n. 1; *cf.* Tremearne, *op. cit.* p. 219 (North African Hausa).

[6] See *supra*, ii. 44.

is good on a Saturday because every hair will then curse the Jews. Charms for evil purposes are written with success on a Saturday, at Fez after the twentieth day of the month. On the whole, Saturday, like Tuesday, is an evil day.[1] It is held unfortunate to be born on a Saturday (Fez, Tangier, and elsewhere),[2] though some people are of the very opposite opinion (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). In Andjra it is said that matrimonial intercourse should be avoided on a Saturday night because a child conceived on that night will have ringworm or become an unfortunate individual. On a Saturday there should be no wedding (Fez, Tangier) and no circumcision (Fez, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Iglíwa), students should not resume their studies after a holiday (Fez), builders should not begin any new work (*ibid.*), clothes should not be washed (Iglíwa, Aglu[3])—if they were, they would soon become dirty (Andjra).[4]

There are, finally, magical forces and presages in dreams. The Moors do not draw the same distinction as we do between that which a person experiences while awake and that of which he dreams. They believe that during sleep the soul is absent from the body, a belief which is also presupposed by a passage in the Koran;[5] and they maintain that what they hear or see in their dreams is a reality and not an illusion.

Sometimes a disagreeable dream is looked upon as a punishment. A person who has neglected his prayers is liable to dream that he is bitten or persecuted by a snake (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), and the same is the case with one who has not observed the fast of Ramaḍān nor made up for it by subsequent fasting (Aiṭ Nḍēr). The dream of being attacked by an ox is a punishment for having spoken irreverently about some saint (Tangier). If

[1] This is a widespread opinion in the Moslem world (Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 92; *Idem*, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 272; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 274 [Muhammadans of India]).

[2] Among the Arabs of Moab a child born on a Saturday is supposed to die, unless the evil is averted by a sacrifice (Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* [Paris, 1903], p. 30).

[3] *Cf.* Tremearne, *op. cit.* p. 219 (Hausa of Nigeria).

[4] See also Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 309.

[5] *Koran*, xxxix. 43.

you dream that you are going to fall from a roof or into a well but do not fall after all, you have committed a fault on the previous day and given alms as an atonement; the idea of falling symbolises the fault, while the almsgiving prevents its realisation (*ibid.*).

In other cases the dream is an admonition that something should be done. If you dream of a departed member of your family you should give alms at his grave or otherwise on his behalf, at least if he is complaining of hunger or thirst or appears in a pitiable condition; and you should do the same if you dream of dried figs or other kinds of dried fruit, which are distributed in charity on a death.[1] If you dream of bees you should offer food to the scribes in the mosque, the bees representing the Koran (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If a man has a nightly pollution in dreaming of a certain woman it is good for him to marry her, even though she is married before and has to be divorced by her husband (Ḥiáina).

Sometimes a dream is an indication of a present fact. One of my servants told me that once when he dreamed that a piece of raw meat rose in his throat and issued from his mouth, he consulted a scribe from the Ġarbîya about the meaning of the dream and got the answer that the meat was his sins which were leaving him. If you dream that your father or mother is weeping it means that they are well and have a feast that night (Andjra), though according to another interpretation it means that you have done something wrong (Tangier). If you dream that they are dressed in dirty clothes, they are quarrelling with each other or with some relatives; but according to another opinion they are in good circumstances, whereas if you dream that they are prosperous and cleanly dressed they are poor (Shãwîa). If you dream that you have connection with a certain woman, she is in love with you or is talking about you (Iglíwa). If you dream of a dog somebody is speaking badly about you, barking as it were (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

Most often, however, a dream is regarded as an indication, or as a cause, of a future event. Here again it is

[1] *Infra*, p. 484.

impossible to draw a definite limit between prognostication and causation. That a dream is supposed not merely to foreshadow, but to influence, the future is quite obvious. When a person has had an evil-omened dream he says to himself, *Alláhumma āt'ina mĕn ḫairêha u nqûdna mĕn šerrêha*, "O God, bestow upon us its goodness and free us from its evil" (Tangier, etc.). He may also go and say it to a stone in a desert place, first saluting the stone and telling it about the dream; then the *bas* will go into the stone (Ḥiáina). Or a person who has an evil dream goes to the water-jar of the household and mentions it in the mouth of the jar, so that the evil shall go into the water and be neutralised (Tangier).[1] If you mention your evil dream to another person, he is liable to be affected by it; to avert the danger he will interrupt you by saying, *Ḫáirän wä sálämän* (Tangier, etc.), or he may ask God to let the evil dream fall on yourself (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Again, if you mention to anybody a good dream you have had it will lose its efficacy (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), especially if you have dreamed of a saint (Tangier). Yet if you do not understand the meaning of your dream, you may ask somebody to explain it to you. I was even told that the effect of the dream may be influenced by what he says about it: if he says that the dream is good it may turn out to be so even though it was by nature a bad dream, and if he says that it is bad it may prove to be so even though it really was a good dream. Hence you should never mention your dreams to anybody but a friend, who may be expected to put a favourable interpretation on them (Aiṭ Nḏēr). Sometimes you must yourself do something to make your dream effective. If you dream of having connection with a woman of whom you are fond and then turn your cloak—a Moor generally sleeps in his cloak—she will also dream of you and the love will be mutual (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). Or if you have a similar dream, accompanied with a nightly pollution, your dream will be realised if you put your head where you had your feet and *vice versâ*; then the woman will also dream of you that night, and when the next day you mention your dream to her she will readily comply with your wishes (Aiṭ Nḏēr).

[1] See also *supra*, i. 605; *infra*, p. 485.

In many cases the interpretation of a dream has obviously been suggested by some resemblance between the dream and the event which is supposed to be foreshadowed or caused by it. If you dream that you have long flowing hair on your head, you will have much corn that year; your crops will be as exuberant as your hair (Aiṭ Ndēr). If you dream that you are being shaved, somebody will deprive you of your property or money (*ibid.*, Ḥiáina). If you dream of a swarm of bees entering your mouth and flying out again, you will become a good singer and accompanist; this dream is said to be a particularly trustworthy one (Aiṭ Ndēr). If you dream that one of your teeth falls out, some relative of yours will die (Andjra)—a child or unmarried young person if it is a fore-tooth and a grown-up person if it is a molar (Tangier); or in the former case a relative will die and in the latter an enemy (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

If you dream of eating honey you will eat food which has been stolen by yourself or by somebody else (Aiṭ Ndēr), obviously because the bees have been robbed of their honey. To dream of eating fresh figs (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aiṭ Ndēr) or grapes (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṭ Ndēr) means rain, because they are juicy; or to dream of eating grapes means rain if they are black, and sunshine if they are white (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If you dream of eating dried figs there will be death among your goats (Aiṭ Ndēr), because dried figs are given in charity on the death of a member of the family. If you dream of eating *sĕksŭ*, you will have much corn (*ibid.*); or your children will have smallpox, professedly on account of the resemblance between *sĕksŭ* and smallpox (Ḥiáina); or there will be fighting with the firing of guns (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), probably because *sĕksŭ* makes one think of powder. If you dream that you eat, or that somebody gives to you, durra or bread made of it, you will have a lot of boils (*ibid.*). If you dream of bread you are going to travel (Ḥiáina), presumably because when you are travelling you have nothing else to eat. If you dream that you have bread in your hand and birds come and eat of it, there will be hunger in your house (*ibid.*). To dream of a vegetable garden is an exceptionally good omen (*ibid.*). To dream of eating fish means prosperity (Tangier).

If you dream that you have a large number of ants in your house, it likewise indicates that you will have *rezq* (Tangier). If you dream that lice are creeping up your leg (Ḥiáina) or that your clothes are full of lice (Aiṯ Nḏēr), you will have many animals and wealth. So also if you dream that your clothes are full of excrements or that you dirty them, it means wealth (Ḥiáina). There is a saying, also referring to dreams, *L-ḫărá ḫaṛ u l-būl ṭêra*, "Dung means good and urine is a bad foreboding"; the former has once been food and will, as manure, become food again, whereas the latter only makes the ground sterile (Tangier). I have also heard that to dream of doing one's needs indicates the removal of sin (Andjra).

If you dream that you are tending cattle the Government will appoint you to a high post, the cattle representing the people who will be subject to your rule (Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Nḏēr). If you dream of catching hold of a fowl or a partridge you will be prosperous, the multitude of its feathers indicating *rezq* (Aiṯ Nḏēr). If you dream that a dead person gives you something it is likewise a good augury, whereas if you dream that such a person takes something from you one of your children or your wife will die (Fez). If you dream that you receive silver money you will have much barley, which has the colour of silver, and if you dream that you receive copper coins you will have much wheat, which has the colour of copper (Aiṯ Nḏēr); but according to other interpretations copper coins in a dream mean poverty (Ḥiáina, Andjra), and silver means wealth (Aiṯ Wäryâġer) or is good *fäl* generally (Ḥiáina).

If you dream that you are bitten by a snake, somebody will cause enmity between you and a person who has previously been your friend (Aiṯ Nḏēr). The same thing will happen if you dream of being bitten by a dog (*ibid.*), or somebody will do you harm (Ḥiáina, Tangier). A lion seen in a dream means a saint (Tangier; a name for a saint is *sbaʿ*, "lion"); but I have also heard that it is an evil omen, foreboding famine in Morocco (Ḥiáina). If you dream of being gored by an ox or a cow, the authorities will come down upon you (*ibid.*). If you see a camel in your dream some

member of your family will die, the camel representing a bier (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Iglíwa). But if you dream of riding a camel it means wealth (Ḥiáina), or it is good *fäl* because it is to ride the *zmān*, or "time". If a camel attacks you but you chase it away, you will become prosperous and lucky because "you have conquered time"; whereas if it bites you, you will become poor and miserable because "time has conquered you" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Aiṭ Nḍēr). To dream of riding a mule also means wealth (Fez, Ḥiáina, Tangier), and so, according to many people, does the dream of riding a horse (Ḥiáina) or a mare, a stallion rather foreshowing a high office (Tangier); but according to others he who dreams of riding a horse will die (Fez). If a person dreams that he is riding (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz) or sees (Andjra) a white horse he or some other member of his family will die, no doubt because its colour is that of a shroud; and if he dreams of riding a black horse he will be put in prison (Dukkâla), the black colour being bad *fäl* in dreams as otherwise (Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Dukkâla [black grapes or figs]). If you dream of slaughtering an animal close to your tent, there will be a funeral (Andjra, Aiṭ Nḍēr); and if you dream that somebody brings meat into your house, there will be death among the people or the animals (Ḥiáina). If you dream of eating meat you will speak badly about somebody on the next day, "eating" him as it were (Andjra); but I have also heard that although it is a bad foreboding to dream of eating raw meat, it is good *fäl* to dream of eating meat which has been cooked (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

If you dream that you are flying, you will make a journey which you are longing for (Ḥiáina), or you will travel and your journey will be successful (Tangier). If you dream that you are on board a steamer together with many other persons dressed in white and that the steamer goes ashore, you will make a pilgrimage to Mecca (Andjra); and the same will be the case if you dream of a hill, because the hill represents Mount 'Arafa (Ḥiáina). To dream of travelling on the sea generally forebodes trouble given by the authorities, because the sea is a sultan (Tangier); but if you dream that you are crossing a river, you will likewise have some-

thing to do with the Government (Ḥiáina, Iglíwa). It is also said that if you dream of the sea or a river, you or some member of your family will be put in prison (Andjra). If you dream of falling into a river which you are crossing, you will become poor or, if you are a poor man, you will become poorer still (Dukkâla). If you dream of being drowned while swimming, some evil will befall you (Tangier). Otherwise it is good *fâl* to dream of water, because "there is safety in water" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Wäryâġer),[1] or he who does so will have no fear (Tangier). If a person dreams of drinking water, he will meet a woman with whom he will have intercourse followed by an ablution (Ḥiáina). To dream of fire is bad (*ibid.*, Aiṭ Wäryâġer); the authorities will give trouble (Shāwîa, Andjra). If you dream that the fire burns you (Dukkâla, Iglíwa) or catches your clothes or tent (Aiṭ Nḏēr), or even that you see fire lit in your tent (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz), you or your family will be caught or squeezed by the governor, or the Government "will devour you like a fire". But I have also heard that to dream of fire means health if the fire is called *'áfia*, but is an evil foreboding if it is called *nār* (Tangier).[2]

It also means health to dream of a new garment (Aiṭ Nḏēr), because when a person is seen wearing it his friends wish him good health. But if a sick person dreams that he dresses in new clothes he will die, the new dress representing his grave clothes (Tangier). If you dream that you have lost your slipper, you will lose your wife; but if you find somebody else's slipper on the road and take it, you will take a wife or have connection with a woman (Aiṭ Nḏēr). If you dream that somebody removes the turban or cap from your head, he removes other people's respect for you (Tangier). If you dream that you are walking naked in the street, you will be guilty of a sinful action (*ibid.*).

Some people say that he who dreams of a Christian will have to suffer from hunger (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); but according to others the dream of a Christian is a good omen because he represents *n-nṣar mḕn ălláh*, "a help from God", a belief which is due to the phonetic resemblance between

[1] See *supra*, i. 89.

[2] See *supra*, ii. 28.

nṣâra, "Christians", and *nṣar*, "help". It is also said that if you dream of Christians who are persecuting you and anxious to kill you, those Christians are saints and you will prosper (Andjra).

In many cases the interpretations of dreams do not follow the rule of homœopathic magic but are based on an association of ideas by contrast; in other words, the dream is supposed to foretell or cause an event which is more or less contrary to that which is dreamed of. That dreams so often go by contraries, in Morocco and elsewhere,[1] is no doubt connected with the fact that night is the opposite of day.[2]

Thus if you dream that you or somebody else dies or is dead, you or that person will have a long life (Shāwîa, Dukkâla, Ḥiáina, Tangier, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Iglíwa). To dream of sorrow or weeping means happiness, and to dream of happiness or laughter means sorrow (Shāwîa, Tangier, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Iglíwa). To dream of a funeral is good *fäl* (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer), but to dream of a wedding is bad *fäl* (Ḥiáina); somebody in the tent or house where the wedding is celebrated will die (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Dukkâla, Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän, Aiṯ Nḏēr), or if you dream of your own wedding you will quarrel with your wife and send her away (Tangier, Andjra). If you dream of women, well dressed and painted, who are playing and dancing in a tent, some of its inhabitants will die; and if you dream of somebody playing the tambourine in a tent there will be hunger in it (Aiṯ Nḏēr). On the other hand I have also heard that he who is happy or sorry in the dream will likewise be happy or sorry when awake, because in such a case his angels felt joy or sorrow during his sleep (Ḥiáina); that if a person dreams of seeing a funeral, some member of his family will die or is already dead (Iglíwa); and that if he dreams of his wedding he will become rich (*ibid.*).

[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 122 *sq.*; Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (New York, 1883), p. 472 (Japan).

[2] Al-Qas.allāni, quoted by Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 406.

If you dream that you receive money you will not receive it (Dukkâla). If you dream that you are poor you will become rich (Tangier), and if you dream that you are rich you will become poor (*ibid.*, Andjra). If a person dreams that he has connection with a certain woman, he will never have it (Dukkâla, Tangier). To see a Jew in dream is according to some people a bad omen (Tangier), but according to others a good one because the Jew represents a saint (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Wäryâġer); and if you dream that he gives you something, a saint will give it to you (Aiṭ Nḍēr). If you dream of eating sweetmeats, honey, or raisins you will quarrel with somebody (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), which is the opposite of "sweetness". To dream of honey is frequently considered bad *fäl* (Ḥiáina, Tangier).

There are other dreams the interpretation of which is not equally easy to explain. If you dream of eating red raisins there will be east wind (Ḥiáina). If you dream of salt butter you will have some bad news or be put in prison or experience some other misfortune (Aiṭ Nḍēr, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ḥiáina). If you dream of partaking of oil you will get a fright (Aiṭ Nḍēr). To dream of cats is bad *fäl*, and so it is to dream of fowls (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); the latter indicates that a member of your family will die (Tangier).

It is reasonable to suppose that the interpretation of a dream is sometimes based on experience, a sequence of facts being taken for a causal connection or a foreshadowing. Yet there can be no doubt that in the vast majority of cases the dicta of oneiromancy are *a priori* in nature, being applications of the laws of association either by similarity or contrast.

The belief in a certain interpretation of a dream needs not be shaken by facts which are contrary to it. There are false dreams as well as true dreams. Šíṭan constantly deceives people with false dreams. If a person does not observe his religion, and particularly if he omits saying his evening prayer (Fez), his dreams are sent by the devil and therefore not to be trusted; whereas the dreams of the religious man who never neglects his prayers are true (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aglu). In the

first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Šíṭan then turns them topsy-turvy as the plough turns the earth.[1] The most trustworthy dreams are those which occur at daybreak (Tangier). Dreams which a person has at the beginning of the night will only be fulfilled after some time, whereas dreams in the morning will be fulfilled very soon (Ḥiáina).

Some of the beliefs mentioned above are in agreement with the Muhammadan traditions. Like the pre-islamic Arabs, the Prophet was a believer in dreams. He said that the good dream of a virtuous or pious man is the forty-sixth part of the prophecy.[2] "A good dream is from God's favour, and a false dream is from the devil; therefore when any one of you dreams of what he likes, he must not tell it to any one but a friend; and when you see any thing you dislike, you must seek protection with God from its evil and from the wickedness of the devil, and spit three times over your left shoulder, and not tell the dream to any one; then, verily, it never will do you any harm".[3] He also said, "The truest dream is the one which you have about daybreak".[4] Von Kremer maintains that among the Arabs the symbolic interpretation of dreams was the original one, and that the interpretation *a contrario* was a later innovation, probably due to the influence of Artemidorus' treatise on dreams, which was known to them through Arabic translations, and partly also perhaps to Persian dream-books.[5]

The popular views and interpretations of dreams in Morocco have been greatly influenced by Muhammadan writers. Š-šēḫ Ibnu Säir is regarded there as the chief authority on the subject, and his dream-book is spread all over the country. Yet the interpretations mentioned above, whatever their origin, may be taken to represent beliefs

[1] *Supra*, i. 408.

[2] Al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xci. 2, xci. 4. 2 *sq.*, xci. 10. 2 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. iv. [Paris, 1914], pp. 452, 454).

[3] *Mishkāt*, xxi. 4. 1 (English translation, vol. ii. p. 388). *Cf.* al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xci. 3. 2, xci. 14 (French translation, vol. iv. 452, 457).

[4] *Mishkāt*, xxi. 4. 3 (English translation, vol. ii. 392).

[5] von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, iii.-iv. (Wien, 1890), p. 73.

commonly held by people who have no special knowledge of oneiromancy. But there are also individual interpretations of dreams in particular cases, many of which are given by women. My friend, Sîdi 'Abdsslam, dreamed some months ago that he was on board a steamer on his way to Mecca, and that he felt embarrassed because he had only brought with him Moorish money. He consulted a scribe on the meaning of his dream, and was told that he would have an honour conferred on him; and shortly afterwards he received an order from Finland in recognition of the valuable services he had rendered me. Another friend of mine told me of a dream he had in the East, while on a pilgrimage: his dead mother appeared to him with a sorrowful expression on her face. Two years later he had a fight with a soldier in Tangier and was imprisoned for a few hours. He thought that his dream had been a forebodement of this event, and found his interpretation of it confirmed by a scribe who was well versed in oneiromancy.

Prophetic dreams are also specially sought for. A man says at night two *rek'āt*, or forms of prayer, recites the *sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*, and repeats one hundred times the phrase *Astaġfir ălláh*, "I implore the pardon of God", then adding the words, *Inna lláha ġafôr ráḥīm*, "Verily God is forgiving and merciful". After this he goes to bed and asks God to show him in a dream what will happen if he does what he intends to do—for example, goes on a journey, makes a pilgrimage to Mecca, buys a certain thing, or contracts a marriage. This practice is called the *stiḫâra* or, in the literary language, *istiḫâra*. The same name is given to the practice of sleeping at the shrine of a saint or in a sacred cave to receive during sleep answers to a pressing question. This rite is particularly prevalent among the Shlöḥ.[1] A man from Aglu told me that once when he had been robbed of five guns he went to the shrine of a certain female saint [2] and

[1] See also Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 411 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu* (Paris, 1914), 275 *sq.*; H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc* (Alger, 1920), p. 61 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the statement made by Procopius (*De bello Vandalico*, ii. 8) that among the Mauri it was the women and not the men who prophesied.

slept there for three nights. On the third night the saint appeared to him in a dream and told him where he could find his guns. He went to the place indicated, without speaking a word to anybody, and there he recovered his stolen property. In the district of the Ůnzůṭṭ (Nzů̊da) in the Great Atlas there is, on the top of a mountain, the shrine of a very ancient female saint named Lälla Tamjlůjt, who is reputed to give prophetic dreams to persons spending a night at the shrine for the purpose of obtaining information from her.

The practice of sleeping at a sanctuary in order to receive oracular dreams from the deity prevailed not only in classical antiquity, but also among the ancient Arabs ; [1] and incubation at the graves of ancestors existed in North Africa in the days of Herodotus. He writes of the Nasamonians, " For divination they betake themselves to the sepulchres of their own ancestors, and, after praying, lie down to sleep upon their graves ; by the dreams which then come to them they guide their conduct ".[2]

[1] von Kremer, *op. cit.* iii.-iv. 70.

[2] Herodotus, iv. 172. Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* [*situ orbis*], i. 8) relates the same about the Augilae.

CHAPTER XIII

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH THE MUHAMMADAN CALENDAR

The Month of the 'Âšūr

Muḥarram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in Morocco called *š-šhar dĕ l-'âšūr* (*l-'âšōr*, *l-'âšūr*), "the month of the 'Âšūr", or simply *l-'âšūr* (*l-'âšōr*, *l-'âšūr*) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called *nhār* (or *yåum*) *'āšûra* (*'āšôra*, *'āšúra*) or *nhār l-'âšūr*, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day *rās l-'ām*,[1] whereas among countryfolks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

The month of the 'Âšūr is rich in magical qualities. According to Sīdī Ḫalīl the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past.[2] In Morocco *baraka* is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the *'āšûra*

[1] In Tunis this term is applied to the first ten days of the year (Monchicourt, 'La fête de l'Achoura', in *Revue tunisienne*, xvii. [Tunis, 1910], p. 299).

[2] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *Muḫtaṣar*, i. 4. 1. 3 (Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane . . . selon le rite malékite par Khalîl ibn-Ish'âk'*, vol. i. [Paris, 1848], p. 464 *sq.*).

day and on the preceding night (*līlt*^{s} *'āšûra*),[1] which is said to favour the witches. In the Ḥiáina, if a member of the family is absent from home, one of the women who wants him to come back takes on this night the spoon which she has used for her supper, goes outside the house, and moves the spoon seven times in the direction of the place where her absent friend is staying, muttering, *Ā flān* (or *flâna*) *âji bẹ bárkat*^{s} *llah u l-'âšūr*, "O So-and-so, come here by the *baraka* of God and the 'Âšūr". Then the absent person will soon return. Among the Ait Waráin the blacksmiths make on the same night rings of iron to be worn on the little finger or the ring-finger of the right hand as a protection against witchcraft; but it is necessary that the maker shall be absolutely naked while doing his work. At Fez rings of steel, which are worn as a remedy for piles (*bwâser*), are made on the *'āšûra* day before sunrise.[2] The Aiṭ Mjilḍ on this day cut a tuft of wool from every sheep in the flock, mix the tufts together, and use the mixture when they are weaving materials for their clothes, which are then supposed to protect them from illness. Much curative power is ascribed to chameleons which have been caught on the *'āšûra* day, or which have been born and caught in the month of the 'Âšūr.[3] Among the Ait Temsâmän women catch on that day a certain grasshopper, called *qăzqûza*, crush it between their hands, and smear their eyes with it, to prevent them from getting diseased. The Bni 'Ăroṣ cut on the same day branches of the oleander, which they hang in their houses to use the leaves as a remedy for fever by burning them and making the patient inhale the smoke.[4] Various kinds of herbs, such as pennyroyal, thyme, harmel, rosemary, and *Atractylus gummifera*, are then gathered by the country-folks, and also offered for sale in the towns, to be used for

[1] See also Castells, *Note sur la fête de Achoura à Rabat* (reprinted from *Les archives berbères*, vol. i. [Paris, 1916]), p. 5 *sq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.* p. 6 (Rabat).

[3] *Infra*, p. 346.

[4] For a similar custom in Algeria see Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Arab and Shawia Remedies and Notes on the trepanning of the Skull in Algeria', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xliii. (London, 1913), p. 707.

fumigation; and mixed incense is bought on the same occasion. The so-called *t'abḥêra de l-'âšūr* (in the Berber of the Aiṭ Sádděn *ttbaḥer n 'ašûra*), consisting of a mixture of such herbs and incense, is regarded as an excellent remedy for illness and troubles caused by *jnūn*, witchcraft, or the evil eye. Among the Ait Waráin forty different kinds of herbs or incense are gathered or bought at the market on the *'āšûra* morning, to be used in the course of the year when required. On the afternoon of the same day, and only then, these Berbers play a game with their slippers, called *aráuš* (in the Faḥs called *šḥóbläk*, though played somewhat differently), which is held to be good *fäl*. Great efficacy is attributed to charms written on the first ten days of the month (Tangier, Ḥiáina), and particularly to those written on the *'āšûra* day or the preceding night (Tangier).

It is believed that magic practised at this time will produce an effect which lasts for the whole year. So also people believe that whatever they do on the *'āšûra* morning or on the night before they will do during the ensuing year. At Fez, Tangier, and elsewhere everybody who can afford it puts on a new garment or a pair of new slippers on that morning, so as to have something new to put on another time. He who prays or goes to the hot bath or quarrels on this occasion will also do the same till next *'āšûra*. At Fez married people are for a similar reason anxious to have intercourse on the *'āšûra* eve, and at Aglu it is likewise believed that a man who has connubial connection on that night will thereby strengthen his sexual capacity for the whole year; but, as we shall see presently, there are also other opinions on the subject. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the women put some wheat in their handmills so as to have corn to grind till the year comes to an end.[1]

There is much rejoicing at *'āšûra* time. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the women go to some place outside the village, where they sing and play and dance. At Aglu the people refrain from sleep for three nights, giving themselves up to play and merriment. At Fez the scribes and bigger

[1] For a similar custom in Algeria see Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla* (Paris, 1908), p. 213.

schoolboys assemble in the schools on the *'āšûra* eve and amuse themselves till daybreak with singing and playing, tea-drinking and eating. Children, in particular, should be made happy on the *'āšûra* day, and toys are then given them by relatives and friends. At Fez the shops in which toys, tambourines and other instruments played by women, and pottery are sold are kept open throughout the preceding night, and large quantities of pottery are also offered for sale in the streets. This night and the two following days are really the only time of the year for the sale of women's instruments and most of the children's toys; and it is believed that if these articles are then sold out in the whole town, the commerce during the year will be good. The other shops of Fez are opened on the *'āšûra* day at daybreak so that there shall be many customers on that morning and, consequently, also many customers in the ensuing year. So, too, people are then anxious to make many purchases, as it is believed that those who do so will also afterwards have much money to spend. The seventh day after the *'āšûra* day is the time for the sale of tin toys. The tinsmiths (*qăzadrîya*) then take the toys specially made for this occasion to Sîdi 'Ăli Bŭġâleb's *ḥorm*, which is soon filled with a crowd of women and children. The vendors of sweetmeats (*ḥalwîya*) also gather there; and if all the tin-ware and sweetmeats offered for sale are sold out before the day has passed, it is again considered a good augury for the commerce of the city.

Good food has a place in the rejoicings of *'āšûra*, in accordance with the traditional saying of the Prophet, "Whoso giveth plenty to his household on the *'āšūrā* day, God will bestow plenty upon him throughout the remainder of the year".[1] Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr a cow or bullock or some sheep or goats are slaughtered, and the meat is divided between all the families of the village; the people feast on it on the *'āšûra* eve and also have a good meal on the following morning, after which many of them go to Mequinez to enjoy themselves. The Ait Temsâmän consider it very obligatory

[1] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 435.

to kill a sheep or goat or at least a fowl for their supper on the *ᵈᵈjīrṯ n ṯ'âšoᵭᵗ*, or *'āšûra* eve. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz all the men of the village sup together in the mosque on fowls or meat bought at the market and other food, while the boys have a similar meal outside and the women in some private tent; and on the following morning the men eat *sél'a*—that is dried dates, walnuts, almonds, and figs—and bread in the mosque, after which they make *fâṭḥa*, while the women eat *sél'a* in their tents. At Tangier it is the custom to eat, and particularly to give to the children of the family, dried fruit on the *'āšûra* eve, and to eat fowls with *tᶜrīd*—thin cakes made of wheaten flour, water, oil, and salt butter—or *sĕksû* on the following day. Among the Aiṯ Mjilḏ the father of a family goes on the *'āšûra* morning to the market to buy dried fruits. There he ties up in his clothes a little salt on one side and a little barley on the other side, and when he comes home the knots should be untied, not by himself, but by his wife; this is supposed to prolong his life, presumably because the salt and barley are looked upon as charms against evil influences. The dried fruits are eaten by himself and his family, but before they begin to eat, some of them are thrown about in the tent. Dried fruits, as has been noticed above, are possessed of *baraka*.

It is a very widespread custom in Morocco to leave something of the animal sacrificed at the Great Feast to be eaten at *'āšûra*. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, before having their supper on the *'āšûra* eve, eat the last remains of the *gĕddîd mĕn l-'īd*, that is, the meat from the feast which has been salted and cured in the sun in strips; it is now roasted and eaten plain. Those who have no such meat, as they should have, throw into the fire a little dried blood of the sacrificed animal, there being *bârōk mĕn l-'īd*, *baraka* of the feast, both in the meat and the blood. The Shlöḥ of Aglu partake on that evening of a dish consisting of *sĕksû* together with sun-dried pieces of the flesh, lungs, kidneys, stomach, guts, and tail of the sacrificed animal, whereas no bread must be eaten; the dish in question is eaten in the mosque of the place, before the big bonfires are lighted in the various quarters of the village. At Demnat

I was told that on the same evening the last remains of the animal are eaten, and that these should consist of pieces from seven different parts of its body—the liver, lungs, flesh, fat, tail, testicles, and guts. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer cut little pieces from the flesh, fat, liver, and other parts of the animal's body, and make sausages, called *ḏi'aṣbānin*, of them, using its guts for skins; and these sausages are eaten, together with *sĕksŭ*, on the *'āšûra* day only, neither before nor after. The Amanūz eat on the same day the animal's right shoulder, after which the shoulder-blade, with the *surātu 'l-iḫlāṣ* written on it, is suspended in the room in which they keep their grain. The Aiṯ Yúsi cut the animal's stomach into little pieces, which are tied around with bits of its guts, salted, and dried in the sun; and all this has to be eaten on the *'āšûra* eve, together with *sĕksŭ*. So also the Iglíwa preserve a part of the stomach to be eaten on this evening. The Aiṯ Sádděn, again, keep the thick part of the tail (*ṯabărḏōt*, *abărḏōḏ* meaning the tail as a whole) till the same occasion, when they eat it with *sĕksŭ*; and should a family have failed to preserve it, some neighbour would send them a portion of such meat in a dish of *sĕksŭ*. At Fez the thick part of the tail, called *máġras*, and at Tangier the tail in its entirety, is likewise eaten with *sĕksŭ* on that night. In Andjra the dried tail is on the *'āšûra* day given to the schoolboys, together with eggs and other food, to be eaten in the mosque; it is believed that if the tail is thus presented to them the house will be blessed with a multitude of victuals, whereas in the contrary case the schoolboys will curse it by singing, *Z-ziyâṭ'a m'állqa u mūlâṭ'a mṭállqa*, "The bottle is hanging [empty] and the mistress [of it] is divorced". The custom of eating the tail of the sacrificed sheep on the *'āšûra* eve occurs among the Ait Waráin and among various Arabic-speaking tribes of the plains.[1] The professed object of leaving a portion of the sacrificed animal till the following *'āšûra* is to transmit the *baraka* of the Great Feast to the new year. For this reason, I was told, the Arabs of the Ḥiáina preserve some of the dried meat to be

[1] Some of them are mentioned *infra*, p. 66. *Cf.* Castells, *op. cit.* p. 3 *sq.*

eaten on the *'āšûra* eve only in case the animal is a ram without defects and with its horns turned upwards, since there is little *baraka* in any other sacrifice.

In some parts of Morocco [1] and Tunis [2] eggs are eaten, as it seems ceremonially, on the *'āšûra* eve. They also figure in other ways in the 'Âšūr rites. Among the Imintagen in Sūs people break eggs over charcoal on the *'āšûra* day and paint their faces with them. At Fez it was some twenty years ago the custom for the schoolboys to walk about in the town in small groups, consisting of some six or seven boys each, every day during the week preceding the *'āšûra* day. They went from house to house and from shop to shop, carrying with them a writing-board with an ornament painted on it in different colours. They sang, *A lálla Bûḍa Bûḍa bəiyíḍ li lôḥtˢi, lôḥtˢi 'and ṭ-ṭáleb u ṭ-ṭáleb fĕ j-jénna u j-jénna mählûla, ḥállha mulâna, mulâna ù ṣḥábù fĕ j-jénna yenṣâbù, ṭál'atˢ Mäimūna fōq z-zeitˢūna 'áiṭatˢ yā rábbi 'ámmar li ḥójri bĕ tˢmár bûzkri, ā Fâṭma bentˢ ń-nbi ā Fâṭma bentˢ ár-rsul*, " O lady Egg Egg, make white for me my writing-board, my writing-board is with the scribe and the scribe is in Paradise and Paradise is open, our Lord opened it, our Lord and his friends will meet in Paradise, Mäimūna went up in the olive tree [and] cried out, O God fill my bosom with dates from Tafilelt, O Fâṭma daughter of the Prophet, O Fâṭma daughter of the Apostle ". This was an appeal for money. If the boys did not get it at once, they said, *A mwâlīn d-dār bäiyḍúnna hād l-lôḥa, llah ibäiyaḍ 'ăḍámkum fĕ j-jénna*, " O masters of the house, make white for us this writing-board, God will make white your bones in Paradise ". The money given to the boys was subsequently handed over to the schoolmaster. This custom was given up because parents did not like their young sons to go about in the town begging money. It interests us in the present connection on account of the name given to the ornament painted on the writing-board. There can be no doubt that it was called " lady Egg " because an

[1] Laoust, ' Noms et cérémonies des feux de joïe chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas ', in *Hespéris*, i. (Paris, 1921), p. 57.

[2] Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 285.

egg had formerly been used in the painting of it. When the boys wanted to have the ornament made on the board they went to the schoolmaster and gave him a *bṛ́lyūn* and an egg; and in Andjra, where a similar custom is still in vogue, the painting is partly done with an egg and partly with Moorish ink. At Tangier an egg is used for the same purpose in Ramaḍān;[1] and among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the boys, when they are making their tour on the day preceding the Great Feast, sing, "O mistress of the tent, give me an egg, an egg that I may paint my writing-board".[2] In Andjra, where the schoolboys walk about from house to house in their own village and in neighbouring villages as well, begging for an egg and strips of dried meat, the people kiss the star or sun or moon painted on the writing-board which they carry with them. When they come to a strange village the boys of it ask them to show them the board; they refuse, and a fight ensues in which the boys of the village try to rob them of the fruits of their tour. It seems that the ritual use made of eggs at this period has originated in the belief that they are good *fäl* for the new year. So, too, they are held to be very lucky at a wedding, which, like the beginning of the year, inaugurates a new period,[3] and on other occasions they are used as means of promoting reproduction.[4] The Aiṭ Mjilḍ tie a white fowl on the roof of the tent on the *'āšûra* eve and burn it alive inside the tent on the following evening, with the professed object of making the year white and lucky.

Of great interest are the fire and water rites practised at *'āšûra*, to which purificatory and other beneficial effects are ascribed. At Fez, on the *'āšûra* eve—called *līlt^{s} š-ša'ála*, "the bonfire night", as well as *līlt^{s} 'āšûra*—the children of each quarter kindle a small bonfire, named *bắit^{s}a*, and leap over it. The women, again, go up on the roofs of their houses and make there a fire of straw or paper or any rubbish at hand in order to burn the *šayâṭīn*, or evil spirits; and while the fire is burning they play and sing, *Bắit^{s}a bắit^{s}a lli*

[1] *Infra*, p. 96.
[2] *Infra*, p. 110.
[3] *Supra*, ii. 19 *sq.* See also Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), 'General Index', *s.v.* Eggs; Laoust, *loc. cit.* p. 53 *sqq.*
[4] *Supra*, i. 581, 585.

mä ḥmâha yéqṭa' yéddû, "Bonfire bonfire, he who does not make it hot will cut his hand". This performance lasts for about half an hour. On the same night, as said above, the scribes and bigger schoolboys assemble in the schools (*msâid*, sing. *msīd*), which are illuminated with lamps (*mṣâbäḥ*, sing. *mṣûbḥîya*) hanging from the ceiling and candles standing in candlesticks on the floor. There they sit together, singing and playing and feasting until daybreak, when the smaller schoolboys appear, each with a large wax-candle, which he gives to the schoolmaster together with some money. The boys then have a lesson for an hour, after which they get a holiday for three days. The illumination may originally have been a means of frightening away the evil spirits by light, as the fires of the women are intended to destroy them by flame; on many other occasions the burning of candles serves such a purpose.[1] In Andjra candles are lighted at the graves of dead relatives on the *'āšûra* day after sunset.

Among the Mnâṣăra a fire is kindled on the *'āšûra* eve in the sheep-pen, and the tail of the sheep which was sacrificed at the Great Feast in the preceding month is roasted on the fire. The person who roasts it says, *'Āj 'āj ma tˢûled ġnémna ġēr n-n'āj*, "*'Āj 'āj*, may our sheep only give birth to ewes". When it is roasted other persons present try to take it away from him; he who secures the tail eats it, and this is considered to bring him good luck. Among the Beni Ăḥsen the shepherd kindles a fire near the sheep on the same evening, roasts on it the tail of the animal sacrificed at the Great Feast, mounts the ram which is the propagator of the flock, and says three times, *'Āj 'āj ălláh ya'ṭêna n-n'āj*, "*'Āj 'āj*, may God give us ewes"; each time he eats a bit of the tail, and then gives it to the other people who are present to eat of. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz in Dukkâla a small fire, called *šă'ála*, is on the same evening (*līlt š-šă'ála*) made of straw outside every tent in the yard (*mraḥ*) where the animals are kept in the night, and the people step over the fire three times in the same direction, saying, *'Āj 'āj tˢámmar mráḥna n-n'āj*, "*'Āj 'āj*, may ewes fill our

[1] *Supra*, i. 302.

yard". This is done even by people who own no sheep, as they, by doing so, hope to get some. Among the Ulâd Frạj, in the same province, it is the custom for the young people on the day before *'āšûṛa* to fetch from the wood branches, which are burned after sunset. The people leap over the fire, asking God to give them "health and quietness and prosperity and money". There is *baraka* in the ashes of this fire, which are preserved and used as a remedy for diseased eyes. Among other Arabs of the plains I have also heard of the custom of kindling bonfires on the same evening;[1] the people leap over the fire, and in one instance I was told that if anybody has an illness in his body it will be left in the fire and he will have a long life. On the other hand, I have found no such custom among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina, the Jbâla of the Tsūl, the Bni 'Ăroṣ, and Andjra, the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and Ait Temsâmän, and the Brâber of the Aiṭ Sádděn and the Aiṭ Yúsi. But among the Ait Waráin a bonfire (*tašă'alt*) is kindled on the roof of the house or in the yard, and the children leap over it; and they also illuminate their houses and especially the mosque of the village.

Among the Shlöḥ the custom of kindling bonfires on the *'āšûra* eve is extremely common. At Demnat[2] I was present in disguise when a big fire was made outside the governor's house, and people were leaping over it to and fro. When I asked for an explanation of it, the answer was that the people thereby insure their lives till next *'āšûra*; and I was also told that girls who are anxious to marry boil water over the fires kindled on this night and wash themselves with the water. Among the Iglíwa a bonfire (*tašă'alt*) is kindled outside the house of every family, and the young people leap over it, asking God to keep them alive till the time for next year's bonfire so that they may leap over that also; and a smaller fire is kindled at the place where they keep their animals, which are then made to walk over the ashes. At

[1] See also *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, ii. (Paris, 1915), p. 302 (Settat). *Cf.* Castells, *op. cit.* p. 3 *sq.* (Rabat).

[2] See also Saïd Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain* (Paris, 1908), p. 159 *sqq.*

Aglu a large bonfire, called *l'áfit um'âšur*, is made of branches in each quarter (*dděrb*) of the village, and it is considered lucky to rob other people of their wood for this fire. It is lighted at three different points by a girl belonging to a family that is reputed for giving good luck to the community, and when she is lighting it she says, *Bismílla irráḥmān irráḥīm, yā rábbi ádaġtigt d inbárkin f lḥalăiqad, aig rábbi ásŭggas d únbarki, assár gisn ur ílli mă iqădn ággas*, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, O God, may you make us (instead of "me") bring blessings upon these people, may God make the year bring a blessing, may there never be anything that causes them burns". When the fire has burned down the unmarried men leap over the glowing embers, saying, *Nssússn gigm a ta'âšurt iggŭrdan úla tílkin úla tímŭḍan lqălb úla ti íḥṣan, nzgrăm daġ imăl yîmăl imăl yîmăl imăl yîmăl sĕ lhĕna dĕ ṣṣáḥt*, "We shook on you, O Ta'âšurt, the fleas and lice and the illnesses of the heart, as also those of the bones; we shall pass through you again next year and the following years with quietness and health". They jump over the fire barefooted, as it is believed that anybody who did it with his slippers on would fall into the fire. The unmarried men and boys and girls carry the charred branches to Sîdi Búsměn's *ḥauš*, where they sing and dance. When they take them there they say, *Nsărḍ iuğŭrḍa úla tílkin úla tímŭḍan úla lauḥašad aġḍărránin*, "We complain of the rats and lice and illnesses and these beasts which have hurt us". But before those fires are kindled a smaller fire is made of euphorbia (*tikiut*) branches outside every house, all the inhabitants of which step over it three times barefooted, saying, *Nssússn gigm a ta'âšurt iggŭrdan úla tílkin úla lauḥašad aġḍărránin*, "We shook on you, O Ta'âšurt, the fleas and lice and these beasts which have hurt us". On the following morning the animals are taken over the ashes by their master, who says, *Nssússn gim a ta'âšurt ġailli irá daġ íḍărrŭ nkk'ni úla lbháimnăġ, adaġtásim ḍḍárûra nasîaun nnáfi'a*, "We shook on you, O Ta'âšurt, that which again wanted to hurt us and also our animals, may you again take away that which is harmful, we shall take from you that which is useful". The ashes are

left there for three days, and are then removed. I have heard of similar fires, over which the people leap, in other parts of the South. At Tinduf some of the burning branches are thrown into a well or river. Among the Imintagen the people scorch each other with fire taken from the burning heap, which is said to prevent sickness. Elsewhere in Sūs small portions of the ashes, enveloped in pieces of calico, are worn as charms by men and animals. The Amanūz make a big bonfire, called *tafraggut*, early on the evening of the *'āšûra* day, and fumigate their houses and animals with branches taken from it. Other instances of bonfires at *'āšûra* among the Shlöḥ have been recorded by M. Laoust; and in these cases also the chief object of the rite is to purify men and animals or to protect them from evil influences, there being *baraka* in those fires.[1]

Similar effects are attributed to the water rites which, even more frequently, are practised on the following morning. It is a very general belief that there is *baraka* in all water on this morning; in many places it is called *mā Zémzem*, "water of Zemzem", or *aṃaṇ n nbīr Zĕmzĕm*, "water of the well Zemzem" (Aiṭ Sádděn), or it is said to come from that well at Mecca. The Ait Waráin fill their jars with the water they require for drinking and cooking during the day. In Dukkâla the people before sunrise wash themselves all over with water which has been brought from a well either on that morning or on the previous night, or the men have a bath at the well itself; they call this to "Zemzemise their bones" (*nzémzmů a'ḍâmna*), and believe that it will keep them in health till the *'áišōr* (*'âšūr*) day next year. A portion of the water which has been brought home is preserved till then; and some of it is taken as medicine in cases of illness, or poured on the threshing-floor, or put into the vessel where money is laid when it is to be buried in the ground, to serve as a charm against the *jnūn*. To take a bath on the morning of the *āšûra* day—at home, or at a well, or in a river or the sea—is a very widespread custom (Beni Ăḥsen,[2] Mnáṣăra, Ait Waráin, Demnat,[3] Tinduf), and in many cases it was

[1] Laoust, *loc. cit.* p. 5 *sqq.* [2] See also Castells, *op. cit.* p. 6 (Rabat).
[3] See also Saïd Boulifa, *op. cit.* p. 162 *sqq.*

expressly said that it must be done before sunrise (Andjra, Jbel Ḥbīb, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Aiṯ Mjilḏ, Aglu); among the Aiṯ Mjilḏ those who bathe in a river have to do it before any animal has crossed the river on that morning, since otherwise there would be no *baraka* in the bath. At Fez and Tangier it is considered particularly good to go to the hot bath at *'āšûra*. Among the Beni Ăḥsṣen the people, in the morning, sprinkle each other and the interior of their tents with water which must have been fetched on the same morning. The

FIG. 130.—*'Āšûra* morning outside Demnat.

Aiṯ Mjilḏ sprinkle their animals, as well as the interior of their tents, with water which was fetched on the night before; but this must be done before sunrise in order to produce good effects. At Aglu mothers throw water in the morning on their little children; the older children throw water on each other in play; and the domestic animals, the walls of the rooms, and the floors and thresholds and beds are sprinkled with water. Among the Amanūz and the Iglíwa even grown-up persons, men and women, throw water on each other and have a fight with water at wells or brooks. Among the Imintagen and various other Shlöḥ, people likewise splash

water on each other,[1] and in Tinduf this practice has the character of a fight. In the present connection should also be noticed the profuse distribution of water in charity and the custom of watering the graves on the *'āšûra* day.[2]

Fire[3] and water[4] customs occur in Tunis, but not, so far as I know, among the eastern Arabs. They are found among the Moslems of India,[5] but this may be explained by the prevalence of similar rites since ancient times among the Hindus.[6] There is no reason, then, to suppose that they were imported into North Africa by Islam, although they are practised at a definite period of the Muhammadan year. On the other hand, there is every reason to assume that they were transferred to this period from a fixed date of the solar year. Fire and water rites are extensively practised in Morocco at Midsummer, and it seems impossible to doubt that such practices were in vogue among the Berbers long before their conversion to Islam.[7] These Midsummer customs serve exactly the same purpose as the fire and water rites at *'āšûra*—that of removing or keeping off evil influences —and for reasons which will be pointed out presently their transference to the Muhammadan New Year is easy to explain.[8] That such a transference has taken place is directly

[1] See also Doutté, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu* (Paris, 1914), p. 93 (Ait Wauzgit); Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 319.

[2] *Infra*, p. 481 *sqq*.

[3] Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 'La fête d'Achoura à Tunis', in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xviii. (Paris, 1903), p. 11 *sq*.; Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 293 *sqq*.

[4] At Zeriba the people bathe, not in the morning, but on the night before, and their spring is then supposed to communicate with the well of Zemzem (Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 286).

[5] Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam* (Madras, 1863), p. 113; Pelly, *The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain*, i. (London, 1879), p. xviii; Sell, *The Faith of Islám* (London, 1896), p. 310.

[6] *Cf.* Sell, *op. cit.* p. 311; Lassy, *The Muharram Mysteries among the Azerbeijan Turks of Caucasia* (Helsingfors, 1916), p. 275.

[7] *Infra*, p. 204.

[8] It is interesting to notice that at the end of the Tartar solar year (commencing at the vernal equinox), which is a season of manifold evil, "large fires and pyres are kindled on the roofs, the courts, and the market-places, and the youths and boys jump over them, shouting, 'illness off! paleness off! misfortune off!', or something similar" (Lassy, *op. cit.*

suggested by the fact that the *'āšûra* and Midsummer customs largely supplement each other. Among tribes which practise no fire or water rites at Midsummer we may be almost sure to find such rites at *'āšûra*, and *vice versâ*; and where they occur on both occasions more importance is attached to them in one case than in the other.

The fights with water are not the only kind of ceremonial fighting which takes place in the month of the 'Âšūr. M. Doutté states that on the *'āšûra* eve the people of Mogador divide into two camps, which engage in simulated battles, and that these sometimes assume a rather serious character.[1] At Mequinez it was formerly the custom for the young men and boys, likewise divided into two parties, to have a fight with slings for about an hour on the twelfth day of the month in the afternoon. The ploughmen of Marráksh have on the *'āšûra* eve a tug of war between men and women, and it is believed that the sex that wins the contest will rule over the other sex during the year. This is quite in agreement with the general New Year's belief that what happens at this time of the year will also happen during the remainder of it. But at the same time tugs of war and ceremonial fights occur on other occasions in circumstances which suggest that a purificatory influence is, or has been, ascribed to them.[2] In the present case the combats and games may also symbolise the combat between the old year and the new.[3]

Among the Amanūz, after supper on the evening of the

p. 227). Formerly there were also at the end of the old year water rites likewise of a distinctly purificatory character, consisting in the sprinkling of houses and persons with water for the purpose of washing away ill-luck (Adam Olearius, *Reise-Beschreibungen* [Hamburg, 1696], p. 231); and nowadays there are baths and tricks with water, obviously implying ceremonial purification, at the beginning of the new solar year (Lassy, *op. cit.* p. 244).

[1] Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 509.

[2] See 'Index', *s.v.* Tugs of War, Fighting.

[3] There are also ceremonial fights and games at the New Year's tide of the solar year, both in Morocco (*infra*, p. 171) and Persia (*The Glory of the Shia World*, trans. and edited from a Persian manuscript by P. M. Sykes [London, 1910], p. 148 *sq.*; see also Lassy, *op. cit.* p. 221 *sq.* [Tartars]).

'āšûra day, all the people of a village walk in procession to a place outside it, carrying with them a small image of a jackal, made of potter's earth. The men are firing their guns and the women are trilling the *zġârīt*. The image is placed on the top of a stone, together with some figs, dates, and bread, and the people ask God to protect their flocks from jackals till next *'āšûra*. But if another party from a neighbouring village happens to meet them, there will be a fight. M. Laoust has shown that a ceremonial expulsion of the jackal at *'āšûra* prevails among many other tribes in Sūs.[1] His description of this rite among the Amanūz differs in some respects from my own.

There are other rites of a prophylactic or purificatory character practised at *'āšûra*. As such may be regarded the almsgiving enjoined by the Muhammadan law, according to which every Moslem of full age shall give in charity about one-fortieth of all such property as has been a year in his possession, provided that he has sufficient for his subsistence and possesses an income equivalent to about £5 per annum ;[2] these alms are called *zakāt*, the original meaning of which is "purification". The amount actually bestowed in charity, however, is arbitrary, and the legal standard is probably seldom approached. Yet I was told that among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the farmers give on the *'āšûra* day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as *zzka ra'šōr*, believing that there otherwise would be no *baraka* in their flocks. The Ait Waráin call the *'āšûra* eve *ass n zzka*, "the day of legal alms", although charity is really more extensively practised on the following day. In Dukkâla alms are distributed on the first ten days of the month, and on the tenth day in particular jars (*ḫwâbi*, sing. *ḫâbya*) are placed on the roadside for the use of travellers. In many parts of the country the women paint their eyes with antimony and their lips and teeth with walnut root on the *'āšûra* day (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Tangier).[3] I have been told that they do so in order that they may be happy throughout the ensuing year ; but it seems that on this, as

[1] Laoust, *loc. cit.* p. 307 *sqq.*

[2] Sell, *op. cit.* p. 283.

[3] See also Saïd Boulifa, *op. cit.* p. 165 (Demnat).

on other occasions, the use of antimony and walnut root also serves as a means of purification or protection against evil influences. In Andjra antimony is particularly applied to the eyes of little children, who are more exposed to supernatural dangers than grown-up persons.[1]

The prevalence of cathartic or prophylactic rites at *'āšûra* may be partly explained by the general belief that what is done at this period will have a lasting effect for the remainder of the year. But there is also another reason for it: *'āšûra*, and the month of the 'Âšūr generally, are fraught with evil influences, which call for precautions. This appears both from the belief that the *jnūn* are particularly active on the first ten days of this month and from the taboos which are observed during it.

There were taboos in this month in the days of old. The name Muḥarram, which is said to have been first applied to it in Islam,[2] means sacred. It is one of those months in which, according to the Koran, Muhammadans are not allowed to fight among themselves.[3] Moreover, we are told by the traditions that the Prophet fasted on the tenth day of this month and ordered his companions to do the same,[4] hoping that such a fast would cover the faults of the coming year.[5] It is, however, only regarded as a voluntary fast. Sīdī Ḫalīl says that it is meritorious to fast on the tenth day of Muḥarram and on the day preceding it, as also during the whole of the month.[6] In Morocco many persons fast on those days, and there are a few who do so even on the first ten days of the month.

Work is commonly suspended on the *'āšûra* day, though the shops are kept open. In some places work is also refrained from on the following (Demnat, Ait Waráin) or

[1] In some parts of Tunis the women paint their eyes with antimony during the first nine days of Muḥarram, and M. Monchicourt (*loc. cit.* p. 299) calls this a rite of purification.

[2] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 95 n. 2.

[3] *Koran*, ix. 36.

[4] *Mishkāt*, vii. 7. 3 (English translation by Matthews, i. [Calcutta, 1809], p. 486).

[5] *Ibid.* vii. 7. 1 (vol. i. 483).

[6] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 4. 1. 3 (Perron, *op. cit.* i. 464 *sq.*).

the two following (Aglu) days, or on the two previous days (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). The Ait Waráin consider it particularly necessary to keep the eleventh day of the month as a rest day ; and I was told that among the Iglíwa this day, which is considered unlucky, is even the only day of the month when work is suspended. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the *'āšûra* day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days. Yet the holiday may be longer ; among the Ait Temsâmän it lasts for seven days, including three days before and three days after the *'āšûra* day, during which the schoolboys walk about collecting money for the *fqī*, so as to induce him to give them a whole week's holiday. At Fez the college students are free for fifteen days, from the fifth to the nineteenth inclusive ; but the actual holiday may be longer, since the work at the colleges is suspended on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, and if the first day after the holiday happens to be either a Saturday or a Tuesday, which are unlucky days, the studies are generally resumed only on the following Sunday. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz refrain from washing wool, weaving, and moving their tents on the first twelve days of the month. If the taboo forbidding work on a certain day or on certain days in the month of the 'Âšŭr is transgressed, it is said that the work will not succeed, or that there is no *baraka* in it, or that some evil will befall the transgressor.

At Fez and Tangier people refrain from sweeping their houses on the *'āšûra* day, lest they should sweep away the *rezq* from the house. It is *ṭêra* for all residents of Fez to buy a broom in the month of the 'Âšŭr ; should anybody do so there would be a death in the house. If a person has appropriated a thing belonging to somebody else, especially if the owner is a woman, the latter says, *Ălláh idḫḫálha 'álik bĕ l-ḫlā u j-jlā u šĕṭṭábĕt 'āšûra*, " May God let it (that is, the appropriated object) bring on you emptiness and expulsion and the broom of *'āšûra* " (that is, death). The same phrase, preceded by the words " If you have taken it ", may be used if somebody is suspected of having taken an article which is

missing ; or the suspected individual may defend himself by saying, " If I have taken it, may God bring on me emptiness, etc.". At Tangier no broom must be bought and brought into the house on the first ten days of the month ; if this rule is not observed the *rezq* will be swept away from the house for the whole year. The Ait Waráin make all brooms they may require during the month of the 'Âšŭr in advance, because no broom can then be taken into the house. Among the Ait Temsâmän no brooms must be made on the *'āšŭra* day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on that day (Tangier, Ait Waráin) ; he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). At Tangier matrimonial intercourse should be suspended on the *'āšŭra* eve, since a girl conceived on that night would be born without the distinctive characteristic of a virgin. In Andjra and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month ; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month. The scribes of the Ait Temsâmän say that a child or an animal conceived in the month of the 'Âšŭr will never have any offspring.[1] Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aṭ Ubáḥṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the 'Âšŭr.[2] It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulâd Bu'ăzîz, Aiṭ Wäryâġer) ; but among the Ait Waráin this rule

[1] At Kef, in Tunis, again, " quand l'épouse accouche en moharrem, le mari est médiocrement content. De même, si un animal domestique met bas " (Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 286). But at Tangier I was told that it is fortunate to be born in this month.

[2] See also Castells, *op. cit.* p. 7.

is only observed by shereefs, and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ the interdiction of celebrating marriages is restricted to the first ten days of the month. At Fez the *ḥaḍḍârāt*^{s}, *ṭabbâlīn*, and *ḡâlîyẹn*, who are not allowed to play on their instruments in a house of mourning, are also forbidden to do so between the tenth and the twenty-fourth days of the month of the 'Âšūr, and at Tangier all music but that of string-instruments is prohibited throughout the month. The women refrain from the use of henna on the *'ăšûra* day (Bni 'Ăroṣ), or on the first three (Tsūl) or ten (Tangier, Amanūz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). The washing of clothes is tabooed on the first three (Tsūl) or ten (Tangier) days, or on the *'āšûra* day (Bni 'Ăroṣ) or the two following days besides (Fez), or after that day till the end of the month (Ḥiáina). The Amanūz refrain from travelling and shaving during the first ten days of the month. Mourning taboos are particularly compulsory on shereefs. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz they and their *ḥůddạm* must not have their heads shaved nor their clothes washed from the first day of the month till the *'āšůra* eve, but must observe mourning. At Tangier the shereefs are subject to the same taboos and must keep away from all entertainments and refrain from white-washing their houses throughout the month, while their women are forbidden to use henna during the same period ; it is believed that a deviation from these rules would cause misfortune to the family. In Andjra I was told that if a shereef in this month attended a feast where there was music, or had his head shaved, he would die in consequence. Among the Iglíwa and at Aglu shaving is likewise refrained from by shereefs ; he who shaves in the month of the 'Âšūr, said one of my informants, is not a shereef. The Sultan must refrain from travelling during this month.

Mourning rites very similar to those just mentioned are in this month practised in Tunis,[1] where some people attribute

[1] Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 286 :—" Au Kef, le mois de l'Achoura est plutôt considéré comme funeste. Aucun mariage, aucune circoncision ne sont célébrés à ce moment. Les femmes cessent de s'appliquer du henné et ne doivent pas pousser de you you de joie. Les hommes ne se font ni raser ni couper les cheveux. . . . Moharrem, mois sacré, est ainsi

the mournful character of the month to the death of Fāṭimah's sons by 'Alī, al-Ḥusain and al-Ḥasan.[1] In Egypt it is at any rate considered unlucky to make a marriage contract in Muḥarram, and the almsgiving on the tenth day is associated with al-Ḥusain's death at Karbalā; but the first ten days of this month are considered as "eminently blessed, and are celebrated with rejoicing".[2] Among the Shī'ah Moslems of Persia and India, on the other hand, these days are observed as a period of mourning in commemoration of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain[3] or of "the martyrdoms of 'Alī and of his two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusain".[4]

In Morocco, also, the mourning is held to be observed on behalf of the sons of 'Alī—Sîdna lâ-Ḥsen u l-Ḥôsin, as they are called in Fez—who are said to have died on the *'āšûra* day. In Andjra and among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz say that they mourn for 'Aišōr ('Âšūr); and their mourning does not consist in taboos only. On the first evening of the month, when the new moon becomes visible, the unmarried girls scratch their faces, as when somebody has died, and wail, *Ḥậya bậba 'Aišōri á'lih ḥălégt š'ôri, ḥáya ḥaih bậba 'Aišōr māt*, "Ah my father 'Aišōr, for him I have cut my hair (in mourning), *ḥáya ḥaih* (a usual exclamation on a death), father 'Aišōr has died". This wailing is then repeated on every evening till the ninth day of the month. On the following day, the tenth, girls whose hair is not so thick as they wish, take a date, smear it with a mixture of water, saffron, and dried and pounded roses and pinks—a mixture also used for the smearing of the head-stones of graves—tie round it a little hair from their heads,

regardé comme un mois néfaste au sens religieux de ce dernier adjectif. Cette croyance n'est pas aussi vive à Kairouan". M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes states (*loc. cit.* p. 11) that at Tunis the old women abstain from all needle-work on the tenth day of Muḥarram and put on red dresses as a sign of mourning.

[1] Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 287. [2] Lane, *op. cit.* p. 432 *sqq.*

[3] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 407.

[4] Sell, *op. cit.* p. 306.

wrap it up in a small piece of calico, and then either bury it or throw it into a well; this is supposed to give to the girl an abundance of hair. The interesting feature of the rite is that the date which is buried or thrown into a well is said to be *bậba 'Aišōr*, "father 'Aišōr". Ceremonial burials on the same day have been reported from other parts of the country. At Settat, in the Shāwîa, the children dig a hole in the ground and bury in it a puppet made of a bone enveloped in rags;[1] and among some Berber tribes, also, a puppet, which is called "'Âšur", "my brother" or "uncle 'Âšur", or "the bridegroom of 'Āšûra", is buried or destroyed.[2]

The mythical being 'Aišōr or Bậba 'Aišōr, for whom the people mourn,[3] is obviously a personification of the Old Year, which has been succeeded by the New. He corresponds to the female spirit of an old and hideous appearance called Ḥagûza—a name derived from the word *'ăgûza*, meaning an old woman—who represents the Old Year of the solar calendar,[4] and to Tamġart, meaning the same, who represents the end of the winter.[5] So also the burial of the date called Bậba 'Aišōr, or of the puppet called by some similar name, is the burial of the Old Year. M. Laoust suggests that the puppet which is buried or destroyed represents the spirit of vegetation, though he also seems to regard it as a symbol of the year which has come to an end;[6] but I can find no sufficient ground for that suggestion. That the puppet is carried about in the gardens or the fields, as well as in the village, does not prove that it is a personification of the spirit of vegetation which is supposed to impart *baraka* to the crops. It may be a means of ridding the plantations of evil influences, which are attracted by the puppet and afterwards destroyed with it; this would be in the style of other rites practised at the same period. There

[1] *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, ii. 302.

[2] Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa*, p. 319; *Idem*, in *Hespéris*, i. 30 *sqq.*

[3] According to M. Doutté (*Merrâkech* [Paris, 1905], p. 371), the same personage is mentioned in mourning chants in the Raḥámna.

[4] *Infra*, p. 161.

[5] *Infra*, p. 174.

[6] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 32 *sq.*

are other puppets which are of interest in this connection. At Fez the broom, or one of the brooms, of the household is on the *'āšûra* day dressed up as a bride with a silk kerchief and made to lean against the wall in an upright position. Among the Ait Waráin, again, the women on the previous evening dress up a piece of wood as a woman, lift it up, and dance with it, singing and playing on their tambourines; they call this puppet Ṭanjawîya, meaning a woman from Tangier, which indicates that she is regarded as a newcomer. I presume that the dressed-up broom and piece of wood represent the New Year with its anticipated joys and good luck, just as other puppets and Bậba 'Aišōr impersonate the Old Year with its worries and evils.

It seems that the ignorant women of Dukkâla really have a truer conception of the mourning at *'āšûra* than the learned theologians of Islam. We have reason to believe that the mourning for Sîdna lâ-Ḥsen and l-Ḥôsin on that occasion has the same origin as that for Bậba 'Aišōr, being only an islamised interpretation of rites connected with the Old Year. In his interesting book on the Muḥarram mysteries among the Tartars, Dr. Lassy justly observes that these mysteries appear to reflect the very character of the end of the year, and that it is not surprising to find the Year End, which is considered "a most unpropitious season and one when the doings of the people in a particular degree are directed upon the getting rid of the besetting misfortunes of life", connected with the commemoration of the most calamitous event of the Shī'ah history.[1]

There are other rites connected with death that are practised at this time of the year. On the *'āšûra* day the people visit the graves of their dead friends, pour water over them, and distribute alms at them. Not infrequently recitations from the Koran are made there, and in some parts of the country sprigs of myrtle are put on the graves. Alms on behalf of the dead are also given to poor people and children at other places than the cemetery, and water or small jars are frequently distributed in charity.[2]

In many places a masquerade or carnival takes place in

[1] Lassy, *op. cit.* p. 234 *sqq.* [2] *Infra*, p. 481 *sqq.*

the month of the 'Âšūr. When the Court is in Fez the Sultan's soldiers arrange there a great show, which is performed before the Sultan on the *'āšûra* eve and on the following nights till the end of the month in the houses of his ministers and other dignitaries or wealthy persons. An essential feature of this show is a large toy-house, called *bsāṭ*, made of cardboard ornamented with designs in different colours and mounted on wooden frames, and provided with a cupola like a saint's tomb. It is illuminated inside with candles, and is carried by soldiers, who are surrounded by other soldiers holding paper lanterns on bamboo canes. It is followed by a procession comprising a large number of persons dressed up as different sorts of people, spirits, and animals, as also some other conspicuous objects besides the toy-house. There is the tall image of a serpent-like monster, called s-Sāṭ, made of wood, with the head of a man and a long beard, its body being covered with black calico and its head with sheep-skin ; it is carried on a cane by a soldier, who makes it dance and bow. There is a *bábbōr*, or steamer, made of wood, with masts and sails and a smoking funnel, dragged along on wheels, with its captain pushing it from behind. There is the *mūsēqa dĕ l-bsāṭ*, a band of musicians playing on toy instruments imitating those used in the Sultan's army, and one beating a drum. There are, besides, four *ālîyen* with their respective instruments — the *'ūd* (mandoline), *kämánja* (violin), *rbāb* (two-stringed fiddle), and *ṭar* (tambourine) — and some twenty or thirty *mwālīn d-dáqqa* with *bnâder* (plain tambourines), *agwâlāt*^{s} (short clay cylinders with skin), and *qárqba* (castanets). There is a fat *qâḍi*, or judge, wearing a ridiculous cupola-shaped headgear and accompanied by two or three scribes. There are two representatives of *häl Mekka*, the shereefs at Mecca, who sing in the eastern dialect ; some six or eight Därqâwa with very tall caps made of reeds wound round with green turbans, rosaries of common shells, and long and thick staffs in their hands, singing the grossest obscenities ; [1] a man dressed up

[1] They sing :—*Sādāt*^{s}*î därqawá mä rit*^{s}*ú kidarî* (meaning a pack-horse, but used as a name for a grown-up youth who gives himself up to passive pederasty), *kidarî fĕ l-ḥálwa* (another name for the *záwia* of the

as a *šûwâfa*, or fortune-telling woman, equally indecent in her talk ;[1] three or four *qḥāb* or *iššîrāt*^{s}, prostituted women (likewise represented by men), who address themselves especially to shereefs or other highly respected men, accusing them of not having paid their fees ; and the same number of *'ărîfāt*^{s}, or superintendents of the prison for women, who beat the *qḥāb* when complaints are made that they have not kept their appointments though paid in advance. There are several Drâwa, men from the Drā, some with a *lîra* (cane flute) and the others with a *béndīr* (tambourine), on which they play, marking time with their feet ; a number of Gnâwa, one with a *hándqa* (the Fez name for the *gĕmbri*, or diminutive two-stringed guitar, used by the Gnâwa) and the others with *qáqbāt*^{s} (castanets) ; some old *ihûd*, or Jews, with masks of sheep-skin and beards, each playing on a *ṭar* (tambourine), and the same number of *ihudîyāt*^{s}, or Jewesses, their wives, one of whom gives birth to a child with shrieks of agony when a performance is made in a house ; some four or five *nṣâra*, or Christians, among whom are a *bašadôr*, or ambassador, his *t*^{s}*úrjmān*, or dragoman, with copybooks in one hand and keys in the other, and his servants carrying a chair ; and a *rắqqāṣ*, or Moorish courier. There are, moreover, some *jnūn*, represented by boys dressed up in red jackets and trousers, with white masks over their faces and long projecting teeth, holding in the hand a big needle with which they try to prick the people as they pass along. There are two other spirit-beings, l-Ĝōl and l-Ĝôla, the former with the face of a man and a big beard of wool, and the latter with the face of a woman and breasts made of sacks, so long that they can be thrown over the shoulders ; their genitals are particularly conspicuous, and at the performances in houses they dance and have intercourse. There are a *jmel*, or camel, represented by a man dressed up as a camel and

Därqâwa) *t*^{s}*äyäkûl l-qálwa* (testicle). They repeat the two last words many times, jumping up and down and knocking the ground with their staffs. They also sing :—*Ḥána ḥujjâj kīf jîna u qlawinâ fī dīná, men ḥābb š-šēḥ ya'ṭéna ḥáwya* (copulation) *ḥáwya t*^{s}*kfîna.*

[1] She says, *Sélt'i u sūwélt'i wá 'la ṭrēq l-ḥabs 'auwélt'i u ntsīn t*^{s}*ätsálni 'an* (instead of *'äla*) *ḥálek wậ ḥwâlĕk u z-zebb* (penis) *f qâ'ak* (anus).

carrying a camel's skull on a stick, with a pack-saddle on its back and a kettle on the top of it, and a *jémmăl*, or camel-driver, who shouts to the people to get out of the way; as also a *nmer*, or leopard, and a *némra*, or leopardess, which copulate in public.

When this motley crowd visits a house the *bsāṭ* is carried in first. Then the masqueraders enter in separate groups, in no definite order, one giving place to another. Each part of the programme, the exhibition of the *bsāṭ* as well as the performance of each group, is called a *frája* (plur *frájāṭ*ᵉ or *fráij*), and it has to be paid for separately. The money is given to the so-called *ămīn*, who enters together with the *bsāṭ*. He is a *qâid r-rḥa*, or battalion commander, and the other persons in the show are mostly soldiers, although there are also hired performers among them. The masqueraders try to excel each other in indecencies, the *qâḍi* as well as the *qḥāb*, and the better they succeed the more money is paid to the *ămīn*. The most decent of the lot seems to be the Christian ambassador. He sits down on his chair, looks into his copybooks and writes, and receives letters from the courier.

This show is collectively named *bsāṭ*, like the toy-house;[1] and the same name, or *bṣāṭ*, as it is also pronounced, is given to the *'ăšûra* play in other Moorish towns, even when there is no representation of a house—for example, at Mazagan, where two paper lanterns with lighted candles inside are carried about in a procession made up by persons dressed as Christians and Jews, who walk from house to house and receive money from the people.

In country districts which have a masquerade in the 'Âšŭr neither a toy-house nor lanterns are, so far as I know, connected with it. At Aglu a party dress themselves up to represent a variety of persons and animals—an old man and an old woman, Jews and Jewesses, Christians, a she-ass, a hyena, a leopard, a lion, and a wild sheep (*udäd*). They are called *ímġarn îyüḍ*, "the chiefs of the night", because they

[1] Illustrations of such toy-houses, after photographs taken by M. Wattier, are reproduced in M. Laoust's essay in *Hespéris*, vol. i., in connection with the text, p. 255.

walk about at night, commencing on the evening of the twelfth day of the month and not finishing the tour until they have visited all the villages of the tribe. They imitate the idioms of the persons or the sounds of the animals they represent, they sing and play, their talk is most lascivious, and the behaviour of the old couple in particular is as indecent as it could be. Among the Imintagen, on the *'āšûra* day, four men dress themselves up as a Jew, a Jewess, an Arab, and an Arab woman; the Jew has a paper mask over his face, and the Arab a mask made of a pumpkin peel. The audience insult the Jew, the Arab robs him of his wife, and when the poor husband tries to get her back he is shot dead by the Arab with a toy gun made of cane. Masquerades in the 'Âšūr have also been recorded from other parts of Southern Morocco,[1] as well as from Algeria[2] and Tunis.[3] But in most country districts of Morocco they are held at the Great Feast, and where a masquerade occurs on some other occasion, either in the 'Âšūr or at the New Year of the solar calendar, there may be another one at the Great Feast.

The *bsāṭ* is connected with the Muḥarram mysteries of the Shī'ah Moslems. The toy-house resembles "the tomb of al-Ḥusain", which figures in those mysteries, and at Tangier I heard it actually said to be the *qóbba* of Sîdna lâ-Ḥsen u Sîdna l-Ḥosáin. But in other respects the Moorish masquerades differ essentially from the mysteries of the Shī'ahs. They are frolicsome and frivolous, and have nothing of that mournfulness which characterises many other rites of the 'Âšūr; the very word *bsāṭ*, though applied to the imitation shrine, is probably derived from the verb *basaṭ*, which in one of its forms means "to rejoice".[4] These masquerades greatly resemble those of the Great Feast, and may therefore be conveniently discussed in connection with the latter. In the present place I shall say only a few more

[1] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 259 *sqq.*; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 506 *sq.* (Ḥáḥa, Shiáḍma).

[2] Biarnay, *op. cit.* p. 213 *sq.* (Wargla); Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 499 *sqq.*

[3] Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 287 *sqq.*

[4] Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*, i. (Giessen, 1898), p. 215. *Cf.* Castells, *op. cit.* p. 8 n. 3.

words about them. While they lack the central figure of the Great Feast carnival—the man dressed in the skins of sacrificed animals—there is in some of them a being which does not seem to occur in that carnival, namely, the image of a hideous monster. In the carnival of Tangier, also, figures a serpent-monster, called ṣ-Ṣaṭ, with the head of a woman ;[1] while some Berber tribes of the south have their "ogre" or "ogre of *'āšûra*".[2] The meaning of these images can only be a matter of conjecture. Perhaps they were meant to frighten away evil spirits or prevent them from doing mischief ; the Sāṭ at Fez is said to represent a big serpent living in the desert, which is known to bar the way for travellers. Perhaps also they are representations of the Old Year in all its hideousness. The old man figuring in the 'Âšūr masquerade[3] seems at all events to express such an idea ; in Tunis he is called "the greybeard of *'āšûra*",[4] and in some parts of Algeria the same name is given to the whole carnival.[5] But in the carnival the Old Year is no longer mourned for, like Bâba 'Aišōr in Dukkâla ; it is merely an object of ridicule and mockery.

An interesting object is the big "steamer". It seems too important a feature of the show to be looked upon merely as an accessory to the Christian ambassador and his attendants, who themselves only play a secondary part in the play. Moreover, at Tarudant it is said to be the custom for children on the *'āšûra* day to go about in "une sorte de carriole", which is called *ssfina*, a berberised form of the Arabic *sfina*, which means "ship" ; and a similar custom is said to exist at Salli.[6] The *bábbōr* is presumably connected with boat ceremonies found elsewhere. In Luxor, in Egypt, there are three boat processions every year, namely, at the festivals commemorating the birthday of its patron saint and that of the Prophet and at the beginning of Ramaḍān ; and much revelry and debauchery were formerly connected with these

[1] For a similar monster in a carnival held at Rabat, see Castells, *op. cit.* p. 8 n. 3.
[2] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 259 *sqq.*
[3] See *ibid.* p. 279 *sqq.*
[4] Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 290.
[5] Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 499 *sqq.*
[6] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 291 n. 1.

festivals. Professor Seligman connects these rites with the importance of the boat in ancient Egyptian ceremonial, as shown by the number of representations of sacred boats on sledges or wheels which have come down to us.[1] He also points out that the " Moormen " of Ceylon have a ceremony in which figures a boat on wheels, and maintains that it is a survival of an old Egyptian rite which, after being absorbed into Islam, was introduced by " Arab " traders into Ceylon.[2] It may be added that during the closing years of the Roman period, according to Apuleius, a naval procession in honour of the Egyptian Isis was held at the opening of navigation in spring, a ship richly equipped and laden with spices being then sent to sea as an offering to the goddess.[3] Boat ceremonies have also been widely distributed in Europe. We know that in the sixth century B.C. a ship, dedicated to Dionysius, was driven on wheels through the streets of Athens ; and a ship-waggon was in use at a spring festival in certain parts of Germany.[4] The original meaning of these ceremonies is not clear ; but they may have served a cathartic purpose. Vessels laden with disease-demons or misfortunes are found among many peoples.[5] And like the Moorish carnivals, those of Europe are combined with purificatory ceremonies, such as fire and water rites.[6]

The Month of the Mûlūd

The third month of the Muhammadan year, Rabī'u 'l-Awwal, is in Morocco called *š-šhar dě l-múlūd* (*l-máulūd*, *l-méilūd*), " the month of the Mûlūd ", or simply *l-múlūd*

[1] Seligman, ' Ancient Egyptian Beliefs in Modern Egypt ', in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his sixtieth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 453 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 454 *sq.*

[3] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 16.

[4] Rademacher, ' Carnival ', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 226; Clemen, ' Der Ursprung des Karnevals ', in *Archiv für Religionswissenchaft*, xvii. (Leipzig, 1914), p. 147 *sqq.*

[5] Frazer, *The Scapegoat* (London, 1913), p. 185 *sqq.*

[6] Rademacher, *loc. cit.* p. 227; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, iii. (Leipzig, 1914), p. 105 *sqq.* " Fastnacht ist ja überhaupt eine Zeit der Reinigung " (*ibid.* p. 117).

(*l-máulūd*, *l-méilūd*) or, among the Berbers, by some berberised form of the same word. These names are given it on account of the feast celebrating the birth of the Prophet, which commences on the twelfth day of the month and lasts for a week. The first day of this feast is called *nhār l-'īd*, "the day of the feast", and the previous night *līlt^{s} l-mûlūd* or *līlt^{s} l-'īd*.

The Mûlūd is a particularly blessed month, and all children born during it are considered fortunate. On the evening preceding the first day of the month the Hamzîya and the Bûrdah of Sîdi al-Būṣīrī are recited in many of the mosques between sunset and the hour of the evening prayer; these recitations are repeated on every evening until the eve of the feast, and on the last occasion they are continued till daybreak. On this night also minor mosques, *záwiąt^{s}*, and shrines are illuminated, and the same recitations are made there. At Tangier the house attached to the *záwia* of Mûlāi 'Abdlqâder, which is inhabited by shereefs of his family, is then visited by a crowd of women, who play and sing the prayer for the Prophet throughout the night. At daybreak they get up and salute the birth of Muḥammad, who is said to have been born at that hour; and in celebration of the same event twenty-one cannon are fired at the fort. On the eve of the seventh day of the feast (*līlt^{s} saba' l-'īd*) there are similar gatherings in the houses of two shereefs belonging to the family of Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j.

The first day of the feast is kept as a holiday, but labour is also suspended on other days of it. At Fez the shops are open throughout the preceding night, but are then closed for three days, except those of the butchers, which are kept open in the morning. Many people abstain from work during the whole week. The colleges are closed between the first and the nineteenth days of the month and the schools between the tenth and the eighteenth; and between the second and the ninth the latter are only open for an hour or two in the morning. The Aiṯ Sádděn keep the whole week of the feast as a holiday. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi the women perform no other work than such as is necessary for the preparation of food during the three days preceding the feast and during the week of the feast itself.

At the time of the feast the people enjoy themselves with banqueting, powder play, target-practice, singing, playing, and dancing. At Tangier friends visit each other on the morning of the first day of the feast and breakfast together on *hérrbell*—consisting of pounded wheat with the husks removed, boiled in water and mixed with butter, and some honey in a hole made in the centre—or *'ăṣêda*—a porridge made of semolina (*smīd*) with the addition of butter and often honey as well; and there are similar banquets on the eve of the seventh day. In the Ḥiáina on the first day of the feast the men fire their guns at daybreak and the women trill the *zġârīt*[s]; later on there is powder play on horseback and in the afternoon target-practice. Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi everybody who owns a gun fires it on the eve of the feast, and the women play and sing, as they have been doing every night since the beginning of the month; and on the following morning the men go on horseback to the place of some shereef, where they practise powder play till *'âṣar*, while the women assemble there to play and sing.

In some parts of the country this is a favourite time for the circumcision of boys,[1] and many saints have then their yearly festivals.[2] On the ninth day of the month the 'Ḥsáwa of Fez start for Mequinez with flags and music, practising their usual *ḥáḍra* till they reach the river outside the town, when they mount their animals. People kill and throw to them sheep and goats, which they tear to pieces and eat raw. This particular *ziâra* is called *l-frîsa*.

The women paint their hands and feet with henna, their eyes with antimony, and their lips with walnut root on the eve of the feast. Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn many of them also smear their hair with henna on the following day. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the boys and lads, on the eve of the feast, put some henna on the palms of their hands, while the grown-up men only dip one of the finger-tips in henna, or if they put a little of it on the palms wipe it off at once; and they also apply henna to their horses, camels, cattle, and sheep, and to the ridge-pole of the tent. This is said to be good *făl*. At Tangier the women on the morning of the

[1] *Infra*, pp. 420, 421, 423, 429. [2] *Supra*, i. 175.

first day of the feast paint with blue a vertical stripe, called *ġammâza*, between the eyebrows or behind the ears of their little children to protect them from the evil eye.

Rajäb and Ša'bāṇ

In the seventh month of the year, Rajab—in Morocco called Rajäb, Rjeb, or Rjem—many persons fast on the twenty-sixth and the twenty-seventh days ; some persons also on the first, fifteenth, and last day, or on one of them, or on every Monday and Thursday ; and a very few on every day of the month. The twenty-seventh day is called *nhār l-mā'rāj* or simply *l-mā'rāj*, and the preceding night *līlt^{s} l-mā'rāj*. This night is the anniversary of the Prophet's miraculous ascension to heaven, and those who can afford it celebrate it by having good food. At Tangier fowls are eaten both on that and on the following night ; the schools are closed between the twenty-fifth and the twenty-seventh days ; and on the twenty-seventh before sunset the women go to the country to gather a certain grass called *kăssâba*, in order that there shall be an abundance of good things, such as animals, food, and clothes, during the year. There is also a little feast (*mûsem*) on the fifteenth day (Fez),[1] or on the first Thursday of the month (Tangier).

In the following month, Ša'bān—pronounced Ša'bāṇ—many persons fast on the fourteenth and the fifteenth days ; some persons also on the first and the last day, or on every Monday and Thursday ; and a very few throughout the month. The fifteenth day is called *t^{s}zmīm l-'ămár* or *t^{s}zmīm l-'arwāḥ*, because the angels are then supposed to make out the account of everybody's life ; or *nhār n-nĕsḥa*, " the day of the copy ", because on the preceding night—*līlt^{s} n-nṣf mĕn ša'bāṇ*—God is said to give to the angel of death a book containing a record of all living beings destined to die during the ensuing year. I have not heard in Morocco the belief that on that night the lote tree of Paradise, the leaves of

[1] *Cf.* 'Abd el 'Aziz Zenagui, ' Récit en dialecte tlemcénien ', in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. x. vol. iv. (Paris, 1904), p. 100 *sq.* (note by Gaudefroy-Demombynes).

which are inscribed with the names of all living human beings, is shaken, and that when a person is to die in the year his leaf falls on this occasion ;[1] it is said there that the leaf of the *sídrätˢ l-muntˢạ̈hā* on which a person's name is written will fall forty days before his death. The food partaken of on the night in question is better than usual ; at Tangier fowls are eaten both then and on the following night. The schools there have a three days' holiday, between the thirteenth and fifteenth. At Fez particular notice is taken of the last three days of the month, which are also considered to be possessed of *baraka*. Schools, government offices, and shops are closed on these days, feasting and picnics take the place of work, and on the roofs of houses, in the gardens, and in the streets there is a constant firing of guns, which reaches its climax and comes to an end when the new moon of Ramaḍān is seen.

We have in an earlier chapter noticed the activities of the Gnạ̈wa in Ša'bạ̄n, their sacrifices to the *jnūn* and other practices.[2] That this month contains an element of danger is instanced by two taboos observed by the Ait Temsâmän. They must then refrain from bringing earth of any kind into their houses ; and they remove the eggs from their hens, since no chicks must be hatched in Ša'bạ̄n.

At Fez it is the custom for the married women at any time either in Rajäb or Ša'bạ̄n to assume for three or four days exactly the same attire as is used for the same length of time in Ramaḍān by girls who are still too young to observe the fast, with the addition of so-called *rfâfed* of embroidered silk over the ears ; and they are also painted with henna in the same way as such girls in Ramaḍān,[3] with the exception of old married women, who are painted without designs. When the wife is thus dressed up, her husband, if he can afford it, gives in his house a feast, to which he invites the men of his own and of his wife's family and other friends. If, however, any of his or his wife's relatives has died during the year, these practices are not to be observed.

[1] Lane, *op. cit.* p. 477 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 380 *sq.*

[3] *Infra*, p. 98 *sq.*

Ramaḍān

After Ša'bāṇ follows Ramaḍān, popularly called Rámḍān, the ninth month of the Muḥammadan year. In towns the eve of it (*līlt^s rámḍān*) is announced at sunset by the firing of cannon, " echoed by guns in the villages, through which the firing rapidly carries the news to a distance ".[1] At Fez and in other towns the *múdden's* call to the sunset prayer is followed by the monotonous sounds of the *ńfir*, a long and straight trumpet, which is blown by the *nŏffār* for about five or ten minutes. After the call to the evening prayer he again sounds his trumpet from the tower of the mosque, this time for a quarter of an hour; and on the following morning, two hours before daybreak, he ascends the minaret a third time and blows the trumpet for a whole hour. This is repeated on every evening and morning throughout the month, but at sunset time only on the last day of it after the new moon has appeared. Every great mosque at Fez has a *nŏffār* attached to it, and the same is the case with the majority of the smaller mosques, while the Qarwîyin and the Andalus have two *nfáfar* each, who blow their trumpets together. In the evening the *nŏffār* is followed at the minaret by a *ġáiyāṭ*, or hautboyist, who plays on his *ġáiṭa* for a quarter of an hour. In the morning before daybreak, shortly after the *nŏffār* has finished his music, the minaret is ascended by the *múdden*, who first repeats the formula *A'ûdu bi llâhi meṇ š-šíṭan ăr-rájīm*, " I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one ", and then begins to sing various religious songs; he is singing for about three-quarters of an hour, till dawn, when he chants the call to prayer. The *múdden* is singing thus before daybreak not only throughout Ramaḍān but also during the other months of the year.

The most important feature of Ramaḍān is the complete abstinence from food, drink, and cohabitation from daybreak to sunset which is enjoined upon every Moslem, with the exception of young children and idiots, as also sick persons and travellers, who are allowed to postpone the fast to another

[1] Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 251 *sq.*

time.[1] In Morocco it is considered an infringement of the fast if a person smokes, if he picks his teeth so that blood oozes out, if he purposely causes himself to vomit or at least if he does not wash his mouth after vomiting, if he pares his nails, if he burns incense, if he tells a lie, and in the opinion of some people if he smells a flower or puts a coin between his teeth. The women must also refrain from the use of henna, antimony, and walnut root, and are not allowed to smear their hair with oil.[2] Although the Prophet, according to the traditions, actually disapproved of travellers keeping the fast of Ramaḍān unless perfectly able to do so,[3] they do not readily take advantage of the privilege granted them,[4] and the case is similar with sick persons ;[5] it was impossible for me to induce my secretary from Andjra to take a tablet in the morning to remove his headache. On the other hand, lying-in women do not fast, and it is generally considered necessary that menstruating women should refrain from doing so[6] and that they should take a hot bath before resuming the fast, which is looked upon as a holy rite not to be observed by a woman in a state of impurity. If a person who is obliged to fast is seen eating, stones are thrown at him and he is put in prison for the remainder of the month ; and formerly he was stoned[7] or flogged to death. The heretical Aṭ Zíhri (Zkara), however, do not observe the fast of Ramaḍān. This I was told by an eye-witness from a neighbouring tribe, who visited them in that month.

As to the origin of the fast of Ramaḍān, the story is told in Morocco that when Sîyîdna Âḍaṃ had eaten the forbidden fruit in Paradise, God punished him by commanding an

[1] *Koran*, ii. 180, 181, 183 ; Sell, *op. cit.* p. 279 *sq.*

[2] *Cf.* Sell, *op. cit.* p. 281.

[3] *Mishkāt*, vii. 5 (English translation, vol. i. 476 *sqq.*).

[4] *Cf.* Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London, 1830), p. 57.

[5] *Cf.* Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, i. (London, 1898), p. 74.

[6] *Cf.* al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vi. 6 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. i. [Paris, 1903], p. 112). I was told, however, that among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer women fast even during their menses.

[7] *Cf.* Addison, *West Barbary* (Oxford, 1671), p. 211.

angel to take him down to earth, where he had to stay till his death and fast for thirty days, during which time the forbidden food remained in his body. As has been said above,[1] it is believed that he who keeps the fast of Ramaḍān will be pardoned all his past faults, and this belief is in agreement with the Muhammadan traditions; but the origin of the fast is not explained by it. There is no evidence that it was an ancient pre-Muhammadan custom to fast in Ramaḍān.[2] On the other hand, the Harranians, or "Sabians", observed a thirty days' fast in honour of the moon, commencing on the eighth day after the new moon of Adsār (March), or according to other information as early as the first day of that month; and this fast seems to have implied abstinence from every kind of food and drink between sunrise, or the last quarter of the night, and sunset.[3] In Manichæism—which is essentially based upon the ancient nature religion of Babylonia, though modified by Christian and Persian elements and elevated into a gnosis[4]—we also meet with a thirty days' fast between sunrise and sunset

[1] *Supra*, i. 135.

[2] We can hardly regard as such the passage in the *Koran* (ii. 179) where it is said, "O ye who believe! There is prescribed for you the fast as it was prescribed for those before you; haply ye may fear". The traditionists say that the Prophet was in the habit of spending the month of Ramaḍān every year in the cave at Hirā, meditating and feeding all the poor who resorted to him, and that he did so in accordance with a religious practice which the Koreish used to perform in the days of their heathenism. Others add that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib commenced the practice, saying "that it was the worship of God which that patriarch used to begin with the new moon of Ramaḍān, and continue during the whole of the month" (Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, ii. [London, 1858], p. 56 n. *; Sell, *op. cit.* p. 316). But, as Muir remarks (*op. cit.* ii. 56 n. *), it is the tendency of the traditionists to foreshadow the customs and precepts of Islam as if some of them had existed prior to Muḥammad and constituted part of "the religion of Abraham". See Jacob, 'Der muslimische Fastenmonat Ramadân', in *VI. Jahresbericht der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Greifswald*, pt. i. (1893–1896), p. 2 *sqq.*

[3] En-Nedīm, *Fihrist* (book ix. ch. i.) i. 4, v. 12 (Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, ii. [St. Petersburg, 1856], pp. 6, 36); Abūl-fedā, 6 (*ibid.* ii. 500); Chwolsohn, *op. cit.* i. 533 *sqq.*, ii. 71, 72, 75 *sq.*

[4] Kessler, 'Mani, Manichäer', in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie*, xii. (Leipzig, 1903), p. 198 *sq.*; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, iii. (London, 1897), p. 330.

commencing on the day "when the new moon begins to shine, the sun is in Aquarius (where it is from about the 20th of January), and eight days of the month have passed"; this seems to imply that the fast cannot begin until eight days after the sun has entered Aquarius and that consequently, if the new moon appears during that period, the commencement of the fast has to be postponed till the following new moon.[1] Now the similarity of the fast of Ramaḍān with the Harranian and Manichæan fasts is so striking that we are almost compelled to regard them all as fundamentally the same institution; and if this assumption is correct, we may conclude that Muḥammad borrowed his fast from the Harranians or the Manichæans or both. Dr. Jacob has in fact shown that in the year 623, when this fast seems to have been instituted, Ramaḍān exactly coincided with the Harranian fast-month.[2] As to the origin of the Harranian and Manichæan fasts we have every reason to suppose that they were in the first instance due, not to reverence, but, like other fasts connected with astronomical events,[3] to fear of evil influences. The thirty days' fast which the Harranians observed in the month of Adsār finds perhaps its explanation in the fact that, according to Babylonian beliefs, the month Adar was presided over by the seven evil spirits, who knew neither compassion nor mercy, who heard no prayer or supplication, and to whose baneful influence the popular faith attributed the eclipse of the moon.[4] Moreover, it may be worth noticing that the Harranian fast took place about the vernal equinox, which is frequently—also in some parts of Morocco[5] and Algeria[6]—regarded as a somewhat dangerous period, and is a time at which the

[1] En-Nedīm, *Fihrist*, in Flügel, *Mani* (Leipzig, 1862), p. 97; *ibid.* p. 315; Kessler, *loc. cit.* p. 212 *sq.*

[2] Jacob, *loc. cit.* p. 5.

[3] See Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1917), p. 309 *sqq.*

[4] Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), pp. 263, 276, 463.

[5] *Infra*, p. 176 *sq.*

[6] Destaing, 'Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Beni Snoûs', in *Revue Africaine*, l. (Alger, 1906), p. 249 *sqq.*

Brahmins of India are wont to fast, though only for a day or two.[1]

From sunset to the hour of prayer in the morning the people are allowed to eat, drink, smoke, and amuse themselves as much as they please, and well-to-do people then make up abundantly for the privations of the day. The *fṭōr*, or breakfast, partaken of as soon as the sun has set, which in towns is announced by gun-fire, very frequently begins with *ḥrîra*, or gruel, which in Fez is made of rice, or with a gruel, in Tangier called *šûrba*, which contains small pieces of meat and often also pieces of lemon, eggs, and vegetables. Another meal, called *sḥōr*, is eaten two hours before dawn, being preceded by public warnings in order that people shall rise in time; a *dáqqāq* or *sáḥḥār* walks about in every *ḥáuma*, or quarter of a town, beating or knocking at the doors, and there may be a *ṭábbāl*, or drummer, besides, or, in country villages, a *ṭábbāl* only. In some places the *fṭōr* is partaken of in the mosque of the village throughout the month (Dukkâla).

Prayer is held to be particularly obligatory during Ramaḍān. In the mosques of towns recitations of the Koran are made for about an hour after the evening prayer and for the same length of time before daybreak, and after these services additional prayers are said with thirteen additional *rek'āt*, called *t'arâwēḥ ramaḍān*. At Tangier the whole Koran has thus been gone through before the night preceding the twenty-seventh day; on that night the whole Koran (*súlka*) is recited again, after which twenty-one cannon are fired, and a third time it is completed on the night preceding the *'īd ṣ-ṣġēr*, or Little Feast. In country districts the *fqī* of the village recites a portion of the Koran every night after the evening prayer, from the first till the twenty-sixth night of the month, and finishes the whole of it just before dawn of the twenty-seventh day, when some shots are fired outside the mosque (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sáddĕn, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḥṭi).

At Fez it is the custom on the evening of the fourteenth day to eat *ḥálwa*, or sweetmeats, made of honey, and meat.

[1] Dubois, *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India* (London, 1817), p. 160.

In many country places animals are slaughtered to supply the people with meat for the evening, because it is considered very necessary that everybody, even the poorest, should eat meat on that night, and those who cannot get it otherwise have to buy some or at any rate have to kill a fowl to serve as a substitute (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aṭ Ubáḥṭi). The men, or the men and the boys, have their meal in the mosque (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḍēr), and the women may likewise have theirs together, in a house or tent (Aiṭ Sádděn). The Aiṭ Sádděn call this night *üḍ umnâṣaf*, " the night of the half ", that is, the half of the month.

At Tangier there is no *mûsem*, or feast, in the middle of Ramaḍān. But on the fourteenth and following days the schoolboys walk about from house to house carrying a large writing-board, on which the schoolmaster has painted an ornament with the contents of an egg mixed with some paint and written with Moorish ink something from the Koran in the centre. When the boys have entered a house the women kiss the writing-board and put on it some wheat or, less often, a little money ; and the boys sing, *Baṣ tˢ'áiyeḍ hād ḍ-ḍār be l-kaḥk u s-súkkār*, " May this house have a feast with cakes and sugar ". On the other hand, if nothing is given them they sing, *Baṣ tˢ'áiyeḍ hād ḍ-ḍār be l-frâqăš de l-kídār*, " May this house have a feast with the feet of a pack-horse ". This custom is called *ḥaqq ḥmâda* (meaning Muḥammad). At Tangier there is no such custom in the 'Âšūr.

There is one night in Ramaḍān which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, *lailatu 'l-qadr*, " the night of power ", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet.[1] It is of more value than a thousand months.[2] On this night " Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God ".[3] He who then says the prayers " with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins ".[4] This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramaḍān, but its exact date

[1] *Koran*, xcvii. 1. [2] *Ibid.* xcvii. 3.
[3] *Mishkāt*, vii. 9. 3 (English translation, vol. i. 494).
[4] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 535.

has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions.[1] A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th,—and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.[2] At Fez the whole Koran is recited during each of these nights in every *jâma' l-ḫóṭba*, or mosque in which the *ḫóṭba* is read on Fridays before the prayers, while it is recited in all the less important mosques, and at the great shrines as well, during the 27th night (*lîlt' l-qadr*). All these places are then illuminated, and in the Qarwîyin, but not in the other mosques of the town, many women are seen. On this occasion it is the custom for the men who are assembled in that mosque to eat dried fruit (*fâkya*), which is offered for sale outside it throughout the night.

Among the Arabs of Dukkâla and the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night. The former do not only, as on other evenings of the month, take their *fṭōr* in the mosque of the village but spend there the whole night, eating dried fruit and burning incense, while the women are trilling the *zġârīt*. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramaḍān when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the *rmâḥräb* where the *imām* is praying, leaving them there until the whole Koran has been recited; the leaves are subsequently made into ropes, by which they suspend their churns in order to impart *baraka* to the butter. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina and the Berbers of the Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḏēr, and Aṭ Ubáḫṭi consider it even more obligatory to eat meat on this night[3] than on the fifteenth night of the month, and the men again partake of it in the mosque, except among the

[1] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 534. [2] Lane, *op. cit.* p. 484 *sq.*

[3] *Cf.* 'Abd el 'Aziz Zenagui, *loc. cit.* p. 101, note by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Tlemcen).

last-mentioned tribe. At Tangier it is the custom to eat fowls on this occasion.

The twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān is not only an auspicious time, but also a time which is fraught with danger. The *jnūn* who have been confined in prison during the previous part of the month are then released, and precautions have to be taken to prevent their doing harm to the people. At Fez a *bâit*ˢ*a* is again made on the roof of the house to burn the *šayâṭīn*, and the women play and sing the same doggerel as on the *'āšûra* eve.[1] The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi fumigate their tents with harmel and benzoin to drive away the *jnūn*. The Aiṭ Sádděn burn benzoin, gum-lemon, and other incense in their houses or tents between sunset and the evening prayer and in the mosques between sunset and dawn, "to please" those spirits, as I was told. The Ait Temsâmän take a piece of rock-salt to the mosque, where it is left till the morning, and afterwards put it into the stacks of reaped corn as a charm against the *jnūn*.

At Fez all boys and girls who are still too young to fast must once in this month be painted with henna, though no particular date is fixed for the ceremony. The girls have the upper surfaces of their hands and feet painted with a design, while the palms and soles are painted without any design. The boys may have the hands and feet painted in the same manner, but their upper surfaces may also be painted without any designs, like the palms and soles. On the following day both the girls and the boys must necessarily be dressed in new clothes and new slippers (*šerbīl* [women's slippers] or *bâlġra* [men's slippers]). The girls should, in addition, have a golden armlet (*démlīj*) round the wrists; one or several pearl-strings (*mdéjjāt*ˢ or *mdéijj*, sing. *mdéjja*) round the neck; a large ring (*ḫórsa*) of silver or gold, often with some corals (*márjān*) suspended from it, in the ears; a silk kerchief (*sébnîya*) over the hair; a round golden ornament or charm called *ṭâba'*, of the size of a dollar piece, inlaid with five diamonds, on the forehead; above it one or more silk ribbons (*ḫiôṭ*, sing. *ḫaiṭ*) with five ornaments, each consisting of a precious stone (which in the central ornament should be

[1] *Supra*, ii. 65 *sq.*

green) surrounded by pearls, and with pearls on both sides of this row of ornaments; a little higher up a so-called *'aiyâša*, consisting of a silk ribbon with many thin golden plates of the size of a *bḗlyūn* piece, from each of which is suspended a smaller thin golden ornament called *déldūl*; and on the silk kerchief on the top of the head a *ḫámsa*[1] made of pearls. The *ṭâba'*, the *ḫámsa*, and the row of the five ornaments on the ribbon, at any rate, are charms against the evil eye. The boys, again, have a *ḫámsa* made of glass beads fastened to the *garn*, or tuft of hair on the head, and over the left shoulder is hung a so-called *t'éhlīl*, either a silver case or a small gold-embroidered silk bag, containing a written charm against the evil eye; these amulets are similar to those worn by boys at their circumcision. On the day when the child has been thus dressed up, he or she is on the afternoon about *'âṣar* taken to the roof of the house to be seen by the people outside, and remains there till sunset, when the clothes and ornaments are removed for the night; and the same is done every afternoon during the three or four days when they are worn by the child. Those who have not got these things themselves borrow them from others. The custom in question, however, is not observed in the case of a child whose father or mother has died during the year, but in all other cases it is held very obligatory. Should anybody ask a child whose hands or feet have no marks of henna, "Who is dead, your father or mother?" it would be a bad augury for the parents. In Rajäb or Ša'bā̤n, as said above, the married women are painted with henna and dress themselves up in the same way, whereas the *'ăwât'aq* (sing. *'ât'aq*), or unmarried girls who are old enough to observe the fast, are subjected to this rite neither then nor in Ramaḍān.

The Breaking of the Fast and the Little Feast

When Ramaḍān has come to an end and the dawn of day no longer is a signal to abstain from food and drink, the breaking of the taboo is to be preceded by a rite which

[1] See *supra*, i. 448.

obviously serves the purpose of removing the danger attending it. Sīdī Ḫalīl says that it is an obligation on the faithful to give special alms, called *fiṭr*, to the poor on this occasion, by preference on the first evening of the festival following upon the month of Ramaḍān or at the dawn of the next day. These alms should consist of those food-stuffs which the giver habitually uses; their amount should be proportionate to the number of dependants comprised in the household; and the quantity of grain to be given should be one *ṣā'*—that is, slightly less than half a bushel[1]—for each Muhammadan member of it.[2] It is said in Morocco that if no *fĕṭra*, as these alms are called there, is given, Ramaḍān will be hanging between heaven and earth.

At Fez the *fĕṭra* consists of the kind of corn, wheat or barley, which is the principal food of the family. An equal portion of it is at daybreak, before the first meal of the day is eaten, set aside on behalf of every member of the household, servants and slaves included. It is measured out with a wooden measure equivalent to an eighth part of a *mudd*, which is called *'ăbâr l-fĕṭra* or *mudd n-nbi* or, by scribes, *l-mudd n-näbăwi*, "the *mudd* of the Prophet", and which is only used for this particular purpose; there are measures of this kind that have been brought by pilgrims from Mecca. The several portions are put together in a basket or sack or on the ground, and this corn is afterwards distributed to various persons: to the *nŏffār*, or one of the *nfâfar*, of the quarter, who calls for the share, called *'ăwáid n-nŏffār*, which is due to him or to all the *nfâfar* of the quarter in common; to indigent relatives in the town, who have a portion of the *fĕṭra* sent to them; to poor people who come and fetch their shares; and, if anything is left, to the *ġáiyāṭ* of the quarter. The *fĕṭra* must be given by or on behalf of every one; but poor persons may give it out of the *fĕṭra* they have received themselves. At Tangier these alms are also given on behalf of absent members of the household by their friends at home, which is not the rule in Fez, and on behalf of deceased members as well; but the

[1] Ruxton, *Máliki Law* (London, 1916), p. 52 n. 3.

[2] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *Muḫtaṣar*, i. 3. 10. 1 *sqq.* (Perron, *op. cit.* i. 450, 451, 455).

fĕṭra of the latter only consists of a double handful of grain or flour.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn these alms, called by them *lfăḍárṯ*, do not always consist of one kind of grain alone; but if the family has been eating, for example, wheat, barley, durra, and beans during Ramaḍān, portions of all these various species of corn or pulse are mixed together and given to the *fqī* in the mosque or, if there is no *fqī*, to a widow or other poor person or to some shereef living in the village or in its neighbourhood; but there are not many villages which have no *fqī*. The *fqī* himself also gives his own *fĕṭra* to some poor person. If the head of a household has no corn to give he borrows or buys some from the *fqī*; but in that division of the tribe which borders upon the Ait Waráin there are persons who only fill the measure with earth, and empty it again, as many times as there are members of the household, or give one fig for each member to some little boys. The measure used for the measuring out the *fĕṭra* is called *aṭĕmni*, and one or two such measures are found in every village. These alms are also given on behalf of absent members of the household. In the Ḥiáina they are besides given on behalf of any member who has died during the month. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr the *fĕṭra* of a suckling consists of milk. The Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi give only grain, of the kind generally eaten by the family, which is measured out with a so-called *talftárt* and afterwards given partly to the poor and partly to the *fqī* of the mosque; and so necessary is it considered that nobody, not even an infant, should eat before his portion has been set aside, that a mother with a child at the breast has to rise very early so that the child shall be asleep when the *fĕṭra* is measured out. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the *fĕṭra* of a suckling is set aside on the previous evening. Among these Berbers the *fĕṭra* consists of all kinds of dry vegetable food which they have been eating during Ramaḍān, including even a few almonds, raisins, and other dried fruits, if they happen to have them in the house. It is measured out with a so-called *rmudd nĕ nnbi*, made either of wood (in which case it has been brought from Mecca) or of earthenware; and absent and

deceased members of the household are also remembered on this occasion. The *fḗṭra* is afterwards taken to the mosque and presented to the *fqī*, except a small portion of it which is left in the house to be given to poor people and schoolboys calling for it. The men who carry the *fḗṭra* to the mosque also bring with them some food for breakfast, which is partaken of in common by all the men and bigger boys of the village. The *fqī* gives one portion of the *fḗṭra* of his own household to the schoolboys in the mosque, while the other portion is distributed to the poor people calling at his house. Nobody can, of course, eat of the *fḗṭra* of his own household. Among the Ait Temsâmän the *fḗṭra* consists of barley, wheat being only eaten by them on one day in the week and at feasts ; it is also given on behalf of absent members of the household, and in many cases a handful of barley is set aside on behalf of any deceased member of it.

It should be added that the *fḗṭra* may be set aside, though it ought not to be distributed, before the month of Ramaḍān has come to an end. In the Ḥiáina and among the Aiṯ Nḏēr it is most frequently, and among the Aiṯ Sádděn occasionally, done on the twenty-seventh morning of that month or on one of the following mornings ; and at Fez, also, there are persons who observe this practice on that morning. Among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina and among the Aiṯ Sádděn people who have no *fḗṭra* to offer may make a written promise to distribute a certain quantity of corn in charity after the next harvest. Among the former a woman who gives birth to a child in Ramaḍān has her *fḗṭra* set aside before she breaks the fast, in accordance with the general usage of lying-in women. It is also the custom among them that children who are too young to fast have their lips smeared with a little fresh cow-dung on the morning of the feast. The Aiṯ Nḏēr put the same substance into their children's mouths ; and among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi it is likewise applied to the lips or mouths of persons who have not fasted during Ramaḍān, before they partake of food on the first morning of the feast. This is presumably a method of purifying mouths which have been defiled by food.

The expiration of the fast of Ramaḍān is the occasion of

l-ʿīd ṣ-ṣġēr, "the Little Feast" (in Berber *l'ʿīd amzzian* [Ait Waráin], *l'ʿīḏ amzzian* [Aiṭ Sádděn], *r'ʿīḏ amzzian* [Temsâmän]), which lasts for seven days. On the eve of the feast the women frequently paint their hands and feet with henna, their eyes with antimony, and their lips and teeth with walnut root; henna is also applied to children, and sometimes to domestic animals and the ridge-pole of the tent, and even grown-up men may make a scanty use of it, as on the eve of the feast of the Mûlûd. On the first day of the feast the people put on clean clothes, and those who can

FIG. 131.—The Little Feast at Fez

afford it some new garment or at least a pair of new slippers. At Fez the same rules as to the closing of shops and the abstinence from work as are observed at the feast of the Mûlûd also apply to the Little Feast. The schools, which between the twentieth and twenty-fifth of Ramaḍân were only open for an hour or two in the morning and since then have been closed altogether, are not opened again until the seven days of the feast have passed; while the college students, since the fifteenth of Ramaḍân, have had a holiday which lasts for a month. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi and the Aiṭ Sádděn the women perform no other work than such as is involved

in the preparation of food during the whole week of the feast, and among the latter during the three or sometimes seven previous days besides.

At Fez it is the custom for the men to visit their own and their wives' relatives during the first three days of the feast, to wish them a blessed feast, and in the entertainment offered them various kinds of sweet pastry—such as *šäbbakîya*, *griwš*, and *rġêfa*—play a prominent part. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn it is the custom for all the men of a village on the

FIG. 132.—The Little Feast at Fez.

first day of the feast to have their breakfast and mid-day meal together in the mosque; and throughout the week visits are made to relatives, especially by the women, who at Fez have to stay at home. Among the Ait Temsâmän all the men of a village who have been married since the Little Feast of the previous year take in the afternoon of the first day the meat of a he-goat, *séksů*, eggs, and salt butter to the mosque, where they make a feast, called *ssboḥ*, with all the other men and the boys of the village as guests. Besides visiting and feasting, powder play and target-practice are common features of the feast. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi both

men and women have a tug of war (*mzăġmîra*) on the morning of the first day.

The chief religious rite of the Little Feast is the service which is held at the *mṣálla* on the morning of the first day. This is exactly similar to the service which takes place there at the Great Feast, except that it is not followed by a sacrifice, and the description of it may therefore be deferred to the account given of the latter. There are persons who fast on the six latter days of the feast, which is considered a great merit.[1]

[1] *Cf. Mishkāt*, vii. 7. 1 (English translation, vol. i. 483).

CHAPTER XIV

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH THE MUHAMMADAN CALENDAR (*concluded*)

The Great Feast

On the tenth day of the month Ḏū 'l-ḥijjah, the last month of the year, the Muhammadan world celebrates its yearly sacrificial feast, known under different names in different Moslem countries. In Morocco the Arabic-speaking population call it *l-'īd l-kbīr*, "the Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as *l'īd mqqorn* (Amanūz), *l'īd amqqran* (Ait Waráin), *l'īḏ amqqŏran* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi), or *r'īḏ amqqran* (Ṯemsâmän), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the *'âšūr*, the *mûlūd*, and the *'īd ṣ-ṣġēr*, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

The customs and rites connected with the Great Feast may be divided into various groups. They comprise practices of a purificatory or sanctifying character, the object of which is to prepare the people for the holy feast and its principal feature, the sacrifice; preparatory practices, the object of which is to purify or sanctify the sacrificial animal, as also the instrument with which it is to be slaughtered; the act of sacrifice itself; practices by means of which the people aim to utilise the *baraka* of the sacrificed victim; and practices by which they aim to guard themselves against, or rid themselves of, the evil influences of the feast and its sacrifice. The first of these groups of rites partly coincides with the last.

The people must purify and sanctify themselves in order to benefit by the holy feast and its sacrifice, as also to protect themselves against supernatural danger; for holiness, as we know, implies not only beneficial energy but also a seed of evil, which is particularly apt to affect unclean individuals. Personal cleanliness should be observed. Men and boys have their heads shaved, and many persons have a bath; in Fez the barbers' shops and the hot baths are kept open throughout the night preceding the feast. On the morning of its first day the people dress themselves in clean clothes, and those who can afford it put on new slippers. In some places it is the custom to purify the clothes with rose- or orange-water, or to fumigate them with agal-wood or other incense commonly used for the purpose of keeping off the *jnūn* (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn).

An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Ṭemsâmän; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences. The women paint their hands with it, and in many cases (Andjra, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr) also their feet, on the eve of the feast or sometimes (Ait Waráin) a little before; but at Fez I was told that the women there are too busy with household duties on this occasion to have time to subject themselves to that process, accompanied as it is by certain inconveniences. In some places the married women only paint their feet (Ḥiáina, Amanūz, Aglu), or paint patterns on them (Andjra). Children of either sex are often painted in the same manner as the unmarried (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṭ Nḏēr); but henna may also be more liberally applied to girls than to boys, the latter only having it daubed on their hands (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Yúsi) or the right hand (Aiṭ Sádděn, Amanūz, Aglu). Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkâla) or its nail (Aiṭ Wäryâġer) into it.

Unmarried young men may make a larger use of it, applying it to their hands (Aiṭ Yúsi) or to their right hand (Aiṭ Sádděn); but left-handed bachelors daub it on the left hand instead of the right (*ibid.*).

Among some tribes the women also rub their hair with henna—not, however, on the eve of the feast, but on the first or second day of it, or even later (Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aiṭ Sádděn). Among the Ait Waráin it is the unmarried girls who are addicted to this practice; and that it is not merely looked upon as a means of improving their appearance is evident from the belief that they will lose their hair unless they rub it with henna before the hair of the sacrificed animal is singed off on the first day of the feast. The Aiṭ Nḍēr smear a little henna on their navels on the eve of the feast in order to prevent indigestion.

Henna is applied to horses (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḍēr) and other domestic animals as well as people, especially to such white spots as may be found on their bodies. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, for example, daub it on the foreheads of their horses and sheep, and on their camels, cattle, and goats. The Aiṭ Sádděn smear some henna on the foreheads and feet of their horses and mules, on the foreheads of their cows, sheep, and goats, and on the tips of the sheeps' tails; or, if they have a large number of animals, sprinkle them with a mixture of henna and water. The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi put a little henna on one animal of each species, even dogs and cats, and the Aiṭ Yúsi and the Arabs of the Ḥiáina on the sires of their sheep. Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Aiṭ Yúsi), or to their chests and feet as well (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn); while the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them. People who live in tents daub henna on the ridge-pole (Dukkâla, Aiṭ Sádděn) or the vertical poles of the tent (Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aiṭ Sádděn), and the Aiṭ Sádděn also do so on the pole (*ṭärrselṭ*) supporting the roof of a house.

On the eve of the feast, or afterwards, the women (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or the married women (Andjra, Amanūz), paint their eyes with antimony

and their lips and teeth with walnut root or bark. In Andjra the scribe who conducts the service on the first morning of the feast has also his eyes coloured with antimony; and among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the same is the case with other men as well.

There are other practices, of a more religious character, that are intended to prepare the people for the celebration of the feast. On the day preceding it—called *nhār 'arafa*, "the 'Arafa day", because on this day the hill of 'Arafah or 'Arafāt is visited by the pilgrims—it is in some parts of the country the custom to visit the shrines of saints (Andjra, Amanūz), which is supposed to confer *baraka* on the visitors. The latter take home with them some earth from the shrine (Ṭemsâmän) and also some dates which they buy at the place (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). The Ait Temsâmän make such visits not only on this day, which they call *'âfa ṭamqqrant* or "the great 'Arafa", but also on the preceding day, *'âfa ṭamzziant* or "the little 'Arafa". They abstain from work on those two days. At Fez the schools, which between the first and seventh days of the month have been open for an hour or two in the morning, are closed on the eighth and ninth. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi and the Aiṭ Sádděn the women perform the necessary household duties, but no other work, during the three, or among the latter sometimes the seven, days immediately preceding the feast. The 'Arafa day is very generally kept as a holiday. We have in another connection noticed various taboos which must be then observed by the people at home if a member of the family is on a pilgrimage to Mecca.[1]

It is considered meritorious, but not obligatory, to fast on the 'Arafa day till sunset,[2] and there are a good many persons who do so, although among some tribes their number is infinitesimal. Among the Ait Temsâmän people also fast

[1] *Supra*, i. 238, 251.

[2] *Cf. Mishkāt*, vii. 5. 1 (English translation by Matthews, vol. i. [Calcutta, 1809], p. 483). Sīdī Ḫalīl says (*Muḫtaṣar*, i. 4. 1. 3 [Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite malékite par Khalîl ibn-Ish'âk'*, vol. i., Paris 1848, p. 464]) that it is meritorious to fast during the days preceding the festival of the immolation from the first day of the month inclusive. *Cf. Mishkāt*, iv. 49. 2 (vol. i. 321 *sq.*).

on the previous day. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz believe that he who has been fasting on the 'Arafa day and on the following morning and breaks his fast by eating part of the liver of a sacrificed animal, and in addition to this says a hundred *rek'āt*, or forms of prayer, is thereby enabled to pronounce curses of very great efficacy. Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make *sĕksû*, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâger abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish *ḏamreqṭ*, a kind of porridge made of dried beans. The Ait Temsâmän only abstain from the latter kind of food, which they call *ṯamarrăq'*.

Almsgiving is another method by which the people prepare themselves for the feast. Among various tribes, on the 'Arafa day, the children of a village go about from tent to tent or from house to house in their own village or in neighbouring villages as well, singing a song with a view to inducing the inhabitants to give them presents of food or money. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the ambulating boys, accompanied by the little girls, sing, '*Arfa 'Arfa, lâlla mĕimûna, a mūlâṭ l-ḥáima a'ṭĕni báiḍa báiḍa baš nzáuwăq lôḥi, lôḥi 'add ṭ-ṭâlĕb, ṭ-ṭâlĕb b ṣḥâbû fî j-jínna yîṭṣâbû, a 'Aiša wa Ḥlîma râfdât l-lîma lĕ ṭ-ṭûlba mersûla*, " 'Arfa 'Arfa, propitious lady, O mistress of the tent give me an egg an egg that I may paint my writing-tablet, my writing-tablet is with the scribe, the scribe and his friends will find each other in Paradise, O 'Aiša and Ḥlîma, who take away the pain which was sent to the scribes!" In the Ḥiáina all the unmarried girls of a village, accompanied by the little boys, walk about, not only on the 'Arafa day, but also on the previous day, '*arafa ṣ-ṣġêra* or " the little 'Arafa "; [1] and there is a similar custom among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi. Among the Ait Temsâmän the ambulations of the schoolboys take place on the first two days of their holiday, which commences ten

[1] Another name for it is *nhār mĭna*. It is on this day, the 8th of Dū 'l-ḥijjah, that the pilgrims proceed from Mecca to Minā, to which place they again return from 'Arafah on the 10th, when the sacrificial animals are killed. The Brâber of the Ait Waráin call the day in question *umna*. In the East, Minā is also called Muna (Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. ii. [London, 1898], p. 180).

days before the feast. In Fez small groups of little girls from the Arab villages outside the town visit the houses for a similar purpose from the beginning of the month till the 'Arafa day inclusive. These so-called *'ărîfaṭˢ* sing, *'Ărîfa mbarkâ mîmûna 'Ărîfa mbarkâ mîmûna, hâya Ḥámmû ḥâya Ḥámmû, nâuwûḍ ḥêtˢek wúlla yímmaḳ tˢa'ṭênî ši wúlla némši, ná'ṭek îlid be l-kummîya u š-šâšîya wă rkâb jdîd nhâr l-'îd*, " 'Ărîfa blessed and propitious 'Arîfa blessed and propitious, halloo Ḥámmû halloo Ḥámmû, make your sister or your mother get up to give me something or otherwise I am going away, I shall give you a little son with a dagger and a pointed red cap and new stirrups on the day of the feast ".[1] During my stay in Fez in the winter 1909–10 I had myself the visit of a small group of these girls, nicely dressed and with their cheeks painted with red cosmetics. On the children's return from their round it is in some places the custom for them to feast on the food thus collected ; and among the Aiṯ Sádděn it is believed that if any grown-up person should come and partake of the meal he would derive merit from it, no doubt on account of the *baraka* attributed to food given in charity to children. In other places, again, the children divide the presents between themselves, each of them taking home his portion to give it to his parents or to use it for his own benefit ; and the schoolboys give part of it to the *fqī* (Ṯemsâmän). Some of the corn (Ḥiáina, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi), or of the corn or flour and salt (Dukkâla, Ġarbîya), collected by the children is put into the mouth of the sacrificial animal immediately before it is killed.

The gifts to the ambulating children are believed to confer merit on the givers, and consequently serve a purifying or sanctifying object. They form part of the almsgiving which in some form or other precedes the feast and is continued after the sacrifice has been performed. In Andjra, where the schoolboys go about collecting food and money, not before this feast but on the *'āšûra* day and two days previously, the people distribute alms among the poor on the 'Arafa day ; and among the country-folks in various parts of Morocco

[1] A very similar song is sung at Tlemcen (Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen* [Paris, 1902], p. 293 *sq.*).

it is the custom on the morning of the first day of the feast, *nhār l-ʿīd*,[1] to give charity consisting of figs or some kind of bread to children from other households or to poor people (Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḏēr). In Dukkâla and the Ḥiáina thin cakes called *bůšïyār* are on this occasion given as alms on behalf of deceased members of the family, *ṣadáqt l-mûtˢa*; and among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the first loaf of bread is set aside for the same purpose. It is the general rule in country places that the men of the village on that morning take their breakfast in common, either in the village mosque or at the sanctuary of some deceased saint or in a large tent, exchanging food with one another; while the women not infrequently are sharing food with other women from neighbouring households, or breakfast all together in a tent apart from the men. Among the Ulâd Bůʿâzîz the men, after finishing the meal, ask God to grant them a good year and a blessed feast, and to have mercy on their parents and the Sultan, and they then say the prayer for the Prophet. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

No religious rite is looked upon as more purifying or sanctifying than prayer. There are persons who get up to pray in the middle of the night preceding the first day of the feast. But the chief praying ceremony takes place on the morning of that day at a place called the *mṣálla*, or "place of prayer". This place may be at the sanctuary of a saint or outside the village mosque; but the *mṣálla* of a town is either a whitewashed enclosure or, as is the case with the two *mṣállātˢ* outside Fez, simply contains a long straight wall with a prayer niche (*mäḫrāb*), turned towards Mecca, and a pulpit (*můnbar*), ascended by a flight of steps, in the centre (Fig. 133). In some country places the *mṣálla* is merely indicated by a row of stones or a cairn. It must be a place where the persons who pray are sheltered from any evil influence which might otherwise deprive their prayers

[1] Some of the Brâber, the Imărmůšĕn, call this day *bůisléḫen*, "owner of skins" (*isléḫen*, sing. *asleḫ*).

of their efficacy. If on any occasion a man who is engaged in praying sees another person coming in front of him, he immediately for that purpose places a couple of stones or some other object between himself and the passer-by. I noticed this once when my little caravan passed a scribe who was praying on the roadside ; but it also holds true of persons who are praying indoors, a glass or a bottle, or anything near at hand, being in such a case used as a shelter.

At Fez, on the first morning of the feast, the people who

FIG. 133.—The *mṣálla* outside Pāb Ftʿöḥ at Fez.

are assembled at the *mṣálla* sing, *Lā iláha ílla lláhů alláhů ákbar, wa subḥán alláhi u l-ḥamdu li lláhi, wä lạ ḥáula wä lạ qůwwátˢa illâ bi llāh*, " There is no god but God, God is most great, and praise be to God and thanks be to God, there is neither power nor strength but with God ". When the Sultan arrives, the singing comes to an end, and the *fqī* who is going to conduct the service enters the *mäḥrāb* and says there two *rekʿāt*, in the usual manner, with his face turned towards the East and his back towards the people. Everybody present follows his example. He then turns round, addressing the congregation with the phrase, *S-salậmů ʿálikum*, " Peace be with you ", which is repeated

by the people ; it is believed that if anybody should say this before the *fqī*, his prayer would be of no avail. The *fqī* ascends the *mínbar* and reads the *ḫóṭba*, with the book in his right hand and a staff in his left. In country places the ceremonies differ in certain details. For example, among the Aiṯ Sádděn the men walk to the *mṣálla* in procession, headed by a man carrying a flag which has been brought from Mecca by some returned pilgrim and is only used on this occasion. While they proceed, the first half of the troop chant, *Allâhû ákbar allâhû ákbar allâhû ákbar, wa li llâḥi l-ḥāmd*, "God is most great, God is most great, God is most great, and thanks be to God". The latter half continue, *Subḥân allâhi u l-ḥamdu li llâḥi, wa lā ilâha illa llâhû*, "Praise be to God and thanks be to God, and there is no god but God". This chant is then repeated antiphonally till they arrive at the *mṣálla*. After the two *rek'āt* have been said by the *fqī* and the congregation, and the *fqī* has read the *ḫóṭba*, he seats himself on a mat and calls down blessings on the Sultan, the people, and the feast. At the conclusion of every prayer the congregation, likewise sitting, express their assent by an *amîn*. The *fqī* strokes his face with his palms, saying, *L-ḥamdu li llâḥi rábbi l-'álamīn*, "Thanks be to God, the Lord of the worlds". The people get up, kiss the head of the *fqī*, who still remains sitting, and wish him a blessed feast with the usual phrase, *Nbārḫ l'îḏnnĕš*. They then do the same to one another and go away all together, chanting as before. But they must not go back the same way as they came ; this is a rule strictly followed not only by the Aiṯ Sádděn but in Fez, Tangier, and other places, and is reported to have been observed by the Prophet himself.[1] It is said that there is merit in every step to the *mṣálla*—*kull ḫálfa b ḥaṣâna*—and that this merit would be cancelled by the homeward steps along the same route; but I have also heard another and, as it seems, more acceptable explanation of the custom in question, namely, that the people want to avoid the *baṣ*, or evil, which may defile the road on which they walked before they had said their prayers. The cere-

[1] Al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xiii. 24 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. i. [Paris, 1903], p. 323).

mony at the *mṣálla* is followed by the killing of the sacrificial animal; and that it is, partly at least, looked upon as a preparation for the sacrifice is suggested by the great emphasis which in the Muhammadan traditions is laid on the necessity of performing the sacrifice after, and not before, the prayer, in order that it shall be efficacious.[1]

Before passing to the rules referring to the sacrificial victim, we have still to notice some practices which in all probability have originated in an intention of the people to purify themselves for the feast or to keep away evil influences. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr and the Aiṭ Yúsi it is the custom for the men of one village to go, some on horseback and others on foot, to a neighbouring village to pretend to steal some of its animals. Then a sham fight ensues between the men of the two villages, with much discharge of powder at such close quarters that they not infrequently burn each others' clothes, the smoke of powder generally being supposed to drive away evil spirits. The whole affair ends with meals partaken of by both parties in common, first in one village and then in the other. All this is done very early on the morning of the first day of the feast. Again, among the Ulåd Bů'ăzîz, when the horsemen who have come to the *mṣálla* from other villages return to their homes, they have a race in which those belonging to the same village try all together to catch hold of the unfolded turban swung by the man who takes the lead.

The sacrificial animal, which is called in Arabic *ḍḥîya*[2] and in Shelḥa *tafáska* (Amanūz) or *taffáska* (Iglíwa), is mostly a sheep, but people who have no sheep, or who cannot afford to buy one, sacrifice a goat; sometimes a bullock (Dukkâla, Shlöḥ) or a small camel (Aglu) is slaughtered on this occasion, but in such a case it is generally held necessary to sacrifice a sheep as well. It is said that the most meritorious sacrifice is a ram, and that the merit in sacrificing other animals decreases according as the victim is a ewe,

[1] Al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xiii. 3. 1; 5. 1; 7. 2; 8. 4; 10. 1; 17. 1; 23. 1 (vol. i. 312, 313, 315-317, 319, 323).

[2] From *ḍḥā* (*ḍuḥā*), the hour when religious people say their forenoon prayers.

a he-goat, a she-goat, a bullock, a cow, a he-camel, or a she-camel. The sacrificial animal must be free from any defect. If it is a sheep, it should not be what is called at Fez a *ḥáuli garṭêṭ* or *ḥáuli bt*ᶜ*ar*, that is, a sheep whose tail is short like that of a goat; and it is desirable that it should have not only a well-developed tail, but long ears and horns as well. The best of all sacrifices is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes, presumably because it looks as if it had been painted with antimony; such a ram is called in Arabic *l-ḥáuli s-súrdi* (Fez) or *l-ḥáuli ṣ-ṣróndi* (Ḥiáina), and in Berber *aḥáuli aḥắmmi* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *aḥắuli aḍắğmi* (Aiṭ Yúsi), *aḥárfi abárqi* (Ait Waráin), *bûizûla* (Iglíwa), or *bizûla* (Amanūz, Aglu). But a ram with a white face, called by the Aiṭ Sádděn *aḥắuli áğšwi* and by the Aiṭ Yúsi *aḥắuli abắrqi*, is also a very suitable victim. If the animal succeeds in tearing itself away when about to be tied up, it is no longer considered fit for sacrifice, but another animal must take its place (Dukkâla).

Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification. In some places it is, on the eve of the feast, daubed with henna between its eyes (Aglu, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or has a similar stain made on its back also (Aglu); and among the Ait Waráin the sheep of the *fqī* has designs painted with henna both on its body and its head. But elsewhere no henna is applied to the sacrificial animal, even though other sheep are painted with it (Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ḥiáina); I heard an old Berber from the Aiṭ Yúsi disapprove of the custom of smearing that holy colouring matter on a head which is going to have its hair singed off on the following day. At Demnat and among the Iglíwa walnut root is applied to the mouth or teeth of the sheep and antimony to its eyes or, at Demnat, to its right eye. It is considered proper that the sacrificial animal should fast on the 'Arafa day (Fez, Mnáṣăra, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aglu), or at least on the following morning, till some food is put into its mouth immediately before it is killed. The food given to it on this occasion, whether it has been fasting or not, is corn or flour and often salt as well, which, as has been said before, is in

many cases taken from the alms bestowed on the children on the previous day. At the same time some water may be poured into its mouth. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the sacrificer, when he performs this ceremony, says, '*Allĕfnák u šarrą̆bnâk fę̆ d-dúnya, tta 'állĕfna u šárrą̆bna fę̆ l-áḫra*, "We gave you food and drink in this world, may you give us food and drink in the other world". The Shlöḥ of Aglu give to the animal a mixture of barley, salt, and henna, saying, *Yā răbbi ṣṣåḥḥa u lhĕna*, "O God, health and quietness"; and this is done three times consecutively. The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and the Ait Temsâmän some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Ḥiáina told me that it takes away the *bą̆s* from the house. In the Ġarbîya, where I was once a witness of the sacrifice, a mixture of flour, salt, and water was not only pushed into the mouth of the sheep, but the remainder of the mixture was poured over and rubbed into its body. In Andjra, while the *fqī* is performing the sacrifice, a scribe carries a pot containing live charcoal and benzoin three times round the place where he is standing with the sheep, in order to keep off the *jnūn* with the smoke; and as soon as the *fqī* has cut the throat of the animal he puts some salt into the gaping wound, and also throws some on the blood which has flowed on the ground. Some salt (Mnáṣăra) or a piece of charcoal as well (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) is thrown on the spot where the animal is going to be slaughtered, as a protection against evil spirits; or that place is, for the same purpose, afterwards sprinkled with salt (Aiṭ Sádděn, Demnat, Amanūz, Aglu). Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz it is merely swept clean previous to the sacrifice. Among the same tribe there is a consecration of the victim after its death: it is hung up in the tent by a rope made of palmetto leaves which were brought from the *mṣálla* in the morning. This rope is afterwards, on account of its *baraka*,

used for the tying up of a new-born calf or a newly bought animal.

It is considered obligatory on each head of a family or household to sacrifice one animal, but there are persons who sacrifice more, even as many as three or four, this being supposed to increase their merit. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a man who has many sheep sacrifices not only one for himself but another one for his wife, and if he has several wives he sacrifices one sheep on behalf of each of them. Among their neighbours, the Ait Waráin and the Aiṭ Sádděn, as also among the Amanūz, it is considered quite a duty for such a man to slaughter a sheep or a goat for each wife, but a husband who has only one wife does not sacrifice more than one animal.

The first sacrifice is generally performed by the *fqī*, either at the *mṣálla* or inside the village; in the latter instance it sometimes takes place close to the mosque. Immediately after the sacrifice a gun is fired as a signal for the other men to follow the *fqī's* example, but possibly also with a view to driving away evil spirits. It is meritorious for a man to perform his own sacrifice. In Dukkâla I heard a saying that he who does not wash his own clothes, who does not write his own letters, or who does not slaughter his own animals, is already an object of mourning before his death. But if a man does not know how to butcher an animal, the sacrifice is performed on his behalf by the *fqī* or by some other suitable man. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the *fqī* kills all the sacrificial animals in his village, and appoints one man from each neighbouring village which has no *fqī* to do the same—some man who is in the habit of praying and is known for his honesty and has never committed murder nor killed a dog. It is a common rule that a homicide must not sacrifice with his own hands (Fez, Ḥiáina, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Beni Ăḥsen, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Demnat, Iglíwa, Aglu); but it is not universal (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), or though it be admitted in theory it is not followed in practice (Ṭemsâmăn). Among some tribes there is a similar prohibition with reference to a person who has killed a dog, such a person being looked upon as unclean (Ḥiáina,

Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Iglíwa, Aglu). Among the Amanūz a *fqī* who has committed homicide may kill his own animal but cannot conduct the service at the feast.

There is also a consecration of the knives with which the animals are going to be killed. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz each head of a household takes his knife with him to the *mṣálla* on the morning of the feast, and there all the knives are put together on the ground before the service commences. Should anybody arrive after the *ḫóṭba* has been read, he must rub his knife against a stone in the wall or enclosure of the sanctuary at which the people are assembled, this being considered to have the same effect as if it had been read over. In the Ḥiáina, again, a person who is late rubs his knife against one of the knives which have been placed in front of the *fqī*. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn all the knives are thrust into the cairn which marks the *mṣálla*; among the Aiṭ Nḏēr they are dipped into the blood of the sheep which has been killed by the *fqī*, or into the blood of any other sheep which has been killed with a knife thus consecrated; and among the Aiṭ Yúsi every man who is chosen by the *fqī* to slaughter the sacrificial animals of his village must do so with a knife which has been dipped into the blood of the sheep sacrificed by the *fqī* at the *mṣálla*.

In towns the *fqī* who reads the *ḫóṭba* (*l-ḫṭēb*), and who may be the *qâḍi*, or judge, of the town, kills the first sheep at the *mṣálla*, and, if the Sultan resides in the town, he also, with his own hands, performs his sacrifice at that place, immediately after the *ḫṭēb*. In country places it is not the general rule that the first victim is sacrificed at the *mṣálla*; it may be slaughtered by the *fqī* outside the mosque of the village or, like the other animals, in or outside the owner's house or tent. The head of the animal which is going to be sacrificed is turned towards the East. At Fez, when its throat is cut, the sacrificer says, *Bismilláh alláhû ákbar, 'âla ḍḥîyĕṭˢ flān ben flâna*, "In the name of God, God is most great; for the sacrifice of So-and-so, son of So-and-so". The latter name is that of the owner's mother, not of his father. But among the Aiṭ Sádděn the custom prevails of mentioning the name of the owner's wife instead of his own,

as well as her mother's name—*Bsmillâ llâhû kbar, 'âla ḍḥait flâna bent flâna*; and the animal thus slaughtered is looked upon as *her* property. Although the sacrifice is as a general rule performed on the first day of the feast, it may be postponed till the second or third day, if a suitable animal cannot be procured for the first.[1]

It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkâla, Ḥiâina, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi). In Dukkâla it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Aiṯ Nḏēr) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ṯemsâmän, certain families among the Ulâd Bu'ăzîz) it is only partaken of on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt, and in several cases it is regularly eaten alone without bread (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ġarbîya, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi). The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shrâga, Ḥiâina, Mnâṣăra, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän, Ait Waráin, Demnat, Amanūz), as also the heart (Shrâga, Ḥiâina, Mnâṣăra, Andjra, Ait Waráin, Demnat, Amanūz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shrâga, Ḥiâina, Mnâṣăra, Andjra, Ṯemsâmän, Ait Waráin, Demnat, Amanūz) and the feet (Tangier, Shrâga, Ḥiâina, Andjra, Ṯemsâmän, Ait Waráin, Amanūz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Aiṯ Sádděn), and the head and the feet on the first (*ibid.*) or the third (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day, and in some places (Aglu, Ait Waráin, some villages among the Aiṯ Imlul who are a section of the Aiṯ Sádděn), or among

[1] *Cf. Mishkāt*, iv. 49. 3 (English translation, vol. i. 322).

certain families (Aṯ Ubáḫṭi), even on the second day. It is believed that a transgression of the rule relating to the eating of the flesh would be followed by the death of the transgressor. The Aiṯ Sádděn say that if, on the first day, even the slightest cut is made in the flesh, liver, heart, lungs, or entrails, some misfortune will befall the members of the household. There are certain other restrictions to be mentioned in this connection. In the Ġarbîya there is a village whose inhabitants altogether abstain from eating the head of the sacrificed animal; they say they do so for the reason that their forefathers once at the time of the Great Feast, when they were attacked by the Portuguese so suddenly that they had no time to fetch their guns, repulsed the enemy by the aid of their knives and the horns of the sheep which had been slaughtered just before. Among the Ait Temsâmän and the Aiṯ Wäryâġer children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel. The Aṯ Ubáḫṭi believe that if a man should eat the nose, he would be found out in case he committed theft.

What remains of the meat is made into *qaddîd* (or *ğeddîd* [Ulâd Bu'ăzîz], *lqaddîd* [Iglíwa], *rqaddiḍ* [Ṯemsâmän, Aiṯ Wäryâġer], *ṯiqqăddîḍin* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *asáwar* [Aiṯ Yúsi], *taġârin* [Aglu], *tifîyi iqôrn* [Amanūz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips. At Aglu, however, no *qaddîd* is made of the first animal sacrificed by a married man after his wedding if neither he nor his wife had been married before. A portion of the *qaddîd* is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following *'āšûra*.[1] Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer some *qaddîd* must be preserved till the following *mûlûd*, and among the Aiṯ Nḍēr and at Mequinez a piece of the animal is left till the *'ánṣăra* (Midsummer).[2] By eating the sacrificed animal the people expect to be benefited by its holiness, and by leaving a portion of it to

[1] *Supra*, ii. 62-64, 66. [2] *Infra*, p. 194.

be eaten at one of those feasts they hope to transfer its benign virtue to that occasion.

The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood. At Fez some of it, as it comes fresh from the wound, is smeared on the hands and feet of little children to prevent them from swelling in cold weather and the skin from chapping. A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkâla, Aiṭ Mjilḍ, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṭemsâmän); but the Aiṭ Sádděn, among whom the same method is also adopted by persons who are in the habit of kicking their toes against stones when walking, maintain that the feet must be dipped into the blood of seven different victims in order that any salutary effect shall follow. The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi smear a little of the blood on their stomachs to avoid indigestion, and the Aiṭ Mjilḍ anoint their eyes with a drop of the blood first gushing out from the wound with a view to preventing them from getting sore. At Rabat I was told that if the person who flays off the skin cuts his hand with the knife he will have a long life. The Mnáṣăra put into the hole in the ground over which the animal is sacrificed not only some salt but also a silver bracelet, in the belief that when the blood comes into contact with the silver the family will become more prosperous. The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling *jnūn*. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood. The Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi sprinkle with sacrificial blood the lintel of the entrance door of their houses, but care must be taken that none of it drops on the threshold, lest anybody should walk over it; it would attract *jnūn* (Aglu), or it would chap the skin of the feet (Iglíwa). At Demnat the dried blood is used as medicine by persons who are supposed to have been struck by *jnūn*; it is burned, and the smoke inhaled by the patient. The

Ulâd Bû'ăzîz put some of it under the threshold of a new house when building it, to serve as a protection against *jnūn*. They strew the same substance on their pomegranate trees when the blossoms are coming out, so as to prevent their getting dry; both they and the Mnâṣăra place it at the bottom of their stacks on the threshing-floor on account of its *baraka*; and in Dukkâla it is also put in granaries to give them the benefit of its holiness. The Aiṭ Yúsi smear it on the backs of their sheep and goats to make them prosper. In the Ḥiáina it is, mixed with henna, applied to the hair of persons suffering from a headache; and when an easterly gale is blowing it is thrown in a fire-pot in order that the smoke may stop the wind.

The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much *baraka* in it. In many tribes mothers, for the purpose of weaning their babies, rub their breasts with it so as to give them a bitter taste (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Ait Waráin). Among the Aiṭ Sádděn women paint their eyes with powder made from it, mixed with antimony. The Ait Temsâmän burn it on the *'āšûra* day and fumigate their eyes with the smoke to prevent their getting diseased; and they also, on other occasions, fumigate their children with its smoke as a precaution against the evil eye. In the Ḥiáina, when a foal is ill, a little piece of it is burned and the smoke is made to enter its nostrils. The Aiṭ Yúsi give their churns the benefit of its smoke in spring, when the milk is getting plentiful. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâger the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (*azqaq*), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it. Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi both the gall and the urinary bladder are suspended from the front pole of the tent, and are left there for an indefinite time.

In the same tribe a piece of the stomach is hung up in the tent and, when dry, is burned as medicine for headache, the patient inhaling the smoke. The Aiṭ Sádděn suspend a certain part of the gut from the roof of the house or tent in order to "make the churn fat". The Shlöḥ of Aglu hang the so-called *amġar wadan* ("the chief of the gut", cæcum?)

over the door of the house, and if any member of the household gets a boil a piece of it is put on the boil to promote suppuration. The Iglíwa throw parts of the intestines filled with excrements on cornfields that are infested with certain larvæ, called *tiġāġ*, in order to attract and destroy these vermin. In Andjra beardless men smear their faces with the contents of the gut so as to make the beard grow.

The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Wäryâġer);[1] but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen. Among the Ait Temsâmän a person who has been bitten by a mad dog beats the wound with it three times after putting pepper on the wound. The Shlöḥ of Aglu paint it with henna and use it for the purpose of stirring the corn in the earthenware saucepan (*afĕllun*) in which they dry it over the fire before they begin the grinding. The Aiṭ Yúsi bury the right shoulder-blade in the cornfield when thunder is heard in the spring, in order to prevent the crops from being burned. Among the same tribe it is the custom for a man who has a daughter, sister, or paternal aunt living in another house or tent to send her as a present one of the shoulders of the animal he has sacrificed. The Aiṭ Sádděn do the same with the right shoulder-blade.

Among the Ait Waráin the larynx is preserved to be used as a charm against the evil eye, fastened to a stick which is thrust into a stack of corn (*ą̈šmin*). In Andjra a piece of it is tied round the neck of a new-born babe as a protection against evil influences; and it is also hung round the neck of a child suffering from a cough.

The jaw-bones are in Andjra used as a rain-charm;[2] the profession of the faith is written on them, although nobody can see the writing. In the Ḥiáina a person who has an aching back-tooth puts on the cheek the corresponding half of the lower jaw-bone of the sacrificed animal; whilst its fore-teeth are burned and the smoke is inhaled by anybody

[1] See also *supra*, ii. 63 (Amanūz). [2] *Infra*, p. 270.

who is troubled with giddiness. Among the Ait Temsâmän a person who has been bitten by a mad dog may use the right jaw-bone in the same manner as the right shoulder-blade. A charm is written on the jaw-bone for the purpose of causing a bride to prohibit her husband from intercourse.[1] At Lăġzûa, among the Ida Ugŏrḍ in Ḥáḥa, the skull, called *buhărrus*, is taken with music and powder play to a holy argan tree, Argan Isîsĕl, and is left there to safeguard animals and other property.[2]

The Bni 'Ăroṣ hang the horns in their houses and leave them there till the next Great Feast, so as to have the benefit of their *baraka*. In Andjra the horns are burned into powder which, mixed with water, is used as ink by the schoolboys in order to improve their writing. With the same mixture some scribe writes a few words from the Koran in a new plate, pours water over the writing, and puts some raisins in it.[3] The water is then drunk by a schoolboy who cannot learn his lessons, and the raisins, enveloped in a new handkerchief, are placed by the scribe near the beehives. Next morning, before sunrise, he brings back the raisins, which are eaten by the boy on an empty stomach with a view to increasing his capacity for learning. In the same tribe a horn of a sacrificed sheep is hung in a pomegranate tree to prevent the blossoms from falling down. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

Among the Aiṯ Yúsi some fat of the eyes of a sacrificed animal is at the Great Feast following the birth of a babe given to the child to eat in order to protect it against evil spirits. Among the same tribe the tail of the sacrificed sheep is cut off and preserved for occasions when there is a strong easterly gale, a bit of it being burned to stop the wind.

The skin of the animal should never be sold; yet there are persons who break this rule. It is sometimes given away in charity, sometimes used as a praying mat, and frequently made into a sack for holding women's clothing (Ulâd

[1] *Supra*, i. 574. [2] See *supra*, i. 67.

[3] For another charm written with such ink see *infra*, p. 400.

Bû'ăzîz, Ait Waráin) or into a churn so as to increase the quantity of butter (Dukkâla, Ḥiáina, Aglu). The Shlöḥ of Aglu rub their faces with the skin immediately after it has been flayed off. They also kiss the sheep's mouth before it is killed. The Ait Waráin tie round the horns of the sheep which is going to be slaughtered by the *fqī* a silk kerchief or belt of some childless woman, who is thereby supposed to be cured of her barrenness.

Among the same tribe the barley and salt which remains in the mouth of the animal after it has been killed is removed and sewn up in a small rag or piece of leather to be hung on some child or animal as a charm against the evil eye. In various Berber tribes (Aiṭ Nḍēr, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

The holiness of the sacrificed animal is utilised not only with a view to deriving supernatural benefits from it, but also for the purpose of divination. It is generally believed that if the animal gets up after its throat has been cut, its owner will prosper and have a long life; it is said of him that "his days" or "his luck remained standing" or "stood up"—*l-îyäm wáqfa* (Fez), *nĭkĕrnt liáměns* (Iglíwa), *ibd mimúns* (*ibid.*), *ibd lmäimúns* (Aglu), *mimûněnnes ībĕdd* (Aiṭ Sádděn). On the other hand, if the animal dies at once the days of its owner are supposed to be numbered. In towns the sheep sacrificed at the *mṣálla* is immediately and in great haste carried in a basket to the house of the *qâḍi*, or judge; if it arrives there alive the judge, or according to some the Sultan, will have a long life, whereas it is a bad omen if it arrives there dead. When the Sultan takes part in the ceremony at the *mṣálla*, the two sheep sacrificed by him and the *ḫṭēb* are carried on the backs of two galloping mules to their respective residences, every effort being made that the sheep shall not die on the way.

In many places the people read their fortune in the sacri-

ficial blood (Dukkâla, Mnâṣăra, Aiṭ Mjilḏ, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn).[1] Thus, among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, when the cut has been made and the blood is gushing out, a plate which has previously been carefully cleaned is held underneath the wound and, when filled with blood, is immediately covered so as to retain its prognostic qualities. The fortune-reading takes place shortly after, when the blood is getting clotted. If there is a straight split in the centre of the plate, either the owner of the sheep or some member of his family living in his tent will die before long; if there is one at the side of the plate, some other relative of his will die; if there are more than one, their number indicates the number of persons who will die. Such a split is called a "grave" (*qbar*). If there is in the blood a long crooked split, the owner of the sheep will travel; it is a "road" (*trēg*). Holes in the blood are named *l-mers*, which means a collection of subterranean granaries; they indicate that the owner of the sheep will have much corn, and the more holes in the blood the more corn he will have. If there is any straw in the blood, he will become the possessor of domestic animals, and the more straws there are the more animals he will have; the straw is called "increase" or "abundance" (*ziyḏâda*). If there is water in the blood, the inhabitants of the tent will have to weep; such water is termed "tears" (*dmó'ŏ*). Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, on the other hand, the water is regarded as an indication of much rain. After reading their fortune in the blood the Aiṭ Sádděn bury it in the ground if the prognostication was good, but give it to the dogs if it contained an evil foreboding.

Many people believe that if the gall-bladder is full the owner of the animal will have full churns that year (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr). The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi ascribe the same meaning to a full urinary bladder, whilst according to them a full gall-bladder indicates that there will be much corn because there will be much rain.

The Shlöḥ of Aglu and the Amanūz make prognostications from the intestines of the sacrificed sheep. If they are full of leavings, there will be plenty of rain and the year will

[1] M. Doutté (*Merrâkech* [Paris, 1905], p. 369) mentions the prevalence of this kind of divination in the Raḥámna.

be good ; if there are leavings in their forepart alone, rain will only fall in the beginning of the ploughing season (October and November) and the crops will be bad ; if there are leavings in the end of the gut tube only, there will be much rain in the spring when the crops are earing and they will consequently be satisfactory. The Aiṭ Sádděn maintain that if the forepart of the intestines is thick and full, the owner of the animal will have much milk—" full churns "—during that year.

Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkâla, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Amanūz, Aglu, Demnat, Iglíwa, and other Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas) ; but in order to be suitable for this purpose the bone must be stripped of its meat not with the teeth but with the fingers, so as not to be scratched (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Iglíwa, Aglu). When it is passed over to the fortune-teller it must not be given into his hand, but must be laid down in front of him (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) ; and I was told by a man from the Ḥiáina that this must be done three times consecutively. The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood.[1] But I presume that it must be more complicated, as there are only special persons, called *kĕttˢâfa* (sing. *kĕttˢâf*, from *ktˢef*, " shoulder "), who are versed in it. It

[1] M. Doutté, who mentions the prevalence of this practice in the Raḥámna (*op. cit.* p. 369 *sq.*), describes it as follows :—" On désosse l'épaule droite et on en retire l'omoplate : si elle est lisse, l'année sera bonne ; si, au contraire, il y a une ligne blanche, c'est le signe du ' kfen ', de mauvais augure ".

should be added that fortune is also read in the right shoulder-blades of other sheep than such as are killed at the Great Feast (Aglu); indeed, among the Aiṭ Sádděn this kind of divination is only practised on occasions when a single sheep is slaughtered and not at the feast, when the shoulder-blades of different animals might lead to contradictory prognostications. They say that the shoulder-blade of the sacrificial sheep only tells lies.

The process of the liver which is in Arabic called *rbīb* (*processus caudatus* ?) is another part of the sacrificed animal from which prognostications are made. In the Ḥiáina and among the Aiṭ Nḍēr it is supposed to tell the fortune of the owner of the animal; whilst in the latter tribe the fortune of the whole village is read in the rest of the liver.

The condition of the heart of the sacrificed animal is said to give an indication as to the heart of the person who slaughtered it. If it is dark and full of blood, the latter has a black heart (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn) or is inimical to the owner of the sheep in case it is slaughtered by somebody else (Ait Waráin); but if it is light and bloodless, he is a good man or is friendly to the owner. One of my informants assured me that none of the sheep which he had killed had had any blood at all in its heart. The Ait Temsâmän, again, believe that the heart of the animal in the same manner indicates the nature, not of the person who slaughtered it, but of him who was holding it when it was sacrificed. They also maintain that if an easterly wind is blowing while the animals are sacrificed there will be much east wind during the coming year, and that if the wind is westerly there will be much west wind.

As we have noticed before, the difference between prognostication and magic causation is often extremely vague, and something which from one point of view is regarded as an omen may from another point of view be looked upon as a cause of the foreshadowed event. Hence the fact that the sacrificed animal prophesies both prosperity and misfortune may be taken as an indication of the idea that, like many other holy things, it is a source not only of beneficial influences but of harmful ones as well. The rules relating to the eating

of the sacrificed animal illustrate the same idea; and so do various other facts connected with the Great Feast and its sacrifice. As the flesh, so also the skin is in the beginning a source of danger. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn it is left for three days on the roof of the house or tent, and during this period it must not on any account be taken inside the dwelling. The bones of the head, particularly of the lower jaw, and sometimes those of the feet, are looked upon as dangerous. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz they are buried underneath a stone or cairn outside the village, since, if left near a tent, they are supposed to cause the destruction of its pottery or even to give sickness to its inhabitants. But both in this and in various other tribes (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) it is also the custom to throw some of these bones, which are collectively called *buhärrūs* (*bůḥarrûs*, *búhărrus*), at or outside the tent or house of a person from another village or an enemy, with the phrase, *Ana läḫt á'lik bůḥarrûs*, "I threw on you *bůḥarrûs*" (Dukkâla); or, "I threw on you *búhărrus* before you throw it on me".[1] If the person who does so is caught, he may have to undergo a severe flogging or even be shot dead; but in many cases he is merely put to ridicule by being smeared with dung, or being tied to an animal so as to be dirtied by it, or being dressed up as a woman, having his face daubed with a little henna, and sour milk poured into his beard, the whole affair having the character of a joke rather than being an expression of ill-will. The belief that the *buhärrūs* causes the destruction of pottery, which I have also found among all the Berber tribes who have the practice of throwing it, may be due either to the fact that the bones themselves have been broken or to the natural function of the jaws, which in most cases seem to be the only bones called by the name *buhärrūs*. This word, which comes from the verb *härres*, means "breaker"; and an old man from the Ḥiáina expressly connected it with the breaking of the food by the jaw-bones.

[1] In Fez the phrase, *Ana rmīt' 'ălik buhärrus* ("I threw on you *buhärrus*"), has lost its original meaning, and is used by a person who finishes his work before another with whom he has been working. It is known to mean something bad, but is said as a joke.

In some instances the *buhärrūs* is thrown on the evening of the first day of the feast or on the following evening (Aṯ Ubáḥṭi, Aiṯ Nḍēr), but in other cases (Ḥiáina, Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ait Waráin) the regular time for throwing it is the morning of the second day, which among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz is called *nhār bůḥarrûs* ("the day of *bůḥarrûs*"). The motive for this practice, however, is not merely a malicious desire to break other people's crockery, but I am expressly told that it is also intended to rid one's own home of *baṣ*, or evil influences. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz practise another purificatory rite on the same morning: many persons then pour water over each other, and it is believed that such ablutions are particularly beneficial to sick people. The second day of the feast is considered a dangerous day; it is also called *bůmězlağ* (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin; *bůmzlăğ* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *bůmzlěğ* [Aiṯ Yúsi]), or "misleader".[1] The *jnūn*, who have gone away on the first day come back on the second (Aiṯ Yúsi). It is bad to travel on that day (*ibid.*, Ait Waráin), and labour is frequently abstained from. I was told that anybody who should work on the second day of the feast would have some grave misfortune: robbers would kill him at night, or some of his children or animals would die, or he would be struck with blindness (Ḥiáina). Throughout Morocco the first day of the feast is kept as a holiday. At Fez the shops are closed during the first three days and the schools during the remaining four as well. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi and the Aiṯ Sádděn the women perform no other work but such as is involved in the preparation of food as long as the feast lasts.

We have still to notice certain other practices by which those who celebrate the feast presumably try to guard themselves against or shake off the injurious elements of its holiness. To these belongs the tug of war which is frequently practised at the Great Feast.[2] Among the Aiṯ Nḍēr it takes place on

[1] The same name is given to the second day of the *mûlūd* and of the Little Feast (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi).

[2] M. Laoust (*Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* [Paris, 1918], p. 320) mentions its occurrence among the Ntifa; and he also states that the children, divided into two camps, throw stones at each other with slings.

the afternoon of the first day; among the Ait Waráin, who call it *ájbäd ñ úṣġun*, on the afternoon of the second day; among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, who call it *jubb^{w}id ḥbel*, on the evenings of the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, that is, the last three days of the feast. But among the Aiṯ Sádděn the tug of war (*jëbbûd ḥbel*) is practised on the morning of the first day, previous to the sacrifice, by the women and those men who are not taking part in the service at the *mṣálla*; and among the Aiṯ Yúsi, who call it *mzăġmîra*, it is performed either before that service or on the afternoon of the same day. Both sexes generally participate in the contest, the men pulling at one end of the rope and the women at the other, and sometimes the weaker party apply to persons of their own sex in a neighbouring village for assistance (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). When they are all tugging it may happen that the men suddenly let the rope go, so as to upset the women (Aiṯ Sádděn). But in some places the tug of war seems to be chiefly a woman's game—this, I was told, is the case at Jrâifi, in the Ġarb; while among the Amanūz, who call it *fărfâq*, it is practised by the boys. An old Arab from the Ḥiáina informed me that among his people the *jubbéid ḥbel* is no longer performed at the Great Feast, as it was in his childhood, but that it is practised in autumn when the threshing is going on and the fruits are ripe. The men and women then have a tug of war by moonlight so that the *bạs*, or evil, shall go away, that the year shall be good, and that the people shall live in peace; and some man secretly cuts two of the three cords of which the rope is made, with the result that both parties tumble down. In other cases, but not at the Great Feast, the tug of war is practised for the purpose of influencing the weather.[1]

Racing, powder play, and target-shooting are common features of the Great Feast. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, shortly after the sacrifice has been performed, horsemen from a neighbouring village arrive; one of them dismounts and goes to a tent to ask for the flayed-off skin of the sheep, which he then takes to his friends who are waiting outside the village on horseback. He gives it to the one who has

[1] *Infra*, p. 271 *sq.*

the best horse, for there is going to be a race for it. A man accompanied by friends on horseback comes riding out from the village to pursue the person who has the skin, trying to hit him with a rod and catch him. If successful, he deprives him of his turban or cloak as well as the skin. Then a man belonging to the other party again endeavours to get hold of the latter; and thus the race goes on till some time before sunset, to be continued on the following day. I have found no superstitious beliefs at present connected with this practice, but it certainly suggests a purificatory origin. This is also the case with the target-shooting, which is practised on the afternoons of the first, second, and sometimes third day of the feast. It is of universal prevalence on this occasion, as also at other feasts. Every rifleman is compelled to take part in it, at the risk of having to pay a fine (Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Sádděn); indeed it is the custom even for men who have no rifles of their own to fire a few shots with those belonging to others (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi). I was expressly told that this practice has the effect of driving away evil influences (Ḥiáina). In the Ḥiáina it is also considered very good to practise target-shooting on the seventh day of this as well as of other feasts. Among the Ait Waráin the men and the boys play games of ball on the afternoon of the first day; and such games are also in certain cases said to remove the *ḫaṣ*.

An interesting feature of the Great Feast in Morocco is the masquerade which is extremely frequently connected with it. A man is dressed up in the skins of some sacrificed goats or sheep, and another man or boy is disguised as a woman. Sometimes they are regarded as husband and wife, and sometimes the woman is regarded as the wife of a third person, an old man. Other individuals are dressed up as Jews and Jewesses, or Christians, or animals. Accompanied by musicians and other persons, the party walk about from house to house or from tent to tent, dancing and acting. These are the most general characteristics of the play, but there are many variations in details. The following accounts of it are based either on my own personal experience or on information which I have received from native friends with reference to their respective tribes or places.

In April 1900, during my stay in a village of the Sáḥel, a mountain tribe in Northern Morocco, I was present two nights consecutively at a performance of this kind, which was witnessed by some two hundred people. There was a man dressed up in goatskins, called Bújlūd (" one who is dressed up in skins "), and an " old man " called Šéḫšioḫ (*šeḫ š-šioḫ*, " the oldest of the old "), who were fighting between themselves for the possession of a " young woman ", called Yissûma. There was, moreover, a " Jew ", who amused the audience by his twaddle, and on the second occasion there were two " Jews " and two " women ". With a stick in his hand, Bújlūd kept the spectators in order, preventing them from moving about. He also imitated a pig, and Šéḫšioḫ made him plough. The performances included much music, singing, and dancing, and were said to take place on seven consecutive nights, beginning on the evening of the first day of the feast. When passing another village in the same district, I met a procession consisting chiefly of children and headed by a man dressed up in goatskins and a " young woman ", dancing as they went along. Bújlūd's legs were bare and painted white, and so was his face, and on his head he wore a straw-hat with a long tail. His dance was distinctly indecent. The children were teasing him, and he beat them in return.

In the village of l-Ḥmīs, the chief centre of the Sáḥel, I witnessed a great performance in which there were three men dressed up in goatskins, dancing to the queer music of a rural band of musicians in the presence of hundreds of spectators. A whole farce was connected with this performance. There was an old man, Šéḫšioḫ, and his wife Ḥlîma, and the plot of the play consisted in the old man's suspicions as to her fidelity and the accusation of her before a person acting as *qâḍi*, or judge. The following dialogue gives an idea of the coarseness of the play. Ḥlîma says to Šéḫšioḫ, " I feel ill and am going away."—Šéḫšioḫ answers, " You are not allowed to go ; I have not slept with you for three months."—Ḥ. " I am not your wife. You give me no food."—Š. " I am going to fetch wheat for you."—Ḥ. " I am not well dressed."—Š. " We shall go to the judge. He

will tell you if you are well dressed or not."—Ḥ. "Where is the wheat?"—Š. "I have it in my posteriors."—Ḥ. "I am not good enough for you."—Š. "Oh yes, you are still good; I am not going to give you up."—Ḥ. "Go and beg in an Arab tribe!"—Š. "I am not a beggar."—Ḥ. "May God curse you and make you destitute! I am with child."—Š. "You must swear that the child is mine." Šéḫšioḫ takes Ḥlîma to the judge and goes then to a group of women, who treat him somewhat badly. He returns with one of them, by whose aid he wants to make himself sure as regards Ḥlîma's condition. She now gives birth to a child, which she carries away and hands over to one of the spectators. Šéḫšioḫ says to the judge, "It is not my son"; and to Ḥlîma, "Come and let us sleep together! It is not my son, not my son!" Ḥ. "Go away!" A fight follows; Ḥlîma beats Šéḫšioḫ, and then runs away. Šéḫšioḫ cries out in a rage, "I wish to kill her!" I was told in the same village that a man dressed up as a camel formerly took part in the performance.

In the village Ḍār Fĕllaq, in the mountain tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb, the party consists of Bújlūḏ, Šéḫšioḫ, his wife (who is here called 'Aiša Ḥmêqa, that is, "Foolish 'Aiša"), a "mule", and a "Jew" who pretends to sell goods and is made fun of. Bújlūḏ is pushed by the people, and beats them with an olive stick which he holds in his hand. In Andjra the company is made up of Bújlūḏ, Šaḫšaḫ, his wife Yissûma, a "Jew" with his wife 'Azzûna and his "mule", and also a "judge". Bújlūḏ is dressed in the skins of animals which have been sacrificed at the feast, but otherwise imitates a Christian, and is also called by that name (*năṣrâni*). He runs after the people and beats them, whilst Šaḫšaḫ throws ashes into their eyes from his bag. Bújlūḏ is commonly represented by some poor man, who is either hired for a fixed sum or receives a third part of the eatables and money collected by the company while they go begging from house to house and from village to village, the remainder being divided among the other members of the party, including the musicians. But the part of Bújlūḏ is also sometimes played by a man who suffers from skin disease

or boils, which are supposed to be cured by the contact with the skins of sacrificed animals. The play begins on the afternoon of the second day of the feast and is repeated on the following days, as long as the feast lasts, unless the people are busy, in which case it comes to an end sooner. The scribes look upon it as "forbidden" (*hrām*), and there are many persons who refuse shaking hands with the man who played the part of Bújlūḍ.

From the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco we shall pass to the Arabs of the plains. Among all their tribes with whose customs I am acquainted there is likewise a masquerade connected with the celebration of the Great Feast. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz it commences on the evening of the first day, after supper. A man, with the assistance of some friends, dresses himself up in six bloody skins of sacrificed sheep, of which he fastens one to each arm and leg, one to the forepart of his body, and one to his back. On his head he puts something black, such as a piece of an old tent-cloth, and on either side of his head he ties a slipper to represent ears. He is called s-Sbạ' bĕ l-Bŭṭáin ("the lion with sheepskins"). He is generally a person who suffers from some illness, since he is supposed to be cured by the holiness of the bloody skins. Two other men disguise themselves as women, covering up their faces with the exception of their eyes; they are called by the name K'aiwîna, and are regarded as the wives of the Sbạ'. From the place where they dressed themselves they go with their friends into the village, and are there joined by the unmarried men carrying their guns. They all now make a tour from tent to tent in their own and neighbouring villages. The Sbạ' beats with the skins on his arms everybody who comes within his reach; there is *baraka*, holiness, in this beating, and hence sick people are anxious to approach him. He likewise beats the tents so as to give them also the benefit of his *baraka*. His two wives dance and cry out *kra' kra'*, in order to induce the inhabitants of the tents to give them a foot (*kra'*) of their sheep; and they get what they want, there being merit in such a gift. The Sbạ' also dances, imitating the roaring of a real lion, and behaves most inde-

cently before the public, pretending to have sexual intercourse with his wives; while the accompanying bachelors from time to time discharge volleys of gunpowder. After they have visited some three or four villages, the party return before the morning and have a feast on the food given them. On the second day after supper one of the bachelors is dressed up as a Jew, having his face covered with a crude mask to which is attached a long beard of wool, and his head with a blue kerchief (*qázza*) in the Jewish fashion, and carrying in his hand a stick. Two other bachelors make a camel, called *n-nwîga* (diminutive of *nâga*, "she-camel"), by throwing over their heads a palmetto mat and carrying on the end of a stick the skull of some animal. The Jew leads the camel by a rope tied round its neck, and thus they walk, like the party on the evening before, from tent to tent in their own and neighbouring villages, accompanied by unmarried men and boys, the Jew asking for fodder for his camel and the people giving him eggs. He is addressed as *šeḫ l-gĕddîd* ("the chief of the strips of dried meat"). On the following evening a young man again simulates a Jew and two boys are dressed up as a mule, called *l-bġa̤ila* ("the little she-mule"), and the same tour is made. On the evening of the fourth day the Jew is in a similar manner accompanied by a "leopard" (*n-nmer*); and on the evenings of the following three days the people have tugs of war, as already mentioned. Another custom may still be noticed in this connection. On the third day of the feast a man dresses himself up as a woman and, accompanied by horsemen and a few musicians, makes a tour from village to village, himself dancing, the musicians playing, the horsemen firing their guns; and the people give them food and money, which is spent in buying fodder for their horses. They thus pass the night away and then proceed to another village, accompanied by horsemen from the place where they stayed. Thus they go about day after day, until on the seventh day they retire to a saint's tomb, where they amuse themselves till the early morning and then return to their homes.

Among the Beni Ăḥsen the man who is dressed up in the skins of sacrificed sheep is called by the same name as

among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz. He carries in his hands two sticks, with which he beats the tents and also the people who are pushing him. His "wife" is called Yissûma or Sûna, and two other men are dressed up as a Jew and a pig. They all receive money, chickens, eggs, and other small presents from the people.

Among the Mnâṣăra a man is on the second day of the feast dressed up in the bloody skins of sacrificed sheep. He is called s-Sbaʿ Bulbṭâin (*bu l-bṭain*) ("the lion dressed in sheepskins"), or simply Bubṭain ("the one who is dressed in sheepskins"), and is accompanied by his wife Sûna, a "Jew", a "leopard", and a "camel". They go about in their own village for three days, but may also visit other villages till the week of the feast comes to an end. Bubṭâin beats people and tents with the skin on his arm. A sick person is supposed to recover if thus treated by him, and anybody whom he beats on the head will be free from headache; for in him is the *baraka* of the feast. The same beliefs prevail among the Arabs of the Shāwîa.

At Jrâifi, in the Ġarb, the chief figure of the masquerade is dressed in goatskins and is called Bájlūd. His "wife" is here also named Sûna, whilst Šâḫšoḫ is the name of an old "Jew". The people tease Bájlūd by saying to him, *Ā Bájlūd l-ʿáryān bâlu ʿâlik j-jídyān*, "O Bájlūd the naked, the buck-goats made water on you". He then beats them with his stick, and the person thus beaten is supposed to be benefited by it owing to the *baraka* possessed by Bájlūd.

In the Ḥiâina a man, on the evening of the second day of the feast, has his face covered with a mask made of the skin of a sacrificed sheep with the wool turned outwards; a long beard is attached to it, and two locks are hung over the temples. He is called Bâššeḫ, and is considered to be an old Jew, whilst his wife Sûna is a Jewess. There is besides a third person representing the *rbīb*, or step-son, of the Jew. Sûna dances, Bâššeḫ pretends to have intercourse with her on the ground, and the *rbīb* washes him clean with earth. They are surrounded by a ring of musicians playing on tambourines and others who simply mark time with the motions of their feet and bodies and the clapping of their

hands. This performance is repeated in all the villages visited by the party, till the seventh day of the feast inclusive; and wherever they go Báššeḫ is presented with money, eggs, and dried meat.

The masquerade at the Great Feast is also found among the various Berber groups. Among the Brâber of the Ait Waráin it takes place on the evenings of the first three days of the feast. A man has the whole of his body covered with the skins of sacrificed sheep and puts over his face a mask made of such a skin; he is called Buiheḍar, which means "one who is dressed in skins". His wife Tudeit, "Jewess", is nicely dressed in a woman's costume, and the two "Jews" (*udein*) who go with them have long beards and teeth of pumpkin seeds. They are accompanied on their tour by people playing the tambourine (*allun*). Buiheḍar carries a stick in either hand, and beats everybody who comes near him; this is said to be a cure for Buiheḍar himself if he is unwell, whereas the person beaten is not supposed to derive any benefit from it. Buiheḍar, who is most indecent in his appearance, pretends to have intercourse with Tudeit. The latter dances, and the people stick coins on her forehead. The Jews do not sell any goods, but collect money for Buiheḍar.

The neighbouring Brâber of the Aiṭ Sádděn likewise have a masquerade during the evenings of the first three days of the feast. A man is made to represent a ram or a he-goat by being dressed in the skins of sacrificed sheep or goats, and holding in either hand a short stick, which gives him the appearance of walking on four legs. In many cases another man is in a similar way dressed up as a ewe or a she-goat, and sometimes a camel or a donkey is made up by four men. These animals are collectively named Bůjluḍ. There are, besides, one or several "Jews" (*uḍein*) and "Jewesses", each of whom is called 'Ajjûna—the name by which every Jewish wife is called by the Brâber and by the Jews themselves in case her real name is not known to them—and a small crowd of men and youths carrying tambourines. The whole party, called by a common name *sûna*, make a tour from house to house and from village to

village, entertaining themselves and others with music, singing, and dancing, in which, however, the animals do not join. The Jews have in their hands papers from which they read out fictitious claims to get a little money from the people, while the sheep or the goats amuse the public with the grossest obscenities. At present, however, there is not so much ambulation as there used to be. The people refuse to admit to their village any party as to whose intentions there can be any doubt; for it happened a few years ago that a *sûna* who went from the Aiṭ Sádděn to the Ait Seġrûš-šěn consisted of disguised enemies going to exact blood-revenge, and the Aiṭ Sádděn fear being paid back in their own coin.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the masquerade commences on the evening of the first day of the feast, and is continued on the two or three following evenings, as the case may be. The party, here also collectively called *sûna*, consists of Bújluḍ, who is dressed up in goatskins, his wife ʿAjjûna, who in spite of her Jewish name is dressed like a Berber woman, several old "Jews", a "camel", a "mule", and sometimes a "lion". Bújluḍ carries a basket filled with ashes, which he throws on the people. His behaviour is very indecent. No holiness was said to be attached to him.

Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr the masquerade takes place on the evening of the second day of the feast, and on the two following nights. The party is made up of Bújluḍ, his wife Sûna, and two "Jews", besides a number of followers who go with them singing and playing the tambourine. Bújluḍ is dressed in the black skins of goats which have been sacrificed at the feast, his face is covered with a mask made of a goat's stomach, on his head he has a piece of dark cloth, on both sides of it he has slippers representing ears, and at the abdomen he wears an artificial penis. He beats with the skin on his arm tents and people, including the two Jews, who are thus chased away by him, and he pretends to have intercourse with Sûna, as also with any she-ass he happens to meet. He and Sûna dance, but they carefully refrain from speaking, so as to escape identification. The two Jews have at their temples tufts made of goat-tails, and

on their faces are fastened long beards of white wool. In their hands they carry a long stick and a basket, supposed to contain goods which they sell to the people, receiving in return a little money, meat, and eggs; and similar gifts are presented to Bújluḍ's followers. They all keep together when they walk from one village to another, but when they arrive there they divide themselves into two groups, the Jews going ahead and Bújluḍ and Sûna following with the musicians.

Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the play commences on the evening of the second day of the feast and is continued till the seventh day inclusive. There is a man, Bújlud, dressed in the black skins of goats sacrificed on the day before, his wife Sûna, an "old Jew", and two "younger Jews". They all dance, and the Jews and other people accompanying Bújlud and Sûna sing, *Ā Hắima mā lĕk mā lĕk? ā Hắima mā lĕk mā lĕk? ā Hắima rắddi bâlĕk, ā Hắima bent Umbârĕk, Bújlud mā qad a'láš, Sûna bġāt l-geddīd, Bújlud mā zal ṣġēr, Sûna bġāt l-geddīd*, "O Hắima ('libidinous one'), what is the matter with you, what is the matter with you? O Hắima, what is the matter with you, what is the matter with you? O Háima, look out, O Hắima, daughter of Ambârĕk ('the blessed one'), Bújlud is good for nothing, Sûna wants strips of dried meat (an indecent allusion), Bújlud is still young, Sûna wants strips of dried meat." As in many other tribes, Bújlud has a phallic appearance, and pretends to have intercourse with Sûna. The people make him presents of raw flesh of the sacrificed animals, there being merit in such a gift. He has *baraka* in him.

I have also information of the prevalence of a masquerade at the Great Feast among the Berbers of the Rīf, although in some parts of the country constant blood feuds are an obstacle to it. In the villages of the Ait Temsâmän it is arranged, on the evening of the second day, by the boys of the village. One of them is dressed in a ragged cloak (*ajĕddjạb*), his face is covered with a mask of goatskin, and over his shoulder he carries a cane as a gun. He is called Šširyḫ, because he is the chief of the party. He has a wife named Ăḥḥlîma, represented by a boy dressed up as an old

woman. Another boy is dressed up as a donkey: he has the hood of his cloak drawn over his head, on both sides of it he has slippers representing ears, and on his back he carries a pack-saddle (*ṯbâḍa*) with panniers (*iġaiyněn*). Šswiyḥ leads the donkey, and when they walk about the people put food into the panniers. The party is called *bujruḍ*. From other parts of the Rīf I have heard of a man dressed in the skins of sacrificed goats, a "wild-boar", a "lion", a "huntsman", and a "Jew" selling his goods. Bújlud runs after the people who tease him, and beats them; and he is privileged to enter the houses and to take from them whatever he wants.[1]

Among the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs,[2] in Southern Morocco, similar customs are found. The Iglíwa call the man who is dressed up in the skins of sacrificed animals Builmaun, from the word *ilmaun* (sing. *îlem*), meaning "skins". He is accompanied by his wife Ti'ázza and one or several "Jews", and beats the people either with a stick or with the foot of a sacrificed sheep or goat. This masquerade commences on the second day of the feast. In Aglu, in Sūs, the only dressed-up person is Bújlud, as he is here called. He is likewise covered with the skins of sacrificed animals, and has the horns of a sacrificed goat on his head. On the second, third, and fourth days of the feast he goes about from house to house, accompanied by musicians, receiving various kinds of provisions, and beating the people with the foot of a sheep hanging from his arm. He represents the holiness of the feast and transfers its benign virtue to those whom he beats; sick persons in particular are supposed to profit by this, and mothers take to him their little children to be cured of their ailments by being touched and frightened by him. When he visits a house the owner of it addresses him with words like these:— *Adaġifk rábbi ṣṣaḥt d lěḥěna mas akdaġntmůqqir îmäl*

[1] M. Mouliéras (*Le Maroc inconnu, Première partie, Exploration du Rif* [*Oran*, 1895], p. 106 *sqq.*) speaks of a masquerade in the Rīf not only at the Great Feast, but at the Little Feast and *'āšûra* as well.

[2] See also Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika* (Stuttgart, 1923), p. 11 *sqq.*

yîmäl a Bújlud sĕ lhĕna d ṣṣaḥt, a sîdi rábbi, " May God give us health and quietness so that we shall meet you again next year and the year after, O Bújlud, with quietness and health, O my Lord God ". To this the people accompanying him reply, *Afillaunig rábbi l'ăiḏad d unbárki, igaġ fillaun d inbárkin*, " May God make this feast blessed for you, may he make us blessed for you ". Among the Imintagen, on the second day of the feast, a man is likewise dressed up in skins with horns of a goat. He goes round visiting the houses, takes from them fowls or eggs or any other things he wants, dances, and beats the people. Mothers come to him with their little children so that they shall be frightened by him and thereby keep in good health or, if ill, be cured. The name given to him is Hérma, an Arabic word meaning " decrepit ".

The same name is used at Saffi, a little town on the Atlantic coast, and in Marráksh. In the latter town I saw, at the Great Feast, a man dressed up in goatskins, with a mask over his face and a stick in his hand, walking about in the streets, dancing and frightening the people. He was accompanied by a man playing the tambourine, and a small crowd of spectators (Fig. 134). I was told that there was a similar personage moving about in every quarter of the town.

In various other Moorish towns a masquerade takes place at the Great Feast. At Fez it is arranged by the *farrâna*, or bakers, of each quarter (*ḥáuma*) of the town separately. It is there called *báššeḥ*, after the name given to the chief figure in it, who is represented by a person dressed up as an old man with his face covered with a mask made of the skin of a sacrificed sheep. The woolly side of the skin is turned outwards, but the wool has been cut off so as to leave only eyebrows, whiskers, beard, and a moustache. His wife, named Šûna, is a fat old lady represented by a youth well padded with clothes, with several kerchiefs on his head and a mask made either of sheepskin, with the woolly side turned inwards, or of paper. Šûna has her cheeks painted with ochre, her under lip with walnut root, and her eyes with Moorish ink, as a substitute for antimony ; but if her part is played by a beardless youth his face may be left uncovered,

and in such a case there is no blackening of the eyes and both the under lip and the cheeks are daubed with ochre, the stains of which are easily removed. The party consists of many other persons as well. There are three or four old "Jews" (*ihûd*) with masks of sheepskin and beards, each carrying a tambourine (*ṭar*), and the same number of "Jewesses" (*ihudîyāt*^{s}), their wives, who wear masks like Šûna's and have with them tambourines, like their husbands.

FIG. 134.—Hérma at Marráksh.

There is, moreover, a "Jew" called *l-ihûdi l-ḥáuwat*^{s} ("the Jew the fisherman"), carrying on his shoulder a bamboo cane with a basket (*súlla*) which is supposed to contain fish. There is a "Christian" (*năṣrâni*)—an "ambassador" with a three-cornered hat on his head,—who is accompanied by his Moorish servants; and a "courier" (*râqqāṣ*) brings him letters. There is a "mule" (*bâġla*), represented by a person who is carrying the skull of a camel on a stick, who is provided with a tail of horsehair, and whose head and back are covered with a rug (*t*^{s}*éllīs*) on the top of which is a pack-saddle. There are *ṭabbâlīn*, playing drums and

oboes ; and there are dancing boys (*'điyäl*) from Arabic-speaking mountain tribes. All these persons go about from house to house every night from the evening of the second day of the feast till that of the seventh day (*sába' 'īd*). The performance opens by the entering of Báššeḫ and the *ṭabbâlīn*. The former begins to dance, while the latter play and sing, *A Baššéḫ aúddi, a l-lạ́ḥya d abérdi, a Baššéḫ l-fárrān, a l-lạ́ḥya de l-qárrān*, " O Bášséḫ my dear fellow, O beard of reeds, O Báššeḫ of the oven, O beard of the cuckold ". Šûna enters and dances in her turn, after which she and Báššeḫ perform together a lascivious dance, the former wagging her stomach, and the latter kissing and embracing her and giving himself a most indecent appearance by making a fold in his clothes. The *ṭabbâlīn*, who have been playing all the time, now sing, *A Baššéḫ îwa îwa îwa lîlu !*—which implies an exhortation to Báššeḫ to have sexual connection with Šûna. After the owner of the house has given them some money, which they hand over to the manager of the play, they go aside and are succeeded by the Jews, who play on their instruments, dance, and sing some nonsense in the Arabic idiom peculiar to the Jews. The same is then done by the Jewesses, who dance first alone and afterwards with their husbands. The Jew with the basket enters and dances ; the other Jews and the Jewesses gather round him to buy fish ; one of them is pushed down and dies ; his wife weeps over him, scratching her face in the usual manner ; the Jews ask the owner of the house to give money for the funeral, telling him that otherwise they will leave the body where it is ; and the money demanded is paid and given to the manager. All the Jews and Jewesses disappear from the scene, and the Christian ambassador enters with his Moorish servants, who are carrying copybooks, keys, and a chair, on which he sits down. The courier now brings him some letters, which he opens and reads ; and he then calls for a mule, which is brought in by one of his servants. When he mounts the mule it falls down and dies. The groom summons the Jew from whom the animal was bought, and shouts to him, *Zérga mâtˢetˢ*, " The gray [mule] died " ; but as the Jew is very deaf this is shouted several times into his

ear, and even then he does not hear what is said until the groom yells it out close to his posteriors. After the usual payment is made all these people retire, the *ṭabbâlīn* strike up a tune, and the dancing boys enter and begin to dance. Their fees, consisting of small silver coins, are stuck with saliva on their foreheads, as is the custom of the Jbâla, and are afterwards taken by the manager of the play. The performance has now come to an end, to be repeated at another house.

Much more simple was the play performed at the Great Feast in the garden occupied by me during my stay in Fez. Late at night I was visited by a party consisting of an "old man", with a mask of sheepskin, two "women", three musicians—two of whom had a *béndīr* (small tambourine) and one an *ágwaḷ* (short clay cylinder with skin),—and a small crowd of men who lined themselves up in a row and with rhythmical clapping of their hands accompanied the music of the little band and the dancing of the old man and the two women. This performance was arranged by immigrants from the surrounding country, who were living in cottages (*nwäïl*) in the same quarter of the town.

As regards the origin of the masquerade at the Great Feast, I was told at Marráksh the following story. After the death of the Prophet his followers once captured a Christian king, who was afterwards bought back by his people for a dog. He was taken to his country, dressed up in goatskins and accompanied by musicians playing on their instruments. This was done at the time of the Great Feast; hence a man is still on that occasion dressed up in goatskins and taken about with music. This is the only native explanation I ever heard of the masquerade, and I need hardly add that it is a very unsatisfactory one.

Masquerades or carnivals take place on various occasions, mostly in connection with Muhammadan feasts, but sometimes at certain periods of the solar year. We have previously noticed those held at *'āšûra*; others are reported to occur in a few districts at the *mûlūd*[1] and, in the Rīf, at

[1] Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla* (Paris, 1908), p. 214; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa*, pp. 319, 329 *sqq.*; *Idem*, in *Hespéris*, i. (Paris, 1921), p. 257 n. 6.

the Little Feast,[1] though the latter statement seems to me to require further corroboration. In a subsequent chapter I shall speak of masquerading at New Year's tide (Old Style);[2] at two places in Algeria carnivals are known to be held between the end of February and the middle of March;[3] and among the Aṭ Ziḥri (Zkâra), in the neighbourhood of Ujda, there is said to be a little masquerade, called *sûna*, about the middle of May, the persons taking part in it representing a Jew, his wife 'Azzûna, and a Christian.[4] But in Morocco the most usual occasion for rites of this kind is the Great Feast, and the same is said to be the case in Algeria and Tunis.[5]

A distinguishing feature of the masquerade connected with the Great Feast is that the chief figure in it is invariably dressed in skins of sacrificed animals, or at all events has his face covered with a mask made of one. He walks about beating people and tents with a flap of the skin which covers his arm, or with the foot of a sacrificed sheep or goat, or, very frequently, with one or two sticks which he carries in his hand. By so doing he is supposed to benefit them, and especially to expel illness, owing to the benign virtue inherent in the instrument with which he beats, or to the *baraka* of the skins in which he is dressed; and if he is ill himself he is considered to be cured by the contact with the skins. But at the same time he is teased, mocked, pushed about, and sometimes slapped with slippers—in other words, he is to some extent a scapegoat as well as a positive expeller of evil.

The scapegoat idea may also be at the bottom of the custom of dressing up men as animals, which are then taken about or chased and sometimes killed.[6] The domestic

[1] Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, i. 106 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, p. 172 *sq.*

[3] Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 505 *sq.*

[4] Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc* (Paris, 1905), p. 102 *sqq.*

[5] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 258 n. 2.

[6] *Cf.* the European custom of hunting the wren and the processions of men disguised as animals (Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. [London, 1912], p. 317 *sqq.*). For the ceremonial hunting of the wren or other birds or animals, and the practice of carrying them about

animals which are represented in the masquerades on the various occasions are almost invariably beasts of burden—camels, mules, or donkeys,[1]—presumably because such animals are considered most suitable to carry away the evils of the people.[2] The mule in the masquerade of Fez falls down and dies, and among some Berbers, according to M. Laoust,[3] "the little mule" is said to be identified with "the mule of the cemeteries"; [4] these cases suggest the expulsion of death. Again, the representation of wild animals, and particularly the hunting of them, may, like the jackal ceremonies among the Amanūz and other Berbers,[5] serve as a magical means of protecting the flocks. A cathartic object may also underlie the presence of "Jews" and "Christians", who, like the simulated pigs, on account of their uncleanness seem to be particularly apt to attract evil influences; and a notion of the same kind may have something to do with the gross obscenities characterising the plays. A feature of them which likewise suggests the idea of purification is the custom of giving presents of food or money to the masqueraders; almsgiving, as we have seen, is at feasts extensively practised for such a purpose. The ashes which are thrown on the people by Bújlūḏ or Šaḫšaḫ or—in two cases mentioned by M. Mouliéras [6] and M. Laoust [7]—by the "Jews", remind us of the purificatory fires at Midsummer and *'āšûra*. It is indeed a fact which tells strongly in favour of the cathartic nature of the Moorish masquerades that they occur hand in hand with other ceremonies which are obviously of a purificatory character. This

in procession, Mr. Thomas ('The Scape-goat in European Folklore', in *Folk-Lore*, xvii. [London, 1906], p. 270 *sqq.*) has, I think for good reasons, suggested a cathartic origin.

[1] See also *supra*, ii. 82 *sq.*; *infra*, p. 172; Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. p. 302 *sq.*

[2] At Yanbo', in Arabia, when the plague is raging, a camel is taken about in all the quarters of the town in order to attract and take away the disease, after which it is killed (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. [Halle a.S., 1889], p. 34).

[3] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 303 *sq.*

[4] See *supra*, i. 404 *sqq.*

[5] *Supra*, ii. 72 *sq.*

[6] Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc*, p. 103.

[7] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 280.

is the case both with those performed at the Great Feast and *'āšûra*, and with the New Year's masquerade.[1]

Certain features of the Moorish carnivals may be supposed to fulfil a useful function, not only by driving or carrying away evil influences, but also in a less material manner. These carnivals turn into mockery what is otherwise regarded with religious veneration. At the Great Feast the man who is dressed up in the skins of sacrificed animals, and who is frequently considered to embody the *baraka* of the feast, is put to ridicule and treated with indignity, he is surrounded by unclean individuals, and his own behaviour is most indecent. A similar spirit of blasphemy and impurity pervades the *'āšûra* play ; the grossest obscenities are sung by persons representing pious men, and the very rites of religion are scoffed at. At Wargla, in Algeria, according to M. Biarnay, " un *imam* vient inviter les gens déguisés à faire la prière avec lui, il leur demande de s'orienter, aussitôt tous se tournent vers l'Ouest ou le Nord ; l'imam récite-t-il une formule rituelle, ses accolytes la reprennent en y ajoutant toutes sortes d'obscénités dans le geste et les paroles, le tout à la plus grande joie des assistants hommes, femmes et enfants ".[2] All this mockery may possibly be a method of ceremonial profanation by which the people try to shake off the holiness of the feast so as to be able to return without danger to their ordinary occupations of life. It is worth noticing that the masquerade commences after the chief part of the feast is over. But, being the survival of a pre-Islamic ritual, it also represents, in a way, a spirit of opposition to the new religion. It is disapproved of by religious people, and Bújlūd is sometimes called a Christian.

We may take for granted that the carnival rites, with the obvious exception of the toy-house at *'āšûra*, were first attached to Muhammadan feasts in the Berber countries of North Africa ; we hear of no such things among the Arabs of the East. As to the origin of these rites, hypotheses have been set forth which are based rather on Sir James Frazer's theory of the dying god than on local facts. M. Doutté maintains that the carnival was originally held in the spring,

[1] *Infra*, p. 172 *sqq.*

[2] Biarnay, *op. cit.* p. 214 n.

and that it is the survival of an ancient custom of slaying the god of vegetation.[1] But he admits himself that there is no instance of a mock-murder of the chief figure in it [2]—who might be supposed to represent the old god; and this omission can hardly be compensated by the fact that at Wargla, in Algeria, there is a fight between a monster, generally in the shape of a lion, and a native armed with a gun, which ends in the slaughter of the beast.[3] M. Doutté looks upon this as a reminiscence of some ancient sacrifice; [4] but I can see nothing more in it than a rite of a class already referred to—indeed, M. Biarnay, in his description of the *'āšûra* masquerade at Wargla, simply speaks of a lion-hunt.[5] Nor are there signs of any intrinsic connection between the masquerade and vegetation. It may perhaps be suspected that the sexual frivolities which form so common a feature of the plays are a magical rite intended to promote the growth of the crops; but I am not aware of any such idea being held by the natives. And if Bújlūd is sometimes induced to plough,[6] the reason for it may simply be a wish that he shall give the soil the benefit of his *baraka*, just as he blesses the people and tents by beating them. I do not understand how M. Bel can say that the North-West African carnival "has well preserved its original character of an agricultural feast, with the murder of the spirit or divinity of vegetation and its resurrection for a new year".[7]

M. Laoust, again, believes that the Muhammadan Great Feast with its sacrifice replaced a similar feast which had since ancient times existed among the Berbers. They worshipped the ram as a god, and for this reason they used every year to sacrifice a ram and dress themselves in its skin. Originally it was put to death in its capacity of the divine protector and king of the flock, for fear lest it should be too old and feeble to secure the multiplication of the animals; but at a later stage, when the Berbers began to cultivate

[1] Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, pp. 525, 529.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 532. [3] *Ibid.* p. 498 *sq.* [4] *Ibid.* p. 533.
[5] Biarnay, *op. cit.* p. 213. [6] *Supra*, ii. 134.
[7] Bel, 'Coup d'œil sur l'Islam en Berbérie', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, lxxv. (Paris, 1917), p. 113.

the ground, the ram became an incarnation of the sacred force of the field or of the spirit of vegetation. The ram-god, however, did not really die, but was born again in a young and vigorous body better able to accomplish his task.[1]

The main weakness of this theory is that there is no evidence of the existence of an annual feast among the ancient Berbers at which they sacrificed a ram. While the Moorish idea that the most meritorious sacrifice at the Great Feast is that of a ram may have something to do with the holiness attributed to this animal by the Berbers,[2] such a sacrifice also occupies a prominent place both in the practice and the traditions of Islam. The sacrifice offered on that occasion is said to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's proposed sacrifice of his son Ishmael (or, as is often believed in Morocco, Isḥaq, that is, Isaac, as in the Bible) in accordance with the divine command, and the animal which was substituted for his son was a ram. We read in the traditions that the Prophet sacrificed a ram with horns, high of stature, and with black eyes, a black mouth, and black legs ;[3] or that, on the day of the festival of sacrifice, he sacrificed two rams, which were black and white and had horns.[4] M. Laoust argues that the sacrificial victim is supposed to possess divine virtue ;[5] but its holiness is also in full agreement with Muhammadan ideas. He finds linguistic support for his theory in the use of the word *tafaska*, or some similar word, for the victim, or the sacrifice, of the Great Feast. The term, he says, is related to the Hebrew *passah*, the Greek πάσχα, and the Latin *pascha*, and was probably introduced into Barbary by the early Christian missionaries. The custom of eating the paschal lamb in commemoration of the last meal of which the apostles partook together with their divine Master was preserved among the usages of the new religion ; the converted Berbers recognised in the slaughter of the lamb, and in the sacred banquet, practices by which they since ancient times had honoured

[1] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 254 *sqq*.
[2] See *supra*, i. 100 *sq*.
[3] *Mishkāt*, iv. 49. 2 (English translation by Matthews, i. [Calcutta, 1809], p. 321).
[4] *Ibid*. iv. 49. 2 (vol. i. 320).
[5] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 267.

their own ram-god ; they transferred to the Christian feast the ritual of their old paganism ; and some centuries afterwards they transferred the same ritual to the Muhammadan Great Feast, and called the new feast by the name of the old, *tafaska*.[1] I fail to see that this argument has any evidential value at all. If the Berbers had adopted the Christian feast (which seems doubtful), or only heard of it, we can understand that they applied the name for it to the Muhammadan one—at Wargla *tfaska* means any feast, whether religious or not ;[2] but what support does this give to the supposition that they had previously had a pagan feast with the sacrifice of a ram ? Might we not rather expect that if there had been such a feast the native Berber name for it would have survived somewhere in the large area inhabitated by Berbers, just as the old Teutonic word for Easter has survived in Europe ?

Moreover, where is the evidence of the supposed reincarnation of the slain ram-god in a young and vigorous body ? There is no hint of such an idea in the plays ; but M. Laoust finds evidence of it in certain Berber practices and legends. The Africans, he says, have a repugnance to selling the skin of the sacrificed animal ; but he admits that there is nothing peculiarly Berber in this, considering that the Islamic traditions contain a prohibition to the same effect. He argues that the Berbers are also reluctant to disperse the bones or some other parts of the animal, which indicates that it is supposed to return to existence ; and that it is a very widespread belief among them that the slaughtered sheep does not die but goes to Paradise, where it will serve as a beast to ride upon for the person who sacrificed it. But this belief is also essentially Islamic ; it is said in the traditions that the sacrificed animal will come on the day of resurrection, with its horns, its hair, and its hoofs, and will make the scales of the man's actions heavy.[3] I cannot, on the ground of such arguments, subscribe to M. Laoust's conclusion : " Il n'est donc pas téméraire de conjecturer que les Berbères ont cru à la résurrection de leur

[1] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 269 *sq.* [2] Biarnay, *op. cit.* p. 212 *sqq.*
[3] *Mishkāt*, iv. 49. 2 (vol. i. 321).

vieille divinité pastorale qu'incarnait le bélier quand, pour obéir à des croyances depuis longtemps éteintes, ils immolaient rituellement et solennellement un bélier sacré ".[1]

How, then, shall we explain the North-West African carnivals? I believe that they, to some extent at least, may be traced to ancient Roman influence. In the first place, there was the Saturnalia, with its feasting and revelry, which went on for seven days from the 17th to the 23rd of December.[2] This was a very popular festival, which was celebrated by Romans in all parts of the Empire; but it was subsequently eclipsed by the feast of the Kalends of January, the New Year's festival, which attracted its ritual and in the fourth century was described as the great feast of the Romans, lasting for five days.[3] In the ceremonial of this feast we recognise many traits of the Moorish carnivals. It is true that we do not find among the latter the best-known feature of the Saturnalia, which also passed to the feast of the Kalends, namely, the part played in it by the slaves, who were waited on by their masters and treated as being in a position of entire equality. But we have noticed the mockery made of the *qâḍi*, as well as shereefs and other highly respected men, in the *'ăšûra* play at Fez, which has its counterpart in the ritual of the Saturnalia and the Kalends;[4] and the *sûltān ṭ-ṭûlba*, appointed by the students of Fez in the spring,[5] is in all probability a survival of the mock king

[1] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 275 *sq.*

[2] The original and in a strictly religious sense the only day of the Saturnalia was the 17th of December; but as a popular holiday the festival was extended by common usage to as much as seven days (Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* [London, 1899], p. 268).

[3] Nilsson, 'Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtfestes', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xix. (Leipzig & Berlin, 1916–19), p. 52 *sqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 84, 85, 92.

[5] For this custom see Budgett Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 312 *sq.*; Eugène Aubin (Descos), *Morocco of To-day* (London, 1906), p. 226 *sqq.*; Doutté, 'La khot'ba burlesque de la fête des t'olba au Maroc', in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publié en l'honneur du XIV^e Congrès des orientalistes à Alger* (Alger, 1905), p. 197 *sqq.*; Frazer, *The Dying God* (London, 1911), p. 152 *sq.* (this account embodies some notes furnished by myself).

of those festivals.[1] At the feast of the Kalends there was masquerading of various kinds. Men dressed themselves up as women, as they do in Morocco;[2] there were processions of mummers disguised as animals,[3] and presents were given to mummers and children;[4] and there were masked men dressed in goatskins, like the Moorish Bújlūd.[5] The last-mentioned custom existed in the Balkans, and is still found there at Christmas[6] or on Twelfth Night,[7] though more frequently just before or during Lent.[8]

In Rome itself men dressed in skins are known to have figured, not at the feast of the Kalends, but on other ceremonial occasions. Every year on the 15th of February the members of the two colleges of Luperci met at the cave of the Lupercal, under the Palatine, where Romulus and Remus were said to have been nurtured by the she-wolf. Here they sacrificed goats and a dog. Two young men of birth, presumably belonging one to each of the two colleges, were brought forward, and had their foreheads smeared with the knife still bloody from the slaughter of the victims, and then wiped with wool dipped in milk. They, as also other Luperci, girt themselves with the skins of the slaughtered goats and feasted luxuriously, after which they ran round the Palatine hill, striking at all the women who came near them with strips of skin cut from the hides of the victims. This striking was believed to render the women fertile, but was at the same time regarded as a purificatory rite, as a lustration of the Palatine city round which they ran.[9] The strips

[1] For this personage see Frazer, *The Scapegoat* (London, 1913), p. 308 *sqq.*; Nilsson, *loc. cit.* pp. 84-88, 92.

[2] Nilsson, *loc. cit.* pp. 71, 85, 89, 92 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* p. 71 *sqq.* [4] *Ibid.* pp. 64, 78, 84. [5] *Ibid.* p. 89 *sq.*

[6] Schneeweis, *Die Weihnachtsbräuche der Serbokroaten* (Wien, 1925), p. 146. [7] Nilsson, *loc. cit.* p. 90.

[8] Dawkins, 'The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus', in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxvi. (London, 1906), p. 193 *sqq.*; Kazarow, 'Karnevalbräuche in Bulgarien', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xi. (Leipzig, 1908), p. 407 *sq.*; Nilsson, *loc. cit.* p. 90. For a similar custom in Switzerland see Rütimeyer, *Ur-Ethnographie der Schweiz* (Basel, 1924), p. 358 *sqq.*

[9] Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ii. (London, 1891), p. 99; Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 310 *sqq.*;

bore the name of *februa*, the day of the feast was called dies *februatus*, and the name of the month was *Februarius*;[1] for *februare* meant "to purify".[2] Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls this festival a καθαρμός.[3] While the skin-clad Luperci thus resemble Bújlūd in his capacity of expelling baleful influences by beating, there was on another occasion a skin-clad person apparently acting as a scapegoat. Every year on the 14th of March[4] a man dressed in skins was led in procession through the streets of Rome, beaten with long white rods, and driven out of the city. He was called Mamurius Veturius, or "the old Mars", and is considered to have been the old year which was driven out at the beginning of the new one.[5] Frazer takes him for Mars in his original capacity of a god of vegetation, rather than a personification of the old year; but at the same time he also looks upon him as a scapegoat, who was driven beyond the boundaries, that he might carry his sorrowful burden away to other lands.[6] Though of a local character, it is not impossible that these rites suggested imitations outside the places in which they were performed. This is particularly the case with the Lupercalia, which was a famous festival and, in spite of its rude and rustic character, lived on in the great city for ages, till the end of the fifth century, when it was prohibited by Pope Gelasius.

The festival of the Kalends, on the other hand, was celebrated all over the Roman Empire, and not only in towns, but also in the country.[7] This by itself gives us sufficient ground to suppose that the ritual similarities between the

Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), p. 72 *sqq.*; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii. (Leipzig, 1885), p. 442 *sqq.*

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, xxi. 7.

[2] Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *De conpendiosa doctrina*, p. 115. 18 *sqq.*

[3] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, i. 80.

[4] According to Lydus on the 15th, but this is considered to be a mistake (Usener, 'Italische Mythen', in *Rheinisches Muscum*, xxx. [Frankfurt a. M., 1875], p. 209 *sqq.*).

[5] *Ibid.* p. 213; Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, i. (Berlin, 1881), p. 360; Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ii. (Leipzig, 1890–97), p. 2409.

[6] Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 230 *sq.* [7] Nilsson, *loc. cit.* p. 92 *sq.*

Moorish carnivals and that festival are not casual coincidences. Moreover, the celebration of the Kalends was particularly popular in the army; and, as we have seen, the *'āšûra* play at Fez, which in various respects reminds us of it, is arranged by the soldiers. But there are yet other reasons, amounting to evidence, for assuming an historical connection between the Roman festivals and the African masquerades. Among the latter, as has been already said, there are some which are still held at the beginning of the Julian year, and certain names for them are evidently derived from the Latin *bonum annum*.[1] In a statement made by Leo Africanus we also have positive proof that masquerading at that time of the year was formerly more frequent in Morocco than it is now.[2]

It is easy to understand that, after the change of the calendar, the old New Year's ritual was transferred to the Muhammadan New Year; and we may also divine why, in other cases, it was transferred to the Great Feast. This feast is celebrated shortly before the beginning of the Muhammadan year; and just as the Roman feast of the Kalends attracted the ritual of the Saturnalia held in December, so also the Great Feast held in the last month of the lunar year may very well, *vice versâ*, have attracted the ritual of the New Year's feast. Rites of a similar character, especially such as imply a public purification or banishment of the troubles and evils which have harassed the people in the past, are often observed either at the end of the old year or at the beginning of the new one; in the present connection it may be noticed that one of the most conspicuous persons in the African plays, an "old man", who evidently represents the old year, figures both at the Great Feast and at the feast of *'āšûra*.[3] Now the former occasion has this advantage over the latter, that it is by far the greatest festival of the year, and for this reason it may have tended to absorb rites previously practised on other occasions. And its tendency to do so must have been

[1] *Infra*, pp. 161, 172. This has also been recognised by M. Laoust (in *Hespéris*, i. 287 *sq.*).

[2] *Infra*, p. 173.

[3] See also Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 279 *sqq.*

particularly great in the case of a rite which consisted in dressing up persons in the skins of animals; for no skins could have been more suitable for the purpose than those of animals slaughtered at the great sacrificial feast of Islam.

As to the two Algerian carnivals reported to take place between the end of February and the middle of March nothing else is known than that at one of them there are "déguisements avec peaux de bêtes, panthère, lynx, etc. . . . et de petites scènes dramatiques", and that the other one, which has nowadays almost disappeared, is called *bunann* and is said always to have been called so.[1] This name again suggests Roman influence, the old Roman year beginning with March. In Rome there were at that season other rites and festivals besides those already mentioned. On the 1st of March, and for days together, the Salii, or dancing priests of Mars, paraded the city, leaping, dancing, singing, and clashing on their shields, presumably in order to expel the powers of evil which had accumulated during the preceding year;[2] and the Salii were not limited to Rome, but similar colleges of dancing priests are known to have existed in many towns of ancient Italy.[3] On the 1st of March there was also the celebration of the Matronalia, or *Kalendae femineae*, which bore a close resemblance to the Saturnalia.[4] Frazer even suggests that the latter feast itself was once held about that time of the year and not in December. He argues that "if the Saturnalia, like many other seasons of license, was originally celebrated as a sort of public purification at the end of the old year or the beginning of the new one, it may at a still more remote period, when the Roman year began with March, have been regularly held either in February or March and therefore at approximately the same date as the modern Carnival", which might then be the direct descendant of the Saturnalia. Considering the conservative instincts of the peasantry in respect to old custom, it would be no matter for surprise if, in rural districts, the ancient festival continued to be celebrated at

[1] Doutté, *Magie et religion de l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 505 *sq.*
[2] Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 39; Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 231 *sqq.*
[3] Marquardt, *op. cit.* iii. 427 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* iii. 571.

the ancient time long after the official celebration of the Saturnalia in the towns had been shifted from February to December. While Latin Christianity, which struck at the root of official or civic paganism, stamped out the Saturnalia in the towns, it may have suffered the original festival, disguised by a different date, to linger unmolested in the country; "and so the old feast of Saturn, under the modern name of the Carnival, has reconquered the cities, and goes on merrily under the eye and with the sanction of the Catholic Church". But Frazer is careful to point out that the Saturnalia within historical times seems to have been always celebrated in December even in the old days, before Cæsar's reform of the calendar, when the Roman year ended with February instead of December.[1]

It is of course quite possible, and perhaps probable, that the North African plays and masquerades, besides Roman reminiscences and rites of later origin, also contain survivals of ancient Berber practices. I wish particularly to direct attention to the mummers representing various kinds of animals who play such a prominent part in those masquerades. In Europe there were similar mummers in countries inhabited by Celtic people before they appeared in the ritual of the Kalends;[2] and drawings of persons masked as animals have been found among palæolithic remains in Spain and the south of France.[3] Considering the prevalence of so many other similarities in culture between the Berbers and peoples on the other side of the Mediterranean, their common predilection for this sort of mummery makes one tempted to believe in its great antiquity in North Africa also. In any case, there is this difference between the masquerading at the feast of the Kalends and that of the African plays, that the animals represented in the former were chiefly the stag and the calf,[4] whereas those imitated in the latter are beasts of burden, pigs, and animals of prey.

[1] Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 345 *sqq.* [2] Nilsson, *loc. cit.* p. 93.

[3] Capitan, Breuil, Bourrinet, and Peyrony, 'Observations sur un bâton de commandement orné de figures animales et de personnages semi-humains', in *Revue de l'École d'anthropologie de Paris*, xix. (1909), p. 72. [4] Nilsson, *loc. cit.* p. 76 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XV

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

WHILE the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called *yennâyĕr* or *yennâir* (Fez), *nnäir* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Iglíwa), *innéir* (Aglu); February, *yebrâyer* (Fez), *ḫobráir* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *kobráir* (Ait Waráin), *brair* (Iglíwa); March, *mars* (Fez), *marṣ* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Iglíwa); April, *yebrîl* (Fez), *ibril* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *ibrîl* (Iglíwa); May, *míyyŭ* (Fez), *mâiyŭ* (*ibid.*, Aiṭ Sádděn), *máiyŭ* (Iglíwa); June, *yûnyuh* (Fez), *yúnyuh* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *núnyuh* (Iglíwa); July, *yûlyūz* (Fez), *yúlyuz* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *lúlyuz* (Iglíwa); August, *ġŭšṭˢ* (Fez), *ġŭšt* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Iglíwa); September, *šuṭˢánbīr* (Fez), *šūtĕnbir* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *šutänbīr* (Iglíwa); October, *ktˢûbär* (Fez), *ḫṭôbăr* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *ktôbăr* (Ait Waráin), *ktūbr* (Iglíwa); November, *noŭwánbīr* (Fez), *nūwĕnbir* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *nūwanbīr* (Iglíwa); December, *dujánbīr* (Fez), *dūjĕnbir* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *dujänbīr* (Iglíwa).[1]

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight *mänâzil* (sing. *ménzla*), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the *jĕbha* (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen.

[1] For the names of the months among Berber tribes, see also Doutté, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu* (Paris, 1914), p. 92 (Ait Wauzgit); Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 312; Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Aït Seghrouchen* (Paris, 1920), p. liv.

The first *ménzla* is *n-nâṭăḥ* (in the written language of the scribes *n-naṭaḥ*), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are *l-bŭṭain* (5th-17th April); *tˢurîya* (*ṯ-ṯuriyā*), 18th-30th April; *d-dábarān*, 1st-13th May; *l-háqʿa*, 14th-26th May; *l-hánʿa*, 27th May-8th June; *d-dírāʿ*, 9th-21st June; *n-nétˢra* (*n-nāṯirah*), 22nd June-4th July; *ṭárfaḥ*, 5th-17th July; *jĕbha*, 18th-31st July; *l-ḫaraṯˢān* (*l-ḫaraṭān*), 1st-13th August; *ṣ-ṣárfa*, 14th-26th August; *l-ʿáuwā*, 27th August-8th September; *s-sămāk*, 9th-21st September; *l-ġâfar* (*l-ġafar*), 22nd September-4th October; *j-jánäbān*, 5th-17th October; *l-íklīl*, 18th-30th October; *l-qalb*, 31st October-12th November; *š-šăula*, 13th-25th November; *n-nŭʿaim*, 26th November-8th December; *saʿd l-bélda*, 9th-21st December; *d-dâbeḥ*, 22nd December-3rd January; *saʿd bla*ʿ (*saʿd l-būla*ʿ), 4th-16th January; *saʿd sʿŏûd* (*saʿd s-suʿūd*), 17th-29th January; *l-ʾaḫbîya*, 30th January-11th February; *färġ l-moqáddäm*, 12th-24th February; *färġ l-móḫḫar* (*farġ l-mūʾaḫḫar*), 25th February-9th March; *bă̈tnă l-ḥŏtˢ*, 10th-22nd March.[1]

The year has four seasons (*foṣōl*, sing. *faṣl*). Spring (*făṣl ăr-rbêʿă*) commences on 15th February, summer (*ṣ-ṣaif*) on 17th May, autumn (*l-ḫrīf*) on 17th August, winter (*š-šétˢwa*) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called *liâli*, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called *ṣ-ṣmâim* or *ṣ-ṣmaim*.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos. I shall first deal with those connected with the change of the year.

New Year

New Year's day is called in Arabic *ʿām jdīd* (Dukkâla, Shâwîa, Ġarb, Bni ʿĂroṣ, etc.) and in the Berber of the Aiṯ Yúsi *ásŭggʷas újḍiḍ*, both meaning "new year", or also *yennâir* (Fez), *innéir* (Ḥiáina, Aglu, Amanūz), *nnäir* or *nneir* (Iglíwa, Aiṯ Sáddĕn, Aiṯ Nḍēr, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi), or *nneyar*

[1] I have written the names as I have heard them pronounced at Fez.

(Ṭemsâmän), meaning "January". The Ait Waráin call it *byánnŭ*, a word which is most likely derived from the Latin *bonum annum*.[1] At Fez I was told that New Year's day and the following day are together named *ḥagûza*; but elsewhere this name (Jrâifi in the Ġarb, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, etc.), or *l-ḥagûza* (Andjra), *l-ḥagūz* (*ibid.*, Ḥiáina), or *ḥaidûza* (Dukkâla), is given to the last day of the old year or New Year's eve. *Ḥagûza* is represented as a female spirit of an old and hideous appearance,[2] and her name is no doubt derived from the word *'ăgûza*, which means an old woman, by a change of the letter ع into ح—a change which is also met with in other cases.[3] In the word *ḥaidûza*, again, ح has been changed into د, as is the case in Dukkâla,

[1] At Tlemcen, in Algeria, there was formerly a New Year's ceremony in which the chief figure was a masked person called Būbennāni or Būmennāni (Destaing, 'L'Ennâyer chez les Beni Snoûs', in *Revue Africaine*, xlix. [Alger, 1905], p. 65 *sq.* note; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* [Alger, 1909], p. 548 *sqq.*). M. Mercier states (*Chaouia de l'Aurès* [Paris, 1896], p. 38) that in the Aurès the New Year's feast is called *bu iyni*, whereas, according to M. Féraud ('Kitab el Adouani ou le Sahara de Constantine et de Tunis', in *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique de la province de Constantine*, ser. x. vol. ii. [Constantine, 1868], p. 157 n.), a feast called *bu-ini* or *bun-ini* commences on December 24, and, according to M. Masqueray ('Documents historiques recueillis dans l'Aurès', in *Revue Africaine*, xxi. [Alger, 1877], p. 115), the *bu-ini* corresponds to our Christmas. See also Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 374; Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), p. 196 *sq.* n.; *Idem*, 'Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas', in *Hespéris*, i. (Paris, 1921), pp. 287, 288, 387 *sqq.*

[2] The Ntifa believe that "un démon, sous les traits d'une vieille, passe, cette nuit-là, par toutes les maisons et les tentes" (Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa*, p. 314). At Salli, "on croit qu'un couple de démons *Chikh* et *Hagouza* passent la nuit de Janvier sur toute la ville" (*Idem*, in *Hespéris*, i. 286). At Tlemcen "on raconte qu'un jour Ennâyer vint, en personne, sous les traits d'une vieille femme, demander l'aumône à une porte" (Destaing *loc. cit.* p. 63 *sq.* n. 2).

[3] The Arabic word *sa'tar*, "thyme", for example, is in Morocco pronounced *sáḥt'ar*, and *márka'* is also pronounced *márkaḥ* (*supra*, i. 61). See also Seidel, *Marokkanische Sprachlehre* (Heidelberg, etc., 1907), p. 2; and *cf.* Baist, 'Die arabischen Laute im Spanischen', in *Romanische Forschungen*, iv. (Erlangen, 1891), pp. 347, 349. For a change of *ḥ* into ' in Algerian dialects see Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 266.

when the next consonant is ǰ. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new *imġârĕn*, " sheikhs ".

It is a common custom that on New Year's eve or New Year's day some special kind of food is made. On New Year's eve the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi eat barley porridge (*aḫrir*) with oil poured over it, as also figs, pomegranates, and *ṯímĕdzzin*, consisting of roasted barley from which the bran has been removed. All this is obligatory, hence if they have no figs or pomegranates, they must buy some ; and it is considered lucky to have a guest at this meal. Before they go to bed they put a lump of porridge on each of the three hearth-stones (*inyän*), and believe that if the next morning the lumps are wet at the bottom the year will be rainy and good, whereas if they are dry there will be drought. They moreover place some porridge on the top of the tent, but I was told that this is not done as a means of foretelling the weather but simply as an offering to the tent.[1] On New Year's morning the men of the village have a meal in common of bread, eggs,[2] tea, and other things, but neither *sĕksû* nor meat is eaten on this occasion.

Among the Aiṯ Nḍēr the supper on New Year's eve likewise consists of porridge, which is made with milk, if they have any, and to which is afterwards added salt butter or oil. The men and boys eat it together in the mosque of the village or, if there is no mosque, in a large tent, every one partaking not only of his own but also of everybody else's porridge. The women of the households have their supper either alone or in the company of female neighbours, and they, also, exchange porridge with one another. Of the porridge a few balls are made, and a lump of salt is put into each of them. They are then, on a palmetto tray, placed on the roof of the tent to tell the fortune of the year, each ball representing a month of the winter or spring ; and the

[1] Among the Beni Snūs in Algeria, " après le repas, on en place quelques grains sur les pierres du foyer, ainsi que sur les poutres qui soutiennent le toit " (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 60).

[2] For the eating of eggs at New Year's tide see also Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, p. 199 (Ntifa) ; *Idem*, in *Hespéris*, i. 56.

following morning the wet or dry condition of the balls is supposed to indicate if in the corresponding months there will be rain or drought. This, however, is not done if it is a rainy night.[1] On New Year's morning bread is made and eaten together with figs, pomegranates, and honey, in the same manner as the porridge was the night before, the people again partaking of each other's food.

The Ait Waráin eat on New Year's eve (*ūṭ ně byánnû*) porridge (*iuẓạn*) made of pounded wheat boiled in water and mixed with salt butter and salt, but before the meal they put a little of it on the three *inyän* as an offering to the *jnūn* haunting the fire-place (*timssi*), which are believed to consume it in the course of the night. The next morning at daybreak a woman puts some yeast in a dish (*taqnušt*), and if it ferments much the year is supposed to be of good promise, whereas in the opposite case it will be a bad one. Small loaves of bread called *bůšiyär* are made ; some of them are distributed among the widows and poor, whilst others are exchanged between the households. On the evening of New Year's day *kskṣu* (*sěksû*) is prepared with seven different kinds of vegetables (*seb'a lḥôḍart*).

On New Year's eve the Aiṭ Yúsi eat nothing but *šéršem*, made of wheat which has been boiled in water, after the bran has been removed from it by soaking and pounding, and then has been boiled again together with milk and salt butter. They put into it seven little things : a date stone, an olive stone, a bean, a grain of durra, a chick-pea, a raisin stone, and a piece of *ṭiḫrilṭ*, that is, one of the small hard lumps which form in boiling buttermilk ; and it is believed that the person who first finds one of these things when eating will be the luckiest in the household. They smear a little *šéršem* on the three hearth-stones, and also put some on a plate, make a little hole in its centre, and place it on the roof

[1] Among the nomads of Mascara, in Algeria, "on place . . . sur les tentes quatre assiettes renfermant du sel et dont chacune représente l'un des mois suivants : janvier, février, mars, avril. Le lendemain, de bonne heure, on les examine. Si, dans l'assiette de janvier, le sel est humide, ce mois sera pluvieux. Si le sel est resté sec dans telle autre, le mois qu'elle représente verra la sécheresse" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 67 n. 2).

of the house or tent to remain there uncovered over night. If in the morning there is water in the hole they will have plenty of rain that year, if there is milk they will have much milk, if a goat's hair is found there they will have many goats, if some wool they will have many sheep, if a hair of cattle they will have many cattle—it is angels who put these things in the *šéršem*. This dish is eaten at no other time of the year but New Year's eve or, if they have enough of it, on the two following evenings as well.

Among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina the supper on New Year's eve consists of *tšîša* made of wheaten meal boiled in water to which, while still boiling, are added salt, milk, and salt butter. Some of it, together with a little salt, is put on four plates representing January, February, March, and April respectively; these plates are left outside in the starlight, and it is believed that if in the morning there is water in the *tšîša*, the corresponding month will be rainy, whereas otherwise it will be dry.[1] Before sunrise the same morning yeast is made to be preserved till harvest time, when it is put underneath the stacks of unthreshed corn at the threshing-floor to make them increase; for there is *baraka* in New Year's day.

The Jbâla of the Tsūl likewise eat *tšîša*[2] on New Year's eve; but before the meal they smear some of it on the three hearth-stones for the spirits of the fire-place, who, I am told, by the next morning have consumed the offerings. When they finish their supper they leave some *tšîša* on one side of the dish and make three small heaps of wheat, barley, and beans on the other side. If on the next morning water is found to have run from the *tšîša* to the heaps, the year is supposed to become rainy and good; if only a little water has come out of it there will be a little rain, and if there is no water at all there will be drought and the year will be bad. On the last

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 373 (Raḥámna, Shiáḍma); Lévi-Provençal, 'Pratiques agricoles et fêtes saisonnières des tribus djebalah de la vallée moyenne de l'Ouarghah', in *Les archives berbères*, iii. (Paris, 1918), p. 102 *sq.*

[2] They only add salt butter to the porridge after it has been removed from the fire.

day of the old year buns with raisins on the top, called *grêsät*ˢ, are made for the children, who playfully show them to each other before they eat them.

The people of Fez, on New Year's day or the day after, pound some wheat which has been previously kept in water for a while, boil it with a little salt, and add to it salt butter and milk before it is taken off the fire. The dish is called *hérrbell* and is only made on this occasion, but then it is obligatory to eat it. They also make small round cakes, called *rġaif*, which they bake in an earthenware pan (*máqla*) and eat with salt butter and honey spread over them. A third kind of food on this occasion is the so-called *baġrêr*, which is prepared as follows: water is poured over a dough made of wheaten flour with yeast and salt, this paste is left to rise for a couple of hours, and is then made into crumpets, which are eaten with salt butter and pounded sugar or honey put on them. I was told that the object of these three dishes is to make wheat, milk, and butter plentiful during the year; but the *rġaif* and *baġrêr* are not, like the *hérrbell*, looked upon as compulsory. On the fifth day of the new year the people of Fez make the so-called *sěksů seb'á ḥḍâri*, "the *sěksů* of seven vegetables", the eating of which is said to make all the various ingredients of the dish abundant during the year. The "seven vegetables" which are put into the *sěksů* include, besides carrots, turnips, beans, and so forth, also raisins and mixed spices (*rāṣ l-ḥânut*ˢ). In various Arab and Berber tribes, as well as towns, in different parts of the country it is the custom to eat a dish containing seven kinds of vegetable food at New Year's tide;[1] though in certain places there are persons who consider it unlucky for themselves to comply with this custom, and eat other food, as bread and meat, instead. The Amanūz in Sūs boil together all sorts of corn and pulse on New Year's eve and partake of this dish, called *urkimn*, on the following morning about ten o'clock; this is supposed to make the year good.

The Jbâla of Andjra, on New Year's eve, eat sponge

[1] See also Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 375; *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, ii. (Paris, 1915), p. 302; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa*, p. 314 *sq.*

fritters called *šfĕn^{d}j*, and on the afternoon of the same day they put in cold water various kinds of corn and pulse—wheat, beans, peas, chick-peas, and lentils—and some laurel leaves for the sake of their flavour. Before they go to bed they place all this on a slow fire, maintaining that if on the following morning the grain and pulse are much swollen the year will be good ;[1] and if necessary, the cooking is then finished. This dish, which is called *šiyôḫa*, is eaten as breakfast and also later on in the day, and small portions of it are given away to other households. Those who partake of it call down blessings on themselves and their crops saying, *Ălláh t^{s}a'âla yĕrzáqna fĕ z-zra' wä z-zerré'a fĕ r-rezq wä l-'ămár*, " May God—be he exalted—bestow on us wheat and seed, prosperity and a long life ". On the evening of New Year's day fowls are killed and eaten with thin cakes called *rġaif* or *msĕmnaṭ^{s}*. The Bni 'Ăroṣ eat *šiyôḫa* on New Year's eve and *šfĕn^{d}j* on the next day. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and *sĕksû* with fowl on the following evening. Among the Rifians of Ṭemsâmän the supper on New Year's eve consists of fowl and *ttrīḏ*, very thin cakes made with salt butter or oil.

In Dukkâla a chicken is killed on New Year's eve for every person in the household—man, woman, and child ; these chickens are boiled with onions, black pepper, salt, and salt butter, and make, together with pieces of *rġaif*, a dish called *rfêsa*, which is eaten on that night and, if there is a sufficient quantity of it, on the two following evenings as well. The people believe that if they eat good food at this season the year will be good and they will prosper. Similar customs prevail both among the Arabs of the Shāwîa and the Iglíwa, and they, too, hold it necessary that a fowl should be killed for every member of the family.[2] Among the Iglíwa it is the custom that before anybody eats of the *rfêsa*, or *arbbaz* as they call it, each child of the household takes a handful of it, which is then put in a place where no cat can get at it and the stars will shine on it ; and if on the

[1] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 62 n. 4 (Beni Snūs).

[2] See also *Villes et tribus du Maroc : Casablanca et les Châouïa*, i. 218, ii. 302 ; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa*, p. 314 *sq.*

next morning the hair of a camel or horse or cow or any other animal is found in this food, it is believed that the family will have many animals of that species during the year.

On New Year's eve (*üḍ innéir*) the Shlöḥ of Aglu only eat *tagúlla*, a kind of hard porridge, mixed with oil and buttermilk. Every member of the family puts the first lump he takes of it in a large wooden ladle, which is then placed in an opening in the wall. If in the morning oil is found on the surface of the balls the year is expected to prove good, whereas the absence of oil is regarded as a bad omen; and a crack in a ball is supposed to indicate that the person who put it there will become ill during the year.

Sometimes, as we have seen, the special New Year's dish must be eaten alone, sometimes other food may be eaten with it. But there is a frequent prohibition of making *sěksû*, the staple food of the people, on New Year's eve (Aṭ Ubáḥṭi, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Ait Waráin, Aglu)[1] or on the following day (Jrâifi in the Ġarb) or two days (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Tsūl) as well, or on New Year's day and the day (Fez) or two days (Iglíwa) after. In Andjra persons who have ploughing-oxen abstain from this food for three days, as it is believed that otherwise some evil would befall the animals. This temporary change in the diet may have been suggested by the change of the year. But at the same time the New Year's meal is considered to exercise a beneficial influence on the supply of food, particularly vegetable food. It is sometimes expressly accompanied with a blessing; but apart from this, the eating of a certain kind of food is, in accordance with the principle of homœopathic magic, believed to cause the eating of the same kind of food in the future.[2] This seems to explain the custom of partaking of so many different species of corn and vegetables. It is said that whatever a person does on New Year's eve that he will do throughout the coming

[1] According to M. Doutté (*Merrâkech*, p. 375), "on a coutume de dire en Algérie que, ce jour-là, 'ma iqeffelou chi', c'est-à-dire, 'on n'ajuste pas le "keskâs" sur la marmite'".

[2] *Cf. infra*, pp. 193, 216 *sq.* The Beni Snūs, on New Year's day, eat bread made of wheat only, not of barley, in order that they shall have wheaten bread to eat throughout the year (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 62).

year (Aiṭ Nḍēr) ; that he who then puts on clean clothes will be cleanly dressed all that time (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) ; and that he who fills his stomach well will not suffer want, whereas he who goes hungry to bed will remain hungry the whole year (*ibid.*, Ait Waráin, Aglu, etc.).[1] Parents therefore press their children to eat much of the New Year's food, telling them that otherwise Ḥagûza will come and fill their stomachs with straw (Tangier, Rabat, Fez) ; and the animals, too, are well fed. A small portion of the food is sometimes left for Ḥagûza in a covered plate, and if any hair is found there the next morning it is said that she has been there and partaken of the food ; or the children hang up little bags with food as a bribe to her that she shall not come and eat them. That magical qualities are attributed to the New Year's food is also apparent from the custom of utilising it for the purpose of divination ; and here again it is associated with the future supply of vegetable food, the prognostications made from it having reference chiefly to the question whether the year will be good or bad.

The New Year's ceremonies, however, have a bearing not only on the supply of food, but also on the chief instrument for its preparation, the fire-place. We have noticed that small offerings of food are made to the spirits haunting it, who are only personified representatives of the mystic forces attributed to the fire and ashes ; and in various tribes it is the custom on New Year's eve to throw away one (Tsūl, Aiṭ Nḍēr), two (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or all three (Aiṭ Sáddēn) hearth-stones and replace them by the same number of new stones, which have never before been used for that purpose.[2] The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi maintain that if there are ants underneath the stones the owner of the tent is going to buy sheep during the coming year, whilst wood-lice (*bûġyul*) indicate that he will buy cattle or a horse or mule or some other large domestic

[1] See also Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa*, p. 314 ; Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 64 n. 3 (some parts of Algeria).

[2] For similar customs elsewhere in Morocco see Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.* p. 102 (some Jbâla of the valley of the Warġa), and Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, p. 199 (Ntifa) ; and in Algeria, see Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 58 *sq.*, Féraud, *loc. cit.* p. 157 n., and Masqueray, *loc. cit.* p. 115.

animal. In the same tribe the men and boys on New Year's eve paint their eyes with soot from the old hearth-stones in order to be able to find partridge eggs.[1]

On the last day of the old year the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, moreover, take into their tents something green, even if it be only a bunch of fresh grass, to bring prosperity to the household ;[2] but I have also heard that anything special, either green or dry, which is taken into the tent on New Year's day will have the effect of making the year prosperous for its inmates, as it represents all sorts of good things which will be brought there during the year. At Jrâifi, in the Ġarb, the women on the same day gather various herbs, fumigate them with incense, and hang them at the mouth of the churn to make the butter plentiful. In the Ḥiáina *šendgûra* (*Teucrium*) is, before sunrise, brought home to serve as a medicine for men and dogs; it is taken internally, in the form of powder, by persons who suffer from dysury; made into a paste it is applied to the head in the case of a headache; and mixed with buttermilk or fresh milk it is given to dogs which have caught cold. It is also the custom there to preserve the yeast made on that morning till the time when the corn has been threshed, and it is then put at the bottom of the heap on the threshing-floor. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet ; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (*aṣḥûm*) from which the earthenware churn (*aqâšrōr*) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft. The Aiṯ Yúsi use for a similar purpose ashes from the fire burned on New Year's eve.[3]

It is not always by such harmless means, however, that

[1] The following statement made by a man from the Beni Snūs in Algeria is contained in the description given by M. Destaing (*loc. cit.* p. 68) :—" Si l'un de nous veut arriver à découvrir, dans les broussailles, les œufs de perdrix, il se teint, le premier jour d'Ennâyer, le bord des paupières avec du collyre ; puis, la nuit, se plaçant un tamis sur le visage, il compte les étoiles au ciel. Cela, afin de renforcer sa vue ".

[2] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 57 *sq.* (Beni Snūs).

[3] *Supra*, i. 248.

people at this time try to obtain future benefits for themselves. Witchcraft is rife on New Year's eve (Aiṯ Yúsi, Ṯemsâmän).[1] In Andjra there are women who on this night go secretly and in a state of absolute nakedness and take water from a neighbour's spring and then use this water for the preparation of the *šiyôḫa* mentioned above. This is called "to rob the neighbour of his milk and salt butter". If the people suspect that somebody will thus come and use their spring, they avoid themselves taking water from it on that day, as in such a case the woman cannot rob them of their milk and butter. A woman may, moreover, on the same night visit her neighbour's cattle, mount a cow, and cut off the tip of its tail to fumigate her churn with it; this is supposed to increase the butter, but to the detriment of the neighbour.

On New Year's day certain kinds of divination are also practised, besides those already mentioned. Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr, in the early morning while the others are still sleeping, one of the men goes to the entrance of the tent and shouts out *dherrrrr* to the sheep and *örrrrr* to the goats; if the sheep answer first the year will become good, whereas the opposite is the case if the first answer is given by the goats.[2] I have seen a manuscript, written at Fez and consulted by the scribes, in which it is said that if New Year's day falls on a Sunday there will be "safety" in Morocco, except among the mountaineers, who will fight and suffer from famine, whilst in the Shäm (Syria) there will be much rain.

As appears from certain facts stated above, the magic forces which are supposed to be at work at New Year's tide are not exclusively of a beneficial kind. There are harmful influences as well, and against these the people endeavour

[1] In some parts of Algeria "l'Ennâyer est le jour choisi par les sorcières pour jeter les sorts" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 69 n.).

[2] Among the Beni Snūs, "après le dîner, le maître de la maison va vers ses brebis et les appelle; si elles bêlent, la nouvelle année sera bonne; si le troupeau se tait, l'homme se rend auprès de ses vaches et leur parle; un beuglement comme réponse est le présage d'une année passablement prospère. Si les vaches restent silencieuses, le maître se dirige vers ses chèvres. L'année sera médiocre si elles se taisent" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 67).

to protect themselves partly by abstaining from certain acts which are looked upon as more or less dangerous, and partly, it seems, by ceremonies of a purificatory character. We have already noticed the common prohibition of making *sĕksu* and the belief that certain evil consequences will result from a transgression of this rule.[1] In Northern Morocco I heard that married couples should refrain from sexual intercourse on New Year's night, lest the children who might result from it should be diseased.[2] A very different opinion, on the other hand, was expressed by a Berber from the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, who highly approved of such intercourse; but, according to him, it is the custom in his tribe not to start on a journey either on the last day of the old year or on the first day of the new.[3] At Jrâifi, in the Ġarb, I was told that *ḥagûza*, or the last day of the old year, is an unlucky day, when no ploughing is done but the people hunt and play at ball; and these sports may have the object of ridding them of evil influences. Among the Ait Támĕldu, a Berber tribe on the southern slopes of the Great Atlas range, it is the custom on New Year's eve (*üḍ n úsŭggas*) that the children of a village light a big fire on a hill, leap over it, and shout to the children of the neighbouring village, who have done the same on another hill close by, that they have now thrown on them all their fleas and lice; they get an answer in the same style, and the two parties then have a fight with stones. These fires and the subsequent fight also seem to be means of purification, like the fires and ceremonial fights which in other places are found at Midsummer and *'āšûra*.[4]

Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, on New Year's eve, women and

[1] The Beni Snūs for several days live on cold food only (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 57).

[2] At Tlemcen "certains maris évitent d'avoir, pendant la première nuit d'Ennâyer, des rapports avec leurs femmes. L'enfant qui en pourrait naître apporterait le malheur dans la famille" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 68 n. 4).

[3] In some parts of Algeria "on ne s'absente pas pour l'Ennâyer" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 62 n. 3). M. Destaing mentions (*ibid.* p. 68 n. 4) some other taboos connected with New Year in Algeria.

[4] M. Laoust (in *Hespéris*, i. 387 *sqq.*) mentions some other instances of New Year's fires among the Berbers of Morocco.

children have their hands and feet painted with henna, many men smear the same matter on the palms of their hands,[1] and persons of both sexes put a little of it on their navels to prevent eructations; it is, moreover, applied to domestic animals that are white or have white spots on their bodies. On the following day the women paint their eyes black with antimony and their lips and teeth brownish with walnut root or bark. Considering how generally a purifying effect is ascribed to the application of these colouring matters, we have reason to suppose that the use made of them at New Year also has a purificatory origin. But among the Ait Temsâmän the women have, on the contrary, to abstain from the use of antimony on New Year's day, lest the year should be "black"; and the whitewashing of houses is avoided for seven days, since otherwise there would be too much sunshine and too little rain during the year.

Among the Ait Waráin, in the evening of *byánnů*, or New Year's day, two men dress themselves up as an animal which resembles a camel and is called *bū̃jertil*, that is, "one who is dressed in a mat", on account of the mat (*ajertil*) which they throw over their backs. Thus made up they walk about from house to house in their own and neighbouring villages on that night and the following night, accompanied by two persons disguised as Jews, one of whom is leading *bū̃jertil*, as also by a crowd of lads and unmarried young men carrying in their hands oleander sticks with black and white designs made by the peeling off of the bark from some parts of the stick and the scorching of the wood before the removal of the rest of the bark. They sing, "*Byánnů, byánnů*"; and the people give them food and money. Anybody refusing to do so would be severely punished by the chief of the troop who would break a stick and throw it at the door of his house with the phrase, *Áderz rå̆bbi aḥḥamĕnneš*, "May God break your house". M. Lévi-Provençal states that "les jours du *ḥagoûz* sont chez certaines tribus djebâlah l'occasion de pratiques carna-

[1] At Nédromah, in Algeria, "certains se teignent les mains avec du henna" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 69 n.). See also Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 547.

valesques : chez les Fichtâlah on noircit de noir de fumée le visage d'un homme, on lui attache les mains et on le revêt d'une vieille natte. On l'appelle *ḥâgoûz* ; il va dans les villages, accompagné d'une suite de pseudo-serviteurs. A son approche, les femmes se sauvent, puis reviennent, et remettent aux gens du personnage déguisé des beignets, des fruits secs et des pois chiches ".[1] Leo Africanus speaks of a masquerade at Fez :—" Vpon New-yeeres day the children goe with maskes and vizards on their faces to the houses of gentlemen and merchants, and haue fruits giuen them for singing certaine carols or songs ".[2] This custom, so far as I know, no longer exists at Fez. In the preceding chapter I tried to show that the New Year's masquerade still found in certain parts of Morocco and Algeria [3] may be regarded as a survival of the old Roman feast of the Kalends of January.

We have previously noticed the purificatory elements in Moorish carnivals, and such elements are also found in the New Year's masquerade. Among the Ait Waráin there is the representation of a camel, which is a beast of burden, and there are persons disguised as Jews ; and as for the oleander sticks carried by the young men, it is worth noticing that sticks play a prominent part in cathartic rites,[4] and that in Morocco the oleander is used for the purpose of expelling evil influences.[5] Presents of food or money form another feature of the New Year's masquerade ; and almsgiving is frequently practised as a means of purification. It is also found in other cases at this time of the year. Among the Ait Támĕldu it is the custom for the children of a village on New Year's eve to walk about from house to house, receiving bread or a handful of maize from the mistress of every house and making *fâṭḥa* both there and in the mosque, where they

[1] Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.* p. 103.

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, ii. (London, 1896), p. 453.

[3] Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 64 *sqq.* ; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 548 *sqq.*

[4] See, *e.g.*, Thomas, ' The Scape-Goat in European Folk-Lore ', in *Folk-Lore*, xvii. (London, 1906), p. 262.

[5] *Supra*, i. 109 *sq.*

afterwards have a meal together with the schoolmaster. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer, again, take on New Year's morning *íuzaṇ*, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

The *Ḥsūm*, or *Ḥáiyaṇ*—The *Nâṭăḥ*

From 25th February to 4th March (Old Style) there is a period, lasting for eight days and seven nights, which is called *lă-ḥsûm* (Fez) or *ḥáiyaṇ*. The Amanūz in Sūs call it *iḥáiyaṇ*, the Ait Temsâmän in the Rîf *aḥaiyaṇ*, and the Ait Waráin *tamġart*, "the old woman", presumably because the winter is then coming to an end.[1] I was told that Tamġart was an old woman living at the foot of Buiblän, the highest mountain in the district of the Ait Waráin. Once when it was raining during the first three days of the said period the calves in her yard took refuge in her tent, but she drove them away telling them not to be afraid of a little rain. Then Ḥáiyaṇ said to Marṣ (March), *Yā Márssŭ selléf li nhársŭ, năqtĕl bih 'ăgúzt'sŭ*, "O bad March, lend me an evil day, I shall kill the bad old woman with it". March, who then had thirty-two days, lent one of them to Brâyĕr (February), so that only thirty-one remained. Now there came much rain and cold and snow. Tamġart and her tent and all her animals were transformed into stones, and are still to be seen at the foot of Buiblän, where there is a large stone which from a distance looks like a woman at a churn, another having the shape of a tent, a third looking like a shepherd leaning on his staff, and a collection of smaller stones resembling sheep. In the Ḥiáina, where the second day of *ḥáiyaṇ* is called *nhār lă-'gûz*, "the day of the old woman", the following story is told. There was an old woman who went out on the pasture with the sheep and goats. As the ground was very dry and the crops were suffering from drought, she asked Ḥáiyaṇ to send rain. Ḥáiyaṇ in his turn asked March to lend him one day; this he did, and

[1] *Cf.* Destaing, 'Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Beni Snoûs', in *Revue Africaine*, l. (Alger, 1906), p. 247 n. In this article M. Destaing deals with *el-ḥousoûm*, *en-neṭḥ*, *en-nîsân*, and the *'anṣâra* in Algeria.

rain fell so heavily that the old woman was killed, whereas the animals escaped to the village.[1]

Ḥáiyaṇ is represented as a bitterly cold time of the year, known for its rain, wind, and snow, which are considered very dangerous to people, animals, and crops. It is called *butlûj*, "the master of snow", in the saying, *Ḥáiyaṇ butlûj, lûlu báiḍa u aḥêru 'aslûj* (Ḥiáina), which means that on its first day the partridges begin to lay eggs [2] and on its last day the young sprouts of various wild herbs are big enough to be used for food. Nobody likes to travel during this period; hence all necessaries have to be provided in advance (Ġarb, Ḥiáina, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Ṭemsâmän, Amanūz). A Berber from the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi told me that when he and some relatives once during *ḥáiyaṇ* went to fetch dates from a neighbouring Arab tribe, two of their donkeys died on the road in consequence of the rain; but he said that people, also, may die if they expose themselves to the rain by travelling in *ḥáiyaṇ*. In the same tribe it is the custom to keep the sheep inside the tents during a rainy *ḥáiyaṇ*, but even then they are supposed to be in danger owing to the cold.[3] There is a saying, *Lä tˢáḥseb jḍyåṅäk mḍn j-jˁḍyān ḥáttˢa idûz liâli ḥáiyaṇ* (Ḥiáina), or, *La tˢfrez jḍyåṅäk mḍn j-jḍyān ḥáttˢa iḥórj ḥáiyaṇ* (Fez), "Don't separate your

[1] These stories are variants of a legend which is also told in the East. In Palestine "the three first days of Adâr (that is, March) are called 'El Mustakridât', a name which means 'Lent out ones', and is generally explained by the following legend:—'An aged Bedawi shepherdess, keeping her flocks in one of the wadies trending downwards to the Dead Sea, was heard by Shebât (that is, February), who is thought of as a personality, mocking him because he had failed to send rain. Furious at being thus derided Shebât said to Adâr, "O my brother Adâr, I have only three days left me, and they are not sufficient to enable me to be revenged on the old woman who has derided me. Lend me, therefore, three days of thine". Adâr willingly granted his brother's request. Six days of heavy rain were the result, and the seyls, or winter-torrents from the hills, swept the old woman and her flock into the sea'" (Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* [London, 1907], p. 307 *sq.*). See also Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 329 *sq.* In Moab the rain at the end of February and beginning of March is called *qerān el-aʿjā'iz*.

[2] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 246 (Algeria).

[3] *Cf. ibid.* p. 246 (Algeria).

kids from the flock till the nights of *ḥáiyaṇ* have passed ", or, " till *ḥáiyaṇ* has passed " ; they, as also the lambs, are then only too liable to be killed by the rough weather. Especially the second day, *nhār lă-'gûz* or, as it is called in Andjra, *nhār l-mą'za u r-râ'i*, " the day of the she-goat and shepherd ", is considered to be full of danger ; the shepherd must then be thickly clad and eat well, and, at least if he is a young boy, somebody must accompany him to look after him and the flock (Ḥiáina, Andjra). But rain in *ḥáiyaṇ* is considered equally injurious to the grass, crops, vegetables, and fruit trees, its water being salt (Ḥiáina). The Ait Temsâmän say that it is salt on the first day, and that in the middle of *aḥaiyaṇ* it is injurious to the trees, but that rain falling at the end of it makes good anything it has spoiled before. They also say that there is one hour in *aḥaiyaṇ* which is very dangerous, and as nobody knows what hour it is they refrain from working in their gardens throughout this period. Among the Amanūz all agricultural work is suspended then. Among the Ait Waráin and the Aiṯ Sádděn nobody must go into the fields for the first three days of *ḥáiyaṇ* ; should anybody go, the crops would get dry or be beaten down by a thunderstorm, and even the owner of the field might be personally affected. Nothing can be worse than a thunderstorm in *ḥáiyaṇ* : it hurts the little children, animals, and bees, and makes milk and honey scarce. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina therefore say, *Ălláh injjîna męn ra'd ḥáiyaṇ*, " May God save us from the thunder of *ḥáiyaṇ* ". On the other hand, *Ila häbb š-šérgi fi ḥáiyaṇ t'ḥámmąm d-drā fi n-nîsān u iḥórj l-'ām zîn blā nóqṣan*, " If an east wind blows in *ḥáiyaṇ* the durra will have a bath in the *nîsān*, and the year will turn out good without scarcity ". For there is no rain while an east wind is blowing.

After all that has now been said it can astonish no one to hear that the world will perish in *ḥáiyaṇ*.[1] This dreadful period is referred to in the Koran (lxix. 6 *sq.*), where mention is made of a violent blast of wind lasting for seven nights and eight days consecutively.

The wind is also said to be bad during the period from

[1] This belief is also found in Algeria (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 246 *sq.*).

23rd March to 4th April (Ṯemsâmän), the *ménzla* called *n-nâṭăḥ*, or in Berber *nṭaḥ* (Aṯ Ubáḫṭi), *nḍaḥ* (Ṯemsâmän), or *nnaṭḥ* (Amanūz), which means the Ram (Aries). The Amanūz say that the east wind in *nnaṭḥ* is very injurious to the corn, and they put off the sowing of onions and pumpkins until it has passed. During the first four days of this *ménzla* the Aṯ Ubáḫṭi abstain from all kinds of work in the fields, vegetable gardens, and orchards.[1] They believe that if anybody should transgress this rule, nay only enter one of those places, either he himself or some of his family or animals would die. Nor do they visit the place where they have their bees.

The *Nîsān*

The time from 27th April to 3rd May (Old Style) is called *n-nîsān* (*l-lísän*, *láisän*). It is a propitious period, in which everybody is happy — *N-nîsan ifráh kull îsan* (Bni 'Ăroṣ). Whilst rain in *ḥáiyan* is considered injurious, rain in the *nîsān* is considered very beneficial.[2] This refers sometimes to all the seven days of that period (*ibid.*, Ġarb, Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Nḍēr, Aiṯ Sáddĕn), sometimes to the first three days (Aṯ Ubáḫṭi, Ṯemsâmän), and sometimes to the first day only (Tetuan, Andjra, Tsūl, Ait Waráin), which is in Andjra called *nhār láisän*. When the people see the rain they go out of their huts or tents to let it fall on their bare heads.[3] The Aiṯ Nḍēr shear their sheep shortly before the *nîsān*, as they consider its rain good for the growth of the wool, and they also regard it as beneficial to other animals and the bees. At Jráifi, in the Ġarb, I was told that even snakes and other reptiles come out from their haunts to get the benefit of its *baraka*; in the Ḥiáina it is said that the rain enters their mouths and there becomes poison,[4] which will

[1] Among the Beni Snūs, "jamais vous ne verrez, à cette saison (*en-neṭḥ*), un cultivateur irriguer son orge ou ses arbres" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 250 *sq.*).

[2] For the same belief in Algeria see Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 252 *sqq.*

[3] The same custom is found in Algeria (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 253).

[4] According to the Beni Snūs, "c'est cette eau qui fait le venin dans la bouche des serpents" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 257).

kill any one they bite, and at Fez I heard that "the rain of the *lísän*" (*š-šᵗā de l-lísän*) opens the eyes not only of blind people but of poisonous reptiles as well. At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Tsūl, Aiṭ Sádděn) or even killing them (Tetuan, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ait Waráin), whereas if there is no rain in the *nîsān* their eyes are said to become like *fîsān* (hoes) and their mouths like *kîsān* (cups). The rain of the *nîsān* is also considered very good for the crops (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi);[1] but in Andjra I was told that this is the case only if there is a little of it, whereas a large quantity destroys them, its water being somewhat salt. The drops which fall into the sea are believed to be transformed into pearls (Fez, Ḥiáina).[2]

Owing to its *baraka* rain-water of the *nîsān* is commonly gathered and used for a variety of purposes. The Ait Waráin keep a little of it in their houses, because its odour is supposed to prevent snakes and scorpions from biting. In the Ġarb it is put in a bottle and used by persons who suffer from a headache. Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ people wash themselves with it and drink it, either to recover or to preserve their health; but the vessel in which it is kept must not come into contact with the ground. In the Ḥiáina some of it is poured into the milk before churning in order to make the butter plentiful; the schoolmaster mixes a few drops of it with the ink to make it easier for the schoolboys to learn how to write, and scribes do the same with ink used by them in writing charms.[3] But in order to preserve its magic efficacy this water must not touch the ground, nor must it be exposed to the sun, nor be breathed upon by anybody. In Andjra rain-water which has fallen on 27th April (*l-mā ḏě láisän*) is used as a fertility charm by women who are desirous of offspring;[4] it is drunk by persons who have

[1] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 253 *sq.* (Beni Snūs).

[2] *Cf. ibid.* p. 258 (Beni Snūs).

[3] In Algeria, "on écrit souvent les amulettes avec du safran délayé dans l'eau de Nîsan" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 256 n.).

[4] *Supra*, i. 585.

eaten bewitched food ; it is poured over a plate in which a certain chapter of the Koran has been written with ink, and is then given to schoolboys to drink so as to strengthen their memory ; mixed with an egg, some henna, and seeds of cress (*ḥorf*), it is given as medicine to cows suffering from stomach trouble ; mixed with tar it is, in the hottest part of the summer, sprinkled on the door-posts to prevent snakes from entering the house ; it is also sprinkled over the heaps of corn after threshing, to protect them against the evil eye ; and on Midsummer day it is used in various ways. On that day at sunset a ring was painted with cow-dung and red earth mixed with *l-mā ḏĕ lâisän* round the trunk of every fig tree in the orchard where I was staying, and the people told me that this would prevent the figs from falling and make them good by giving *baraka* to the trees and averting from them the evil eye ; but if there has been no rain on the day of *lâisän*, water taken from seven springs which are never used for drinking purposes may serve as a substitute. Those who have a sufficient quantity of *l-mā ḏĕ lâisän* wash themselves with it on Midsummer day, and there are persons who soak in it some grain, afterwards to be given to the fowl which is going to be killed and eaten on that day. But in Andjra also this water is supposed to lose its benign virtue if it touches the ground. Among the Ait Temsâmän rain-water which has fallen during the first three days of the *nîsān* (*nnísān*) is preserved till Midsummer day, when it is mixed with red earth and rings are painted with the mixture round the trunks of the fig trees.

The belief in the magical qualities of the rain of the *nîsān* may be traced to the East. In Palestine it is said that "Nisân (or April) is the life of mankind, *i.e.* it revives and invigorates. During the rain-showers of Nisân, the bivalves (oysters) living at the bottom of the sea rise to the surface and open their shells. As soon as a rain-drop falls into one of these open oysters, the shell closes and the creature sinks to the bottom. The rain-drop inside it becomes a pearl ".[1]

[1] Hanauer, *op. cit.* p. 308.

Mūt L-Arḍ

The 17th of May, which is regarded as the first day of summer, is called *mūt l-arḍ*, "the death of the ground". During that day the people must not sleep (Ġarbîya, etc.); [1] should anybody do so he would be tired the next day (Ait Waráin) or afterwards as well (Bni 'Ăroṣ), or "his heart would die", that is, he would lose all his courage (Ḥiáina, Andjra). In Andjra it is also believed that a husband's affection for his wife may easily pass away on that day; hence she tries to make herself attractive by means of cosmetics. It is perhaps for fear of evil influences from *mūt l-arḍ* that among the Tsūl everybody gets up at daybreak and has a bath, the women in their houses and the men and boys at springs in the gardens. Such a bath is said to strengthen their bodies since the water this morning comes from the well Zemzem and consequently has *baraka* in it; but the original object of the practice may nevertheless have been to neutralise the dangers of the day by a ceremonial washing.

On the other hand, the magic force in the death of the earth is also utilised in various ways. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina on the day in question take some barley to the field, put it into the *késkaṣ*, or steamer used for the making of *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksŭ*), leave it there for a while over the fire, then dry it in the sun, roast it in an earthenware pan, grind and sift it, and at last mix it with fresh milk or buttermilk together with the root of a plant called *bûzeffūr*. This is eaten to destroy the *baṣ*. It makes the people strong as there is much *baraka* in it—but only on the condition that the rainbow is seen on that day; otherwise the *baraka* in it is slight, and if it thunders then there is none. Among the same people there are many other practices connected with *mūt l-arḍ*. Scribes write charms for women to make their husbands indifferent as regards their behaviour; a man who has killed another hires a woman who is living with the

[1] See also Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.* p. 96 (some Jbâla of the valley of the Warġa).

avenger of his victim to give the latter a drink mixed with earth taken from underneath his (the murderer's) threshold so as to kill the avenger's courage ; some earth and *šendgûra* (*Teucrium*) stirred into milk are given to dogs that are savage to make them tame ; to ḳuieten a wild horse some earth, taken from the place where it is tethered, is pounded into dust and mixed with the barley which is given it to eat ; persons suffering from pain in their stomach allay it by touching the stomach with a burning piece of cotton-stuff ; the branding of men and animals troubled with certain complaints is considered particularly effective on that day, and even persons in good health have the top of their head scorched with a hot iron to be protected from headache in the future ; and children have their ears pierced because the wound, too, is supposed to die like the earth. The last-mentioned custom also prevails at Fez ; whilst among the Ait Waráin persons suffering from a headache have the crown, temples, and forehead branded with an oleander twig, and blood is drawn from near the eyes of sheep which are supposed to have too much of it. The same Brâber also consider *mūt l-arḍ* to be the best day for shearing the sheep owing to its healing influence on wounds, but whether they are sheared or not the shepherds stay at home that day and are entertained by their masters with *tärffist*, that is, bread-crumbs kneaded with salt butter. Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the shearing of the sheep takes place on the same day [1] and the ears of the lambs are marked ; whereas the Aiṭ Yúsi only shear such ewes as have recently lambed, the others having been fleeced before.

Mūt l-arḍ, however, not only indicates the death of the ground, but is also the commencement of a new season—that of harvesting, threshing, and grinding. The women of the Aiṭ Sádděn on that day fill their handmills with wheat and cover them up ; and among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the men then buy new clothes for themselves and their women.

[1] For further details see *infra*, p. 301.

Midsummer [1]

The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic *l-'ánṣăra* (*l-ánṣra*); and in Berber *l'anṣart* (Shlöḥ, Ait Waráin), *l'anṣarṯ* (Aiṯ Nḏēr, Aiṯ Yúsi, Aiṯ Sádděn), or *ṯ'ăinsāṯ* (Ṯemsâmän)

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.[2] They are common, probably universal, among the Jbâla, or Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco. In Andjra, after sunset, bonfires are kindled in open places in the villages. Men, women, and children leap over them, believing that by doing so they rid themselves of the *baṣ* which may be clinging to them; the sick will be cured and married persons will have offspring. Nobody is hurt by the fire since there is *baraka* in it. Some straw, thyme (*sáḥṯ'ar*), and alum are burned in the *zrîba*, or enclosed place outside the dwelling-house where the cattle, sheep, and goats are kept over night, so that the smoke is blown over the animals and makes them thrive. Straw is, moreover, burned inside the houses and in the orchards, the trees of

[1] This section is based on a paper entitled *Midsummer Customs in Morocco*, which I read before the Folk-Lore Society in December 1904 and published in *Folk-Lore* for March 1905. In a subsequent treatise, published in 1913, I added many facts which I had found during my later journeys in Morocco, and another new feature was the hypothesis that many or most of the purificatory Midsummer ceremonies were originally intended to serve as a protection against evil forces considered to be active at Midsummer itself. Shortly after the appearance of my article M. Doutté published his book *Merrâkech*, in which he deals with the same subject on pp. 377-381, pointing out in a note that those pages were already written when my article appeared. In a more recent book, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (1909), he again devotes some pages (565-574) to North African Midsummer ceremonies. M. Marçais (*Textes arabes de Tanger* [Paris, 1911], p. 41 *sqq.*) gives a native description of the *'ánṣăra* at the Jbel lĕ-kbīr outside Tangier, and Dr. Kampffmeyer ('Weitere Texte aus Fes und Tanger', in *Mitteil. des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, xvi. [1913], p. 82 *sqq.*) one of it at Fez. In his article 'Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Beni Snoûs', in *Revue Africaine*, vol. l. (1906), M. Destaing has dealt with Midsummer in Algeria.

[2] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 261 *sqq.* (Algeria).

which are thereby protected from the evil eye. In the orchard attached to the hut where I was living, a small heap of dry grass and herbs was put under each fig tree and set on fire at sunset, and I was told that if this were not done the fruit would drop off before it was ripe. In places where there are bees, dry cow-dung is burned to prevent them from being harmed by the evil eye or destroyed by thunder or robbed of their honey by vermin. I have found similar customs among other tribes of the Jbâla visited by me. In that of Jbel Ḥbīb the people jump over the fires kindled on Midsummer eve, the animals are taken over heaps of smouldering straw in the yards, and under the best tree in each orchard a fire is made of branches cut off from different trees. In the Sáḥel poplar twigs and pennyroyal (*flăiyŭ*), as well as straw, are on Midsummer day burned between the animals, which are otherwise supposed to die during the year, and similar fires are made under the fruit trees. On the same day the Bni 'Ăroṣ make smouldering fires in their orchards and in places where there are bees, and the fruit trees are sprinkled with the ashes ; and in the evening they kindle bonfires over which the people leap. Among the Tsūl, one of the most southerly tribes of the Jbâla, people, animals, houses, fruit trees, and threshing-floors are on Midsummer day fumigated with the smoke of herbs of various kinds, and persons who suffer from a headache scorch the temples, crown, and back of their head with a heated oleander twig.[1]

Fire and smoke ceremonies are likewise practised by the Arabs of the plains and in neighbouring towns. The Mnáṣăra make fires outside their tents, near their animals, on their fields and threshing-floors, and in their gardens, and sometimes small fires are also kindled inside their tents. Large quantities of pennyroyal are burned in the fires, and over some of them the people leap three times to and fro, maintaining that the smoke is beneficial to everything with which it comes in contact. The same custom and belief prevail in the Shāwîa, where the smoke on that day is

[1] For fire rites among some other Jbâla see Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.* p. 103 *sq.*

supposed to remove evil influences from everything and is said to ascend to God.[1] At Salli, on the Atlantic coast, persons who suffer from diseased eyes rub them with ashes of the Midsummer fire, and at Casablanca and Azemmur people keep their faces over the smoke, which is considered to be good for the eyes. In Dukkâla fires are kindled, not for men and animals, but on durra fields and threshing-floors, and in orchards and vegetable gardens, and I was told that nobody would like to cut the crops of the season before the *'ánṣăra* is over and thereby lose the benefit of the *baraka* in the smoke of the Midsummer fire.[2] So also in 'Abda smouldering fires of straw are made on the durra fields to make them blessed. In the Ḥiáina grass and herbs are gathered at daybreak, especially from marshy places, so that they shall not flame, but only smoke, when they are burned in the yard for the good of the domestic animals. Barren women also try to benefit by the smoke through letting it pass underneath their clothes; and the bees are fumigated with the smoke of burned cow-dung in order that they shall make much honey.

The inhabitants of Mequinez burn poplar leaves with incense inside their houses, as also in their orchards to improve the fruit. As regards Fez, Leo Africanus wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century that at Midsummer "you shall here see all about great store of fires made with straw"; [3] and in the latter part of the eighteenth century Chénier witnessed there bonfires made at "the feast of Saint John". [4] But nowadays fire rites are not conspicuous in Fez at Midsummer, although a gardener told me that fires are made in the gardens.

On the other hand, among the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez smouldering fires are universal on this occasion, which is regarded by them as a great feast. On

[1] Midsummer fires are also mentioned in *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Chaouïa*, i. 219, and ii. 302.

[2] M. Doutté (*Merrâkech*, p. 377 *sq.*) also makes mention of Midsummer fires in Dukkâla, as well as in the Raḥámna.

[3] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* ii. 453.

[4] de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (1788), p. 292 *sq.*

the morning of Midsummer day the people fumigate themselves, their houses or tents, animals, bees, orchards, vegetable gardens, and threshing-floors [1] with the smoke of various herbs and leaves of bushes and trees. The Aiṭ Yúsi burn rue (*iúrmi*), *Daphne gnidium* (*alzaz*), *Verbascum sinuatum* (*abṛḍủḍ izm*, " the lion's tail "), and leaves of the blackberry bush (*asttif*) and the wild olive (*azĕmmur*). The Aiṭ Nḏēr burn harmel, rosemary (*azir*), *Artemisia alba* (*izri*), and pomegranate, lemon, and oleander (*alili*) leaves. The Ait Waráin make smoke of seven different substances, namely, oleander, bamboo, and olive leaves, rue (*iúrmi*), pennyroyal (*flîyŭ*), thyme (*ạzui*), and *Inula viscosa* (*tărrhĕla*). The Aiṭ Sádděn burn rue (*aúrmi*) and roots of *Atractylis gummifera* (*addäḍ*), believing that the smoke will keep them in good health till next Midsummer, whereas those who do not thus fumigate themselves will easily get ill or die. The importance ascribed to fumigation at this time of the year appears from the remark made to a person who behaves foolishly, *Škkíntin ur t'anṣért*, " You did not celebrate Midsummer " (Ait Waráin), or, *Ur ṭ'ánṣirṭ ur ġúrš lă'qal*, " You did not celebrate Midsummer, you have no understanding " (Aiṭ Yúsi). And that the magic force is attributed to the smoke, not to the flame, is evident from the fact that the herbs and leaves are prevented from blazing and only allowed to smoulder. Of the Aiṭ Mjilḍ, I was told that they on Midsummer eve burn fires of straw, leap three times over them to and fro, and let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, whilst married women keep their breasts over the fire in order that their little children shall be strong. They paint their eyes with antimony mixed with ashes of the fire, and also put some ashes on the forehead and between the nostrils of their horses that they shall remain good.

On the evening of Midsummer day the Aiṭ Wäryâġer make in their yards fires with poplar (*aṣăfṣaf*) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap, whilst some other Berbers of the Rīf on the same day burn *amĕdzzi* (gum-sandarach, in Arabic *'ar'ar*) and *fâḍiṣ* (lentisk, *Pistacia lentiscus*, in Arabic *ḍrō*). Sometimes they

[1] See *infra*, p. 229.

burn in the fire the dried body of a wild-cat, the smoke of which is considered wholesome for the animals.[1] Fires of straw are, moreover, made under the fruit trees so that the fruit may remain on the tree till it ripens. Sometimes the ashes of the fire over which the people leap are mixed with water, and the tuft of hair which those Berbers allow to grow on their heads is rubbed with the mixture so as to prevent the hair from falling out. In some parts of the Rīf, I am told, fires are made not only on Midsummer day but also on the previous evening.

Among the Shlöḥ fire ceremonies are not equally prevalent at Midsummer ; indeed I am not aware that any of them then make fires for the benefit of men and animals. But the Iniknâfĕn in Ḥáḥa burn dry cow-dung among the bees, which were said to be purified by the smoke " just as men are purified by water ", and farther east, at Amzmiz in the Great Atlas, I also heard of the custom of fumigating the bees on Midsummer day ; but among none of the Berber tribes inhabiting those mountains was I able to detect any other fire customs on this occasion—on the contrary, the existence of any such customs was emphatically denied by my informants. However, among various tribes in Sūs belonging to the same Berber group, smouldering fires are made under the fruit trees with a view to preventing the fruit from dropping.[2] Thus the people of Aglu make smoke of straw and rubbish mixed with the dung of cows or camels, but the heap is not allowed to blaze ; if it does so the flame is at once extinguished with earth lest the fruit should become bad. The Shlöḥ of Tazĕrwalt, again, roast some river fish in the fire-pots which they place under some of their fruit trees for the preservation of the fruit.

In all these cases the beneficial effect is entirely attributed to the smoke, which is supposed to remove the *ḅaṣ* from men,

[1] M. Salmon (' Une tribu marocaine ', in *Archives marocaines*, i. [Paris, 1904], p. 237) states that at Salli, on the Atlantic coast, it is the custom to burn an owl on Midsummer day.

[2] *Cf.* Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 419 :—" En pays chleuh . . . l'usage de dresser le bûcher solsticial est tombé en désuétude. On allume bien encore çà et là quelques feux fumigènes, qu'on alimente de plantes vertes et aromatiques ".

animals, fruit trees, corn, and vegetables ; but in some places there are also practised at Midsummer fire ceremonies with the object of destroying the *bạs* by the flame. At Mequinez grass growing on the roof, old rubbish from the house, and, as the case may be, the clothes of one of its inhabitants who has died from an infectious disease, are at Midsummer burned on the house-top ; but nobody jumps over this fire, which is only supposed to do away with evil. For a similar purpose the Aiṭ Mjilḍ were said to burn on Midsummer eve three sheaves of unthreshed wheat or barley taken from the stack on the threshing-floor, " one for the children, one for the year, and one for the animals ". Of the same Berbers I was told that they burn the tent of a widow who has never given birth to a child, to rid the village of misfortune ; but this statement was not confirmed by further inquiries. I have, however, heard of the prevalence of a similar custom in another tribe belonging to the same Berber group, the Zemmūr. According to one informant, a native of Mequinez, they drive away misfortune from their place by burning the tent of a widow whose family have died in warfare ; whilst in the neighbouring tribe, Beni Ăḥsen, I was told that the Zemmūr at Midsummer burn a tent belonging to somebody killed in fighting during a feast or, if there be no such person in the village, the tent of the schoolmaster, who, like the widow in the former cases, is compensated with a new one. Among the Beni Ăḥsen themselves it is the custom for those who live near the river Sbū to make a little hut of straw on Midsummer day, set light to it, and let it float down the river. The people of Salli burn a straw-hut on the river Bū Ragrág, after taking it there with music and powder play ; [1] whilst in the neighbouring town Rabat the same ceremony is sometimes performed in the tanks of the gardens.

Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are

[1] Chénier wrote at the end of the eighteenth century (*op. cit.* i. 293 *sq.*), " At Sallee, when the harvest is gathered before the feast of St. John, which among the Moors corresponds with the fifth of July, I have seen young people collect reeds and straw into a heap, set them on float down the river, light them in a blaze as they swam, and sport round ". See also Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 10.

frequently practised at Midsummer.[1] On the *'ánṣăra* morning the people of Andjra and the Bni 'Ăroṣ have a bath in the sea or rivers and also bathe their animals—horses, mules, donkeys, sheep, and goats ; for on that day all water is endowed with *baraka*, which removes sickness and misfortune. Many saints of Northern Morocco whose "tombs" are situated on the sea-shore have their feasts on the same day,[2] and on these occasions much bathing takes place. Water ceremonies are found not only among the northern tribes of the Jbâla but also among the Tsūl, who on Midsummer day pour water over their children in the yard after removing their clothes, in order that the people may enjoy good health and the year may be blessed. Bathing on that day prevails among some of the Arabs of the plains, as the Beni Ăḥsen, and at Mazagan and Salli,[3] where I was told that such bathing makes the year cooler ; and both there and at Rabat, Mequinez, and Fez [4] people then pour or squirt water over each other in the streets or from the house-tops. This has often the appearance of a real fight, although nobody is allowed to take offence, and so large is the quantity of water thrown about that the streets of Fez become almost as muddy as after a fall of rain. On the other hand, I have found no water customs at Midsummer among the Arabs of Dukkâla, the Shāwîa, the Mnáṣăra, and the Ḥiáina, except that in the first-mentioned province a person who has eaten magic food may then go to the sea to have a bathe. As for the Brâber living in the neighbourhood of Fez, no such customs are reported to occur among the Aiṭ Nḏēr and Aiṭ Mjilḏ, whereas among the Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn, and Ait Waráin the people on Midsummer morning pour water over each other, and sometimes even on persons who are sleeping or sitting in their tents. In the Rīf Midsummer bathing is extensively practised, either with or without

[1] For some water rites in Algeria see Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 265 *sq.* n. 5.

[2] *Supra*, i. 176. The same is also the case with Sîdi Ḥmed ben Mărzoq at Azîla and Sîdi l-Máḥfi at l-Qṣar s-Sḡēr in Andjra.

[3] According to M. Doutté (*Merrâkech*, p. 378), at Azemmur and Tetuan as well.

[4] At Marráksh also, according to M. Doutté (*Merrâkech*, p. 379).

water-pouring, and animals also are bathed. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean. The Ait Temsâmän say that the bath on Midsummer day is better than any other because it removes "Jewesses", that is, all sorts of impurity, which will cling to a person throughout the year if he does not bathe on that day. Among the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas I found no water rites at Midsummer, but bathing occurs in some parts of Sūs. I was told by an old man from Tazĕrwalt that on the *l'anṣart* day children bathe in springs and grown-up people in their houses. At Aglu men, women, and children on the morning of the same day bathe in the sea or in springs or rivers, maintaining that if they do so they will suffer from no disease during the year. Moreover, if a woman is anxious to know whether she will be blessed with a child or not, she goes to the sea-shore on that day and on the two following days and lets seven waves go over her body; then she knows that if she does not give birth to a child soon she will have none at all. In this case magic has dwindled into divination.

Closely related to the smoke and water ceremonies is the custom of throwing earth on the fruit trees on Midsummer day with a view to preventing the fruit from dropping.[1] This custom seems chiefly to prevail in tribes belonging to the various Berber groups, the Ġiâṯ in 'Abda being the only Arab tribe in Morocco in which I have heard of its existence. The Ait Temsâmän throw seven handfuls of earth on their fig trees in the morning before sunrise. The Iniknâfĕn in Ḥáḥa throw earth not only on their fig trees but also in their gardens, letting the wind blow it over the vegetables. At Aglu the sprinkling of the fruit trees with earth or dust alternates with the smoke custom mentioned above, and the dust is by preference taken from some road frequented by many men and animals, unless the orchard itself contains fine earth free from gravel. The Aiṯ Mjilḏ throw earth taken from a place where three roads meet both on their fruit trees to prevent them from getting dry and over their

[1] This custom also prevails in some parts of Algeria (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 267 *sq.* n. 7).

animals and bees to keep them in good condition; and unmarried girls hang little bags filled with such earth round their necks as a safeguard against witchcraft. The Aiṯ Sádděn, again, on Midsummer morning throw earth on their vines to keep the fruit from withering; when they do this they say, *Álláhúmma ṣálli 'ál ń-nbi l-móḥtār, l-ġúbra áḥsän měn d-dúkkār*, "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Faḥṣ, Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Ṯemsâmän, Aiṯ Wäryâġer), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees.[1] This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, *Blastophaga grossorum*, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs.[2] I was told by a scribe from the Rīf that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (*ärìy*; Aiṯ Wäryâġer), or pennyroyal (*flâiyŭ*; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rīf Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (*ámġil*) taken from the same place.[3]

Various other practices, besides those mentioned above, indicate that at Midsummer magic forces are supposed to be active in certain species of vegetation. In the Ḥiáina a barren woman then walks about naked at night in the

[1] *Cf.* Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 258; Salmon, *loc. cit.* p. 237; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 568. For the prevalence of this practice in Algeria see Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 267.

[2] Elfving, *De vigtigaste kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

[3] *Supra*, i. 434, 438.

vegetable garden to be benefited by its fruitfulness. Among the same Arabs the women on Midsummer day gather *Daphne gnidium*, which, dried in the sun, made into powder, and mixed with water, is daubed on the heads of their little children to prevent them from being affected by the sun, to make their hair grow nicely, and to keep away vermin. Among the Tsūl the women on Midsummer morning take home some *šengûra*, *déryes* (*Thapsia garganica*), *ddād* (*Atractylis gummifera*), and *sarġêna* (*Telephium imperati*) to be used for the purpose of increasing the butter on future occasions, the empty milk-pan (*rwâba*) being fumigated with the smoke of dried *šengûra* and *sarġêna* and of the dried and pounded roots of *ddād*, whilst the roots of *déryes* are put into a hole in the ground underneath the pan. In Andjra, shortly before Midsummer day, oleander branches are taken into the house and kept on the rafters, where they serve as a protection against the evil eye; in cases of sickness caused by the evil eye the leaves are burned and the patient lets the smoke pass underneath his clothes, inhaling it as it comes through; and written upon, the leaves are used as charms, whilst pens are made of the wood. For all these purposes use is particularly made of the so-called "sultan of the oleanders",[1] to which much *baraka* is ascribed, especially if it has been found growing in a dry place and has been cut immediately before Midsummer; but when brought home it must not touch the ground lest it should be polluted by any impurity. In the same district it is the custom a few days before the *'ánṣăra* to pick pennyroyal and put it on the rafters, there being *baraka* in it, but only if it is gathered before Midsummer. Externally it is applied to wounds, whilst as a medicine for coughs and colds its dry leaves are made into a powder and taken mixed with *kŭsksŭ*, porridge, or milk. Another plant which in Andjra is gathered before Midsummer for medicinal purposes is the thyme (*sáḥtˢar*). In the case of a diseased eye causing a bad headache (*šqêqa*), or of white spots in the eyes, its dry leaves are burned and the patient holds his face over the smoke, or he scorches the skin near the eyes with its stalk; and if anybody is ill with

[1] See *supra*, i. 109.

jaundice (*búṣăffār*), the nails of the hands and feet, the temples, the forehead above the nose, the top of the head, and the joints of the arms and legs are treated in a similar manner. In the Sáḥel pennyroyal and thyme are likewise picked immediately before the *'ánṣăra*, to be used as medicine when occasion requires, the former mixed with porridge, the latter boiled in water; but if gathered after Midsummer they are considered useless. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (*ḏäzubäiṯ*). Some other Berbers on that day bury in the same place a flea inside a fig, and sweep the threshold of the house with oleander branches to clear it of vermin; whilst among the Ait Waráin a woman puts on a skin apron (*ttabânta*) and walks about in the house moving a sickle (*amjer*) in the air, saying that she is now reaping fleas.[1]

In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.[2] The Arabs of the Shāwîa then roast and eat some maize on the field and also take some to their homes, where they boil the cones without removing the grain, together with four double handfuls of chick-peas and the same quantity of wheat which has not been previously kept in a *mâṭmûra*, or subterranean granary. This dish, called *šéršem*, is eaten with sour milk, and a portion of it is given to the neighbours; there is *baraka* in it, "it is dear to God". And over the boiling corn and pulse *séksû* is made in a steamer. Among the Mnáṣăra some wheat is put in water on Midsummer eve to be boiled without the husks the following morning, when it is placed on the top of a dish of *séksû* together with boiled onions, pumpkins, and beans with the skin on; but before the beginning of the meal everybody present takes seven beans and swallows them whole to prevent the eyes from getting diseased during the year. On Midsummer morning the Arabs of the Ḥiáina

[1] For Algerian methods of expelling fleas at Midsummer see Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 266.

[2] *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 377 (Raḥámna); Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.* p. 104 (some Jbâla of the valley of the Warġa).

gather figs and grapes from the orchard, and melons, water-melons, pumpkins, and other vegetables from the garden, and give them to the little children to eat, after which the grown-up people have their share; these fruits and vegetables are eaten as breakfast, and there is *baraka* in them. So also the Ait Waráin very early that morning go and fetch from their orchards and gardens all kinds of fruit and vegetables growing there, and have a meal of them. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer make *imšiḫan* (the Arabic *šiyôḫa*) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any. The Ait Temsâmän make a similar dish of wheat taken from different threshing-floors, and eat it on one of the floors in order that the year shall be good; and they also hold it necessary on Midsummer day to eat of seven different kinds of food, such as figs, fish, or any other kind of food. The Shlöḥ of Amzmiz partake of different kinds of corn and beans cooked together in their natural state, and the inhabitants of Demnat eat a dish made of barley, wheat, maize, durra, beans, and chick-peas, which have been kept in water for a while and then pounded and boiled with meat. In this case also I was expressly told that it is done to make the year good and corn and pulse abundant, and it is probable that the other eating rites just mentioned are likewise considered to increase the supply of food, and particularly to be beneficial to the crops. At the same time it is not impossible that the object of these rites was in the first place to safeguard corn, pulse, and vegetables against evil influences supposed to be active at this time of the year. This is almost suggested by the explanation given of another eating rite which takes place on Midsummer day among the Ida Ugŏrḍ in Ḥáḥa: a honey-comb is then cut into two pieces and eaten if there is honey in it, and I was told that if this ceremony were not performed the bees would make no honey. In Andjra it is believed that if it thunders shortly before Midsummer there will be no honey.

In the Ḥiáina, again, some honey which is free from worms is on Midsummer day obtained from the beehives and eaten then and afterwards; it contains *baraka*, and is taken as medicine on an empty stomach. Among the Aiṯ Mjilḏ

the unmarried men come together and eat some honey in order that everything shall be sweet for them, whilst the married men, to get rid of evil influences, drink water into which some salt has been put. The Amanūz eat on the evening of Midsummer day *tagúlla*, oil, and honey in the mosque of the village, and rob the bees of their honey on the same evening.[1] The Mnáṣăra and the Aiṭ Nḍēr on that night eat snails (*bábbūš*) boiled with salt, pepper, and pennyroyal or thyme—a dish which on this occasion is said to have *baraka* in it and be good for the health. On the same day the Aiṭ Nḍēr eat a dried piece of the stomach of the sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast, boiled with *sěksů*; and in the neighbouring town, Mequinez, some portion of the sacrificial animal, which has been preserved for this occasion, is eaten as breakfast with *sěksů* and various vegetables bought at the market that morning. I was told of a curious ceremony practised in the same town on Midsummer day. If a woman has been married since the previous *'ánṣăra* the women of the husband's family pay her a visit and are received by her in her bridal dress; on a new tray she offers them milk and cold *sěksů* left from the morning, and they throw it over her to make her prosperous.

On Midsummer day all sorts of magic are practised.[2] Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz a woman who is afraid that her husband will marry again takes two cats to the sea-shore, ties them together before a toy-plough like yoked oxen, and strews some salt on the sand, saying, *Lĕ-mšâš ma iḥartů ši u l-mĕlḥa ma tnūḍ ši u flān ma idjūwĕj ši*, "The cats will not plough and the salt will not grow and So-and-so will not marry". Among the Igerwạn, I was told, a woman who wants to make her husband loving cuts a little piece off his clothes and secretly burns it in the fire over which she cooks the food. If a girl has not succeeded in getting a husband, she secretly burns a little hair of her head and

[1] For the custom of eating honey on Midsummer day see also Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.* p. 104 (some Jbâla of the valley of the Warġa); Biarnay, 'Étude sur les Bet't'ioua du Vieil-Arzeu', in *Revue Africaine*, lv. (Alger, 1911), p. 215 (Aiṭ Sádděn).

[2] *Cf. Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, i. 219.

pieces of her thumb-nails and inhales the smoke as it passes through from underneath her clothes; she then goes to the cemetery without drawers and crosses it in two directions, presumably to destroy the evil which prevents her marrying. On the same day some flour and benzoin is wrapped up in a rag and tied at the neck of the sire of the flock to promote the health and growth of the latter; and on the third day after Midsummer some hair is shaved off the heads of the little children and, sealed up in a piece of bamboo, hung round their necks to keep them in good health. The inhabitants of Fez paint their eyes with antimony on Midsummer day to prevent their getting diseased during the year.

Midsummer day is also a day of omens and fortune-telling.[1] In the Ḥiâina it is believed that if corn is cheap on that day it will remain so till the following Midsummer; if there is dew in the morning the year will be good; if there is west wind there will be much west wind during the year, and if an east wind is blowing there will be much east wind; and if two hens are seen gazing into each other's eyes somebody in the village will die within a few days. I heard from an eye-witness that the Ait 'Attab on the same day kill a fowl, collect its blood in a vessel, and when it has dried, take it to a scribe to have their fortune read in it.

As appears from the above collection of facts, the customs practised at Midsummer are in a large measure distinctly intended to remove or keep off evil influences, and this may have been their essential object even in many instances where they are nowadays represented as sources of more positive benefits. The purificatory or protective ceremonies are no doubt believed to have a more or less lasting effect, but we have reason to suppose that their primary object in many or most cases is to serve as a protection against evil forces that are active at Midsummer itself. Various facts prove the belief in the existence of such forces.[2] It is indicated by

[1] In the Shâwîa a cloudy sky is considered a good augury for the termination of the year (*Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, i. 219).

[2] The Beni Snûs in Algeria say that they fumigate their houses at Midsummer in order to keep away evil spirits (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 263

certain taboos. The people of Andjra abstain from *kŭsksŭ* on Midsummer day because they must not then make use of the *aqâffäl*, or cloth employed in the preparation of *kŭsksŭ* to prevent the escape of steam round the edge of the steamer; and a transgression of this rule is supposed to be accompanied with grave misfortune.[1] Among the Ait Temsâmän, the Aiṭ Yúsi, and the Aiṭ Nḍēr no work is done on that day,[2] and in Fez many shops are closed. The Ait Waráin and the Igerwạn are then afraid of taking a nap, and at Tangier it is said that anybody who does so will be sleepy for a whole year. Among the Igerwạn parents keep their children out of sight of any married woman who has not been blessed with children, lest they in the future should become as childless as she; indeed such a woman ought not to go out at all on Midsummer day. The Shlöḥ of Aglu believe that if a branch of a tree is broken on that day the tree will die; and certain omens already mentioned may likewise be taken as signs of harmful influences. Even the magic energy attributed to water at Midsummer is not always supposed to be of a beneficial kind. My teacher in Shelḥa, a scribe from Glawi in the Great Atlas, told me that the water of all springs and rivers then becomes salt for one hour, while that of the sea becomes sweet. When the former flows over the maize fields the corn is affected in such a way as to make those who eat of it excitable and quarrelsome, and as only astrologers know the hour when the change takes place the people are

sq.). They also maintain that no woman can conceive on the Midsummer night and that "si, par hasard, une femme met au monde une fille pendant cette nuit, cette enfant sera stérile; si c'est un garçon qui vient à naître, il sera laid, méchant et impuissant" (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 269).

[1] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 272 n. 2:—"A Qal'a, on ne fait rien cuire ce jour de l''Ans'âra".

[2] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 272 n. 1:—"On ne travaille pas dans certaines localités (Mascara, Figuig, Saint-Leu).—On dit au Sig que l'individu qui travaille le jour de l''Ans'âra est pris de tremblements". According to an Arabic manuscript quoted by M. Destaing (*ibid.*), "le jour de l''Ans'âra, on ne s'occupe ni de la moisson, ni du dépiquage, ni d'autre travail. Celui qui fait ce jour quelque travail voit les vers s'attaquer à son ouvrage. Il est blâmable de voyager ce jour-là". El-Bûni writes, "On ne plante pas d'arbres ce jour-là; on ne doit pas se marier ni revêtit d'habits neufs" (*ibid.*).

unable to keep the injurious water away from the crops by regulating the irrigation of the fields; hence the Shlöḥ are an irritable race.[1] A Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that on Midsummer day all water is unclean, because a Jewess called ʿAnṣara has urinated into it; nobody can pray in clothes washed in it, and all water to be used during the day for drinking and cooking purposes is brought home before daybreak. The Igerwan believe that the water is on Midsummer day haunted by *jnūn*, hence people avoid bathing in it and animals are kept from drinking it. And among the Beni Ăḥsen those who on that day take a swim in the river first throw into it burning straw with *sĕksû* as an inducement to ʿAiša Qandîša and Ḥámmů Qáiyů not to hurt them.[2] The use made on Midsummer day of *nîsān* water and of a portion of the sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast, which has been especially preserved for this occasion, also suggests a belief in evil forces which have then to be overcome; and the same is the case with certain practices, yet to be mentioned, which, like some others, seem to have a purificatory origin.

When I visited Salli some twenty years ago I was informed that the boys there were in the habit of having a fight on the fourth day before Midsummer. At Mequinez it was the custom for the young men and boys to divide themselves into two parties and have a fight with slings, and if anybody was hurt or killed no notice was taken of it; such combats were fought both on Midsummer day and in the preceding weeks, from *mūt l-arḍ*, but I was told that they were stopped by the governor on account of the many accidents that happened. Of a neighbouring Berber tribe, the Igerwan, I heard that similar fights on Midsummer day take place between the

[1] *Cf.* Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 270 n. 2 :—" On prétend, à Mazouna, que, pendant la nuit de l'ʿAns'âra, l'eau est partout changée en sang ".

[2] Among the Beni Snūs a food-offering is made to the spirits inhabiting a certain river to prevail upon them not to do harm to the children who drink of its water (Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 265). Some German rivers, such as the Saale and the Spree, are believed to require their victim on Midsummer day; hence people are careful not to bathe at this perilous season (Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. [London, 1913], p. 26 *sq.*).

boys of different villages, and that, if anybody is wounded, it is considered lucky for him, as he thereby gets rid of his *baṣ*. The same custom occurs among the Ait Waráin, who also on that day have a tug of war between men and women,[1] after which both grown-up people and children fight with water; and, as we have noticed before, this is not the only case in which the water ceremonies at Midsummer have the character of a fight. Tugs of war and fights or racing of some kind or other, as we have seen, occur as purification rites at the Great Feast, while purificatory water and fire customs are common on the *'āšûra* day, which is also in many respects a dangerous day. I think, then, it is quite probable that the evil force which, for example, is supposed to make the fruit fall down from the trees or the animals die unless they be fumigated on Midsummer day, is primarily ascribed to that day itself, and that the belief in its harmful influences first suggested the performance of purificatory rites. At the same time, the magic energy in these rites may also produce more far-reaching effects of a beneficial character, for example by curing diseases or giving *baraka* to the threshing-floor. The magic forces which are active on the day of the summer solstice are, as is usual in similar cases, partly evil and partly good, and the latter may be utilised both as a protection against the former and as a means of securing other, more positive benefits.

Another explanation of the fire and water ceremonies at Midsummer has been given by Professor Doutté. According to him, the latter are evidently intended to secure for the vegetation a sufficient supply of rain.[2] Now it is true that water rites of various kinds are practised in Morocco for this purpose; but in spite of careful inquiries I have not been able to detect any such idea in connection with the Midsummer customs, except at Fez, where I was told that the water fights have the effect of making the year rainy and consequently good. But to this statement I cannot attach much evidential value, first, because it seems hardly probable that the original

[1] According to M. Biarnay (*loc. cit.* p. 215) there is also among the Aiṯ Sádděn a tug of war between men and women on Midsummer day.

[2] Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 573; *Idem*, *Merrâkech*, p. 381.

idea underlying an agricultural custom should survive in a city if it has died out in the country, and, secondly, because we have reason to believe that the Midsummer water fights at Fez have a comparatively late origin. Notwithstanding their very conspicuous character no mention is made of them by Leo Africanus, who on the other hand speaks of fire rites, which nowadays are so little prominent that their existence is even denied by natives of the town. At the same time it is easy to see that water rites practised for the purpose of purification may, in the course of time, have come to be interpreted as rain-charms, just as the Midsummer bathing is sometimes said to make the year cooler, although nobody would suppose that this was the original object of it.

As for the fire rites M. Doutté, while admitting that they also have a purificatory character, accepts the explanation given by Mannhardt and once adopted by Frazer, that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants, and finds no reason "pour ramener tous ces rites à la seule théorie de la purification et de la transmission d'une *baraka* comme le fait Westermarck ".[1] For my own part I find no sufficient reason to regard them as sun-charms. It is hardly necessary to say that no one in Morocco looks upon them in that light, and that the last thing a native of Northern Africa would do at Midsummer would be to attempt to increase the heat of the sun.[2] It may be argued that the Midsummer fire rites have originated in colder regions and afterwards lost their real meaning ; but to this I would answer that I find no evidence for Mannhardt's sun-charm theory even in Frazer's exhaustive description of the European fire rites. In Europe, as well as in Morocco, a purificatory purpose is expressly ascribed to these ceremonies by the very persons who practise them ; and far from supposing, as Frazer did in the earlier editions of *The Golden Bough*, that this aspect

[1] Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 571 *sqq.* ; *Idem*, *Merrâkech*, p. 379 *sq.*

[2] M. Laoust writes (in *Hespéris*, i. 420), " Pour peu que l'on ait vécu dans les oasis sahariennes, l'on sait que les Ksouriens . . . appellent de leurs vœux un été long et chaud, car la maturité des dattes est à ce prix ". But who would suppose that the *'ánṣára* fires have originated among the growers of palm trees ?

is secondary, "if indeed it is more than a later misinterpretation of the custom",[1] I fail to see that those ceremonies have generally served any other purpose. Everybody admits, of course, that the original motive for a certain custom may have been forgotten and another substituted for it, but I find no evidence that this has been the case with regard to the European and North African fire customs practised at Midsummer. The expelling of evil influences by magical means is world-wide, and purifications with fire or water may be just as primitive as homœopathic magic practised for the purpose of producing sunshine or rain. Moreover, the belief in days or seasons charged with dangerous magic energy is common both among savages and peoples more advanced in culture. Why, then, should we presume that the ascription of a purificatory purpose to the Midsummer fires of European peasants is a later interpretation of a custom which their agricultural ancestors had invented for an entirely different purpose? Frazer said, "The custom of rolling a burning wheel down a hillside, which is often observed at these times, seems a very natural imitation of the sun's course in the sky".[2] To me it rather appears as a method of distributing the purificatory energy over the fields or vineyards. Notice, for instance, the following statements. In the Rhön Mountains, Bavaria, on the first Sunday in Lent, "a wheel, wrapt in combustibles, was kindled and rolled down the hill; and the young people rushed about the fields with their burning torches and brooms".[3] At Volkmarsen, in Hesse, "in some places tar-barrels or wheels wrapt in straw used to be set on fire, and then sent rolling down the hillside. In others the boys light torches and wisps of straw at the bonfires and rush about brandishing them in their hands".[4] In Münsterland "boys with blazing bundles of straw run over the fields to make them fruitful".[5] The rolling of the burning wheel, then, is only one method out of many of distributing the magic energy of the bonfire. It was argued that "the custom of throwing blazing discs,

[1] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, second edition, iii. (London, 1900), p. 314.
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 301.
[3] *Ibid.* iii. 243 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.* iii. 254.
[5] *Ibid.* iii. 255.

shaped like suns, into the air is probably also a piece of imitative magic".[1] But why should it not, in conformity with other practices, be regarded as a means of purifying the air? According to old writers, the object of Midsummer fires was to disperse the aerial dragons.[2] Frazer further maintained that "the influence which these bonfires are supposed to exert on the weather and on vegetation, goes to show that they are sun-charms, since the effects ascribed to them are identical with those of sunshine".[3] But these effects are really such as would result from purification rather than from sunshine; they are not restricted to vegetation but apply to animals and men as well. Moreover, in Europe as in Morocco, the magic efficacy is often attributed to the smoke rather than to the flame. And it should, finally, be noticed that in Europe, as in Morocco, Midsummer day is in various respects looked upon as a dangerous day.[4]

In the last edition of *The Golden Bough*, however, Sir James Frazer announces that he has changed his views. He writes:—"The arguments of Dr. Edward Westermarck have satisfied me that the solar theory of the European fire-festivals, which I accepted from W. Mannhardt, is very slightly, if at all, supported by the evidence and is probably erroneous. The true explanation of the festivals I now believe to be the one advocated by Dr. Westermarck himself, namely that they are purificatory in intention, the fire being designed not, as I formerly held, to reinforce the sun's light and heat by sympathetic magic, but merely to burn or repel the noxious things, whether conceived as material or spiritual, which threaten the life of man, of animals, and of plants".[5] This change of views has escaped the notice of M. Laoust, who in his recent essay on bonfires in Morocco still represents Frazer as a supporter of Mannhardt's theory. In this essay M. Laoust has himself adduced much fresh evidence of the fact that the natives regard those fires as means of purification or expulsion of evil influences and of transmission of

[1] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, second edition, iii. 301.
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 267. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 303.
[4] See Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, iii. (Leipzig, 1914), p. 222.
[5] Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, i. p. vii. *Cf. ibid.* i. 330 *sq.*

baraka. He says, " Il faut reconnaître que c'est là l'explication actuelle de ces usages, et que les indigènes n'interprètent pas différemment leurs pratiques ". But he adds :—" On admettra difficilement que les feux de joie aient toujours eu ce sens et uniquement ce sens. On ne saurait nier que nombre de feux étaient destinés à la crémation de vieux dieux représentant l'esprit des arbres ou de la végétation, sous les traits d'une *Taslit* (' bride ') ou d'un *Asli* (' bridegroom '), et que nombre de pratiques agraires se trouvent encore intimement associées aux rites du feu. Nous . . . croyons même avoir établi que des représentants humains des dieux, en des temps barbares, périssaient réellement dans les flammes.—Mais les feux de joie ont revêtu un autre caractère. Sur cette rive de la Méditerranée comme sur l'autre, ils furent aussi, en des temps lointains, des rites de magie destinés à soutenir le soleil à une période critique de sa course. Maints faits tendent à montrer que les théories de Mannhardt, de Frazer, généralement admises aujourd'hui, s'appliquent aux usages berbères ". But the facts mentioned by M. Laoust himself in support of this theory are certainly utterly inadequate to its rehabilitation. They amount to this :—" Certains bûchers sont énormes et se dressent sur des hauteurs. Certains autres sont entourés d'un alignement circulaire de bûchers secondaires, qui sont les ' filles ' du bûcher principal, considéré comme leur mère. A des hommes à baraka incombe le soin de fair jaillir, par un procédé rituel, la flamme sacrée qu'ils communiquent au combustible, un peu avant l'aurore, au chant du coq, comme s'ils croyaient redonner de la force au soleil et l'aider à se lever ".[1]

Nor can I attach any evidential value to the trunk of a tree or the column of stones, called *taslit* or *asli*, which in a few cases is found in the centre of the fire ;[2] that they represent the spirit of vegetation is a mere conjecture. The same may be said of the suggestion that the live animals which in Europe, as in Morocco, are sometimes burned at Midsummer are representatives of that spirit. This theory,

[1] Laoust, in *Hespéris*, i. 419 *sq*.
[2] *Ibid*. i. 8, 9, 19.

suggested by Mannhardt, was adopted by Frazer in the earlier editions of *The Golden Bough*; but on this point also he has changed his views.[1] He now conjectures that the animals, as well as men, that were burned in the bonfires perished in the character of witches or wizards in disguise; and he finds this conjecture confirmed by the observation that the victims most commonly burned in modern bonfires have been cats—animals into which witches have so frequently been supposed to transform themselves.[2] But it should be noticed that the smoke produced by the burning of certain animals at Midsummer may be thought to possess magic efficacy, just as is the case with the smoke from certain plants. In Morocco the Rifians and the Jbâla burn wild-cats under their horses or mules when ill, the smoke being considered beneficial to the animal on other occasions besides Midsummer. In Russia a white cock was sometimes burned in the Midsummer bonfire;[3] and similarly a white fowl is said to be burned by the Aiṯ Mjilḏ on the *'āšûra* day, for the professed purpose of making the year "white", or lucky.[4]

In all essentials there is a close resemblance between the European Midsummer customs and those prevalent in Morocco. Not only are fires kindled, but various plants are gathered on account of the benign virtue ascribed to them on Midsummer eve, and purificatory water ceremonies are practised in many parts of Europe as well as in Morocco.[5] In Spain, for example, people bathe in the sea or roll naked in the dew of the meadows on St. John's Eve, believing that this is a sovereign preservative against diseases of the skin.[6] How shall we explain this resemblance? We know that in Spain bonfires were kindled at Midsummer both by the

[1] Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 43:—"There is little to show that the effigies or the animals burnt in the fires are regarded by the people as representatives of the vegetation spirit, and that the bonfires are sun-charms".

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 41 *sqq.* [3] *Ibid.* ii. 40. [4] *Supra*, ii. 65.

[5] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, ii. (1883), p. 588 *sqq.*; Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 29 *sq.*; *Idem*, *Adonis Attis Osiris*, i. [London, 1914], p. 246 *sqq.*; Sartori, *op. cit.* iii. 223 n. 8.

[6] Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 208.

Moors and Spaniards,[1] but there is no evidence that the one people had learned the practice from the other ; indeed, that the Moors did not borrow it from the Spaniards is almost proved by the fact that the Moorish term for Midsummer passed into Spanish under the form *alhanzaro*.[2] But the fact to which I attribute the greatest importance is a statement made by St. Augustine in one of his Sermons, where he says that in his days it was a custom in Libya to go to the sea and bathe there at Midsummer, and he denounces this as a relic of paganism.[3] I suppose that the purification ceremonies which are practised in Morocco at Midsummer are old Berber customs, in some way or other connected with similar rites met with on the other side of the Mediterranean. I am not aware that they have been found among any Arabic-speaking people who have not come into contact with Berbers, and in Morocco they are most prominent among the Brâber of Central Morocco, the Berbers of the Rīf, and the Arabic-speaking Jbâla, a portion of whom are even by themselves recognised to be of the same stock as the Rifians ; whereas they are much less prevalent among the Arabs of the plains, with the exception of Arabic-speaking tribes bordering on the district of the Brâber, and among the Shlöḥ, who have been influenced by Muhammadanism in a higher degree than any of the other Berber groups. Arabic writers blame Muhammadans for celebrating Midsummer, which they represent as a Christian feast ;[4] and in Morocco the *'ánṣára* is often represented as a Jewess. There, also, scribes and religious people disapprove of this feast and try to conceal its date, maintaining that all ceremonies connected with it are bad. A good schoolmaster who acts up to his religion keeps the boys in school on Midsummer day, refusing the money they offer him to get a

[1] Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe* (Leyde, 1869), p. 136 ; Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 208.

[2] Dozy and Engelmann, *op. cit.* p. 135.

[3] St. Augustine, *Sermo* cxcvi., in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, xxxviii.-xxxix. (Parisiis, 1845), col. 1021 :—"Natali Joannis . . . de solemnitate superstitiosa pagana, Christiani ad mare veniebant et ibi se baptizabant".

[4] Destaing, *loc. cit.* p. 261 n. 3.

holiday ; but I am told that there are not many schoolmasters who are so conscientious.

It may be added that the word *'ánṣăra* itself gives us no key to the origin of the Moorish Midsummer customs. It is derived from the Hebrew *'aṣara*, which means an assembly of people for the celebration of a religious feast.[1] In the times of Josephus it denoted Pentecost, and it has the same meaning in the Talmud.[2] To this day the Arabic form *el-'anṣarah* is used by the Copts for Whitsunday.[3] Considering that the real meaning of the word is feast in general, it is not surprising that it was adopted by the Arabs and Berbers as a name for the Midsummer festival. Every student of the language of the Berbers knows how ready they have been to make use of foreign words ; the importation of Arabic expressions in the various Berber dialects is truly immense. Hence the Midsummer festival may very well be a genuine Berber custom, although its name is derived from the Arabic form of a Hebrew word.

Nor do we learn anything as regards the origin of the *'ánṣăra* customs from the explanation given by the Moors themselves. They say that in the time of King Nemrud (Nimrod) there was in the East a Christian woman by name 'Anṣăra who was opposed to Sîdna Ibrâhim (Abraham) on account of his religion ; Sîdna Ibrâhim was of course a Muhammadan, the ancestor of all the Muhammadans. 'Anṣăra had excellent sight, she could see a distance of seven days' journey ; and she used to watch Sîdna Ibrâhim and inform his enemies of his whereabouts. She also used to strew thorns on the road where he was walking. All this made Sîdna Ibrâhim's friends very angry with 'Anṣăra, and they finally caught and burned her. Hence Sîdna Ibrâhim's descendants still make fires every year at Midsummer, and call the ceremony *l-'ánṣăra*. This is an instance of myth-making serving the purpose of explaining

[1] Dozy and Engelmann, *op. cit.* p. 136.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 136.

[3] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 545.

ritual.[1] The Midsummer bonfire is no doubt accounted for by the burning of a Christian woman 'Anṣăra because of the phonetic resemblance between the word *'ánṣăra* and the word *nṣâra*, which is the name given by the Moors to the Christians.

The *Ṣmaim*—August—October

The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive (Old Style) form the period of *ṣ-ṣmaim*, or "the great heat". It is a time of omens. Thunder in the *ṣmaim* is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Ḥiáina, Tsūl, Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) or much heat (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). In Fez I heard the saying, *Ila ra'd fḕ ṣ-ṣmaim l-marḍ fḕ n-nsa au fḕ l-bhăim*, "If there is thunder in the *ṣmaim* [there will be] sickness among the women and animals". In Andjra continual east wind in the *ṣmaim* is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Aiṯ Wäryâġer expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the *ṣmaim*. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina maintain that if a certain bird called *ben ṣrond* (*Coracias garrula*?), which builds its nest in the *ṣmaim*, builds it in the interior of the tree, there will be a sufficient supply of rain during the year, whereas if it builds it on a branch, there will be too much sunshine and, consequently, drought. They also say, *Ida dáḫlet^{s} ṣ-ṣmaim be l-'ăbûs yeḫráḥ mūl r-ráḫla u yénked mūl l-kármūs*, "If the *ṣmaim* enters cloudy the owner of a ewe-lamb will rejoice and the owner of fig trees (lit. figs) will be afflicted". The reason for this saying is that cloudy weather is bad for the figs, which require sunshine to ripen, but good for the sheep, which would otherwise suffer from the heat. I have heard that during the *ṣmaim* people are liable to catch cold and get ill by sleeping out-of-doors without sufficient clothing or uncovered in their houses.

[1] The Tartars say that their fire rites at the end of the solar year, the beginning of which coincides with the vernal equinox, "commemorate the pyre on to which Ibrâhîm was put by Nämrûd" (Lassy, *The Muharram Mysteries among the Azerbeijan Turks of Caucasia* [Helsingfors, 1916], p. 227).

The month of August, especially, is looked upon as a time which contains much *baṣ* causing sickness or death.[1] In the Ḥiáina it is then considered dangerous to sleep during the day, as also to take a hot bath in the morning before breakfast, which at other times of the year is often done by country-folks on their arrival in Fez; and it is said that in August the water goes away to the well Zemzem not to return till October. There is a saying, *Ġûšt leiġášš l-aḍâmi*, "August cheats the people" (Bni 'Ăroṣ). In Andjra and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ no field work is done on the 1st of this month; and in the Ġarbîya I found that the people refrained from all agricultural labour on the first three days of it. They said that if they reaped, threshed, or measured corn on any of these days there would no longer be any *baraka* in it. The Ait Temsâmän look upon August (*tġûšt*) in a more cheerful light: they consider it good to commence the threshing in that month so as to get the benefit of its *baraka*.

The month of October, on the other hand, is distinctly blessed. In the Ḥiáina it is said that there is much *baraka* in the butter churned in that month, as also in the wheat which is sown and in the lambs that are born then. When people have distinguished guests they like to entertain them with the meat of such lambs, together with *ṭă'âm* made from wheat left over from October seed and salt butter preserved from the same month. A small quantity only of all this is sufficient to satisfy the guests. Its *baraka* may indeed be excessive. There is a saying that if October milk, butter, wheat, and lamb come together in the same dish in October, the dish will break.[2]

[1] Certain taboos are mentioned by Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Aït Seghrouchen* (Paris, 1920), p. lviii.

[2] See *supra*, i. 221. For a similar saying elsewhere see Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.* p. 92.

CHAPTER XVI

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE [1]

THE first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic *ḥart*^{s} *l-békri*, *l-ḥart*^{s} *ḏe l-békri*, or simply *l-békri*; and in Berber *ḏäyärza ḏämänzuiṯ* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *ṯäyâza ṯämänzušṯ* (Temsâmän), *ṯaḥarratt umenzu* (Aiṯ Nḏēr), *aměnzu* (Aiṯ Yúsi), *amenzui* (Amanūz).[2] During this season wheat,[3] barley,[4] beans,[5] peas,[6] and lentils [7] are sown; but where irrigation prevails

[1] This chapter is a revised edition of an essay published in 1913 in *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskapssocietetens Förhandlingar*, vol. liv. (Helsingfors). The same subject has subsequently been treated by M. Laoust in his important work *Mots et choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), in which the reader will find many additional facts, philological and others, together with explanations suggested by the author, which in a few points differ from my own views.

[2] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 257 *sq.*

[3] In Arabic *gémăḥ* or *gmäḥ*, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference *zraʿ*, a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber *irděn* (Shlöḥ), *erḏěn* (Aiṯ Yúsi), *eṛḏen* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 265 *sq.*

[4] In Arabic *šʿēr*; in Berber *timzin* (Shlöḥ), *tumzin* (Amanūz), *ṯimzin* (Aiṯ Yúsi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is *imendi*.

[5] In Arabic *fūl*; in Berber *ibaun* (Shlöḥ, Aiṯ Yúsi, Rīf dialects), *ibáwěn* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 268.

[6] In Arabic (*d*)*jélbān*; in Berber *tinifin* (Shlöḥ), *tinăffin* (Amanūz), *ḏinifin* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *jjïlbän* (Aiṯ Yúsi). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 269 *sq.*

[7] In Arabic *ʿădes*; in Berber *tiniltit* (Amanūz), *lʿăds* (Aiṯ Yúsi), *raʿḏes* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 269.

beans may be sown before the rains, a sowing which in Fez is called *t-tˢaqšêr* and among the Aiṭ Yúsi *ibaun iměnza*, "the early beans". There is a later ploughing season—called in Arabic *l-māzôzi* or *l-ḥartˢ ḏe l-māzûzi*, and in Berber *ḏäyärza ḏamazuzṭ* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *ṭäyáza ṭamazusṭ* (Ṭemsâmän), *amazûz* (Aiṭ Yúsi), *tigîra* (Amanūz) [1]—when the same kinds of cereals or pulse are sown. This season, which commences in January, is in some places considered to last till the end of the agricultural year, whereas in Northern Morocco the sowing of durra [2] and maize [3] and the cultivation of the vegetable garden [4] in the later spring form a season by itself called *ḥartˢ ḏ-ḏrā*. On the other hand, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz in Dukkâla apply the term *l-māzôzi* to this latter season only.

The Jbâla of Andjra, the Arabs of the Shāwîa, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, and Ḥiáina, the farmers of Fez, and the Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi consider Sunday—the first day of the week—to be the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing.[5] Indeed, some of them consider it to be the only lucky day, whereas in Andjra and among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and the Aiṭ Nḏēr Monday and Thursday are also regarded as suitable for the purpose, and the Ait Temsâmän consider them to be the best days. So also the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi maintain that Thursday is even a better day than Sunday; but among them it is only the leading man of the village who commences ploughing on one of these days. In the Ġarbîya the shereefs Ulâd Sîdi 'Abdlhâdi in the village of Briš inaugurate the first ploughing season on a Sunday, after

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 258. The word *māzûzi*, which is found in the Arabic of Algeria and Tunis as well as Morocco, is probably of Berber origin (Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* [Paris, 1911], p. 462).

[2] In Arabic *ḏrā, drā*, or *ḏrā*; in Berber *tafsut* (Shlöḥ), *abă'li* (Aiṭ Yúsi). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 267 *sq.*

[3] In Arabic *tˢurkîya*; in Berber *amzgur* (Iglíwa), *asngar* (Aglu), *ddra amgqŏran* (Aiṭ Yúsi). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 266.

[4] In Arabic *bḥâira* or *bḥêra*; in Berber *tibḥērt* (Amanūz), *tabḥērt* (Ait Waráin), *ṭabḥerṭ* (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aṭ Ubáḥṭi), *ḏäbḥerṭ* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or, if comparatively large, *abḥer* (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 409 (Ntifa).

[5] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 308; *supra*, ii. 40 n. 4.

which the other farmers of the tribe begin their ploughing on a subsequent Monday or Wednesday.[1]

On the day when the ploughing commences certain rites are performed in all parts of Morocco. The Jbâla of Andjra on that day, called *nhār n-nzūl ḏe l-békri*, take to the field some *fṭaṭr* (*fṭáyaṛ*), that is, bread made without yeast, as also some ordinary bread and dried fruit (*fákya*). A loaf of the *fṭaṭr* is put underneath the harness (*berḏîya*) between the horns of each ox, the person who puts it there uttering some words like these:—*Bismilláh wŭ tt*ˢ*aukálna ʿăl ălláh, báʿda aʿûḏu bi lláh mina š-šíṭān l-märīd, bismilláh wŭ tt*ˢ*aukálna ʿăl ălláh, yā rábbi wä rzáqna t-t*ˢ*îsir waḥd ĕl-ʿam baš nrŏbḥŭ be r-rezq wä l-baraka ḏ ălláh wä n-nbi rasûlŭ llah*, "In the name of God and we trust God, I then take refuge with God from Satan the rebel; in the name of God, and we trust God, O God, and give us succour for a year so that we may profit by the gift and blessing of God and the Prophet, the apostle of God". The loaf is later on given to some passer-by with a few dried figs, or is allowed to remain on the ox till the evening, when it is eaten by the farmer and his family. The rest of the food is partaken of on the field by the people present, among whom the schoolboys are particularly conspicuous. When they have finished the meal they make *fâtˢḥa* and say, *Ălláh tˢaʿâla irézqăk w irzáqna fi z-zraʿ wä z-zerréʿa, ṣ-ṣáḥḥa wå l-hĕna wä l-ʿămár ṭ-ṭwīl, inéᵈᵈjik mĕn l-ʿáinin ḏ bôna Aḏam, ălláh tˢaʿâla iʿáuněk ʿal l-ḥartˢ*, "May God—be he exalted—bestow on you and bestow on us wheat and seed, health and quietness and a long life, may he save you from the evil eyes of men (lit. the sons of Adam), may God—be he exalted—help you with the ploughing"; or, *Ălláh yáḥlef, ălláh iḥáḍḍar l-baraka, ălláh yĕjʿál kull ḥŏbba bĕ sbûla, in šá lláh*, "May God pay back, may God send down his blessing, may God make every seed an ear, if God will". The food brought to the field is called *ṣ-ṣaḏâqa wä l-baraka ḏe l-ḥartˢ u ḏe t-tˢîrän*, "the alms and blessing of the ploughing and oxen". But before it is partaken of the ploughman makes a few furrows in the field and sows some wheat.

[1] See also *supra*, ii. 43 n. 2.

In the Ġarbîya, on the same day, the owner of the field entertains the men and boys with *fṭáyaṛ* and *fákya* in the mosque, after which *fáṭʿḥa* is made and blessings are called down on the future crops. Some of the food, however, is left for the ploughmen to take with them to the field, where a loaf of the *fṭáyaṛ* is stuck on the horns of each ox and is allowed to remain there till it falls off It is then eaten by

Fig. 135.—Ploughing in the Ḥloṭ.
Photograph by Dr. Alan Gardiner.

the ploughmen and others who happen to be present, as is also the rest of the *fákya*. Besides the *fṭáyaṛ*, ordinary bread made with yeast is in some cases taken to the mosque and the field to be eaten by the people.

In the Shāwîa the ploughman breaks a loaf of bread into four parts over the plough-beam (*témmūn*), saying, *Bismillăh tawakălna ʿăl állăh, l-fellâḥa au ulâd m-mraḥ*, "In the name of God, we trust God, farmers or the sons of the yard" (meaning the oxen). Among the Mnáṣăra,

again, a loaf of bread is broken into four parts over the horns of the oxen. In either case the bread is afterwards eaten by the boys and other persons on the spot.

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, before the ploughing commences, a loaf of bread is made of wheat, barley, and durra. It is generally prepared by the farmer's wife, but if she is sexually unclean on this occasion or if her husband is suspicious of her virtue, he asks some other woman to make the bread, fearing that otherwise an accident might happen to the plough or oxen. This loaf, which is called *ḫóbzăt l-măḥrât*, " the loaf of the plough ", is brought to the place where the ploughing is going to commence, and is broken into pieces by the ploughman, who gives to everybody present a piece to eat with the usual *bismillāh*, and then starts ploughing uttering the following words :—*Aḫŏrj 'álləm, llah yĭn'ál š-šíṭān l-ḥărâmi, l-felláḥa ĕd-drăuš, a mĕn kāl ši fi säbíl lläh*, " Go out to learn [how to plough] (this is said to the oxen), may God curse Satan, the villain ; farmers [and] poor, O he who has eaten something for the sake of God ". These words are afterwards repeated by the ploughman every morning when he begins his work. In some parts of Dukkâla the boys after eating the bread offered them by the ploughman make *fâtḥa* and say, *Álláh isáhhäl 'álik l-ḥart*, " May God make the ploughing easy for you ". The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, on the day when they begin the sowing of wheat, beans, peas, chick-peas, or maize, but not of barley, pick up with the plough-point (*sĕkka*) as much as it can hold of the seed which they are going to sow, boil it with water and salt, and eat this dish, called *šéršem*, together with *sĕksû*, the ploughman on the field, and others at home. This meal is considered to be good for the crops.

The Arabs of the Ḥiáina take to the field on which the ploughing is going to commence raisins, figs, pomegranates, and small loaves of bread called *bûšiyāṛ*. If the animals used for ploughing are oxen, a pomegranate is squeezed on one of their horns, whilst otherwise some *bûšiyāṛ* is rubbed on their necks and backs. What remains of the pomegranates or *bûšiyāṛ* and the other food taken to the field is eaten by the persons present. It is said that the juice of the squeezed

pomegranate will go into any evil eye looking at the oxen and make it harmless.

From the Arabic-speaking tribes we shall pass to the Berbers, who inaugurate the first ploughing season with ceremonies very similar to those practised by the former. The Aiṭ Nḍēr take to the field pomegranates, figs, raisins, and bread. The ploughman crushes some of the pomegranates on the plough-point (*ṯaúrsa*) and also touches it with a loaf, which he then breaks. The persons present—among whom, here as elsewhere, there are no women—partake of the food, beginning with the pomegranates and bread, but leaving some of it to be eaten by the ploughman or ploughmen later on. When they have finished their meal they make *fâṯḥa* and ask God to make the year good and bestow on them peace and quietness, after which they go away, leaving the ploughman alone to do his work. In the evening the owner of the field gives a supper of *aḥrir*, a kind of gruel prepared with salt butter, to the members of his family, male and female, and the ploughman; and subsequently, on the day when the ploughing comes to an end he entertains them with a meal of *sĕksŭ*, made of what is left of the seed which the ploughman took with him to the field that day. This meal is supposed to make the crops good; when it is over, the participants make *fâṯḥa* and call down blessings on the crops, themselves, and their families. As long as the ploughing lasts, the ploughman says every morning before he begins his work, "In the name of God, prayer for the Prophet the apostle of God, may God curse you, O Satan; O God give us health, O God help us".

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, on the morning when the ploughing begins and the plough (*imássĕn*) is ready to be taken to the field on an animal's back, the ploughman or the owner of the field, who goes with him, says to the women of the household, *Arwáḥinṭ atâg"menṭ a ṯeúṭmin*, "Come on and fetch water, O women". The women answer, *Ay érḍen t tămzin ay afĕllaḥ*, "O wheat and barley, O farmer". This short dialogue is repeated three times and is supposed to make the crops of wheat and barley plentiful; but there is no question of the women going to fetch water, the words

addressed to them no doubt being themselves looked upon as a rain-charm. On the field the ploughman or the farmer —the latter ploughs himself only if he is a poor man— crushes a pomegranate on the plough-point (*ṯagúrsa*) so that the grains of corn shall be many and fat as are the pips of the pomegranate; and in default of pomegranates a dried fig is for a similar reason, on account of the multitude of its seeds, torn into little pieces over the plough-point. The ploughman takes hold of the plough, puts it into the ground, and says before starting to plough, *Ṣṣla 'l ńnbi ṣṣla 'l ńnbi ṣṣla 'l ńnbi, lla ináʿlĕk a šší*ṭ*an, zzĕrréʿa lḛ̆ llḁ́h u men kel ši fi sḁ́bil llḁh*, "Prayer for the Prophet, prayer for the Prophet, prayer for the Prophet, may God curse you, O Satan; the seed [sown] for the sake of God and he who ate something for the sake of God". There is, however, no ceremonial meal on the field, the ploughman taking with him his own food.

The Ait Waráin, when they begin to plough, take to the field small loaves of bread, *bûšiyär*—for this occasion made without salt butter—and pomegranates, one of which is crushed on the plough-point (*taérsa*). If they have no pomegranates they make a kind of pancake called *trid*, without salt butter, and before they start ploughing they thread a *trîda* on the horn of one of the oxen, cursing the devil and asking God to help them in their work. The people on the field, consisting of the farmer and male members of his family as well as the ploughman or ploughmen, have a meal of the food brought there, including the *trîda* which was threaded on the horn of the ox, leaving however a portion also for the women and children in the house. They then make *fâṭḥa* with invocations very similar to those said in Andjra on the corresponding occasion.

Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, before the ploughing commences, some pomegranates are crushed on the plough-point, or, if they have no pomegranates, the plough-point is touched with some figs. In either case the fruits are then eaten by the ploughman and other persons present, who make *fâṭḥa* invoking blessings on the crops. Nothing else is eaten on the field.

Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, immediately before the ploughing begins, the owner of the field has a dish of *sěksû* and fowl prepared in his house. Part of it is eaten by him, his family, and the ploughman (if he does not plough himself), while the rest is sent to the village mosque to be eaten by those who happen to be there. When they have finished the meal they make *fâṭḥa* and invoke blessings on the future crops. The Ait Temsâmän, on the same occasion, eat bread made of barley and *ṯamarrăq'*, a kind of porridge made of dried beans. Among some other Rifians a loaf of bread is broken over the plough-beam (*aṯmūn*), and is eaten by the people present after the oxen also have had their share of it. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the ploughman, when he puts the plough-point (*ḏäġärsa*) into the ground, curses the devil by saying, *Ălláh iná'lek yā šší̇ṭan raḥărâmi*, "May God curse you, O Satan the villain"; or, still better, expels him with the phrase, *Misbilläh arraḥmâni arraḥêmi, a'ûḏu bi llâhi mina aššiṭâni arrajêmi*, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one".

Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu a big dish filled with *tagúlla*, a kind of hard porridge, is taken to the place where the ploughing is about to commence. In the middle of the *tagúlla* there is a hole filled with oil, into which the ploughman dips the point of the plough-share (*askers*) three times, saying, *Bismilláhi yâ rbbi, adaġtkĕmmelt lḥêrad lli mu ntsĕbbab*, "In the name of God, O God, may thou complete for us this good thing with which we are occupied". The ploughman then goes round the animals and the plough, sprinkling them with oil and repeating the following words:—*Bismilláh tkĕlna bĕ lláh u nnbi rasûlû llah, afillaġikĕmmĕl rábbi lḥêrad lli mu ntsĕbbab, atnkĕrz s lhĕna nĕmgĕrt s lhĕna nasit s lhĕna nĕsrútt s lhĕna nššit s lhĕna dĕ ṣṣáḥt, a sîdi rábbi*, "In the name of God, we trust God and the Prophet, the apostle of God; may God complete for us this good thing in which we are engaged, may we plough in peace, may we reap in peace, may we gather in peace, may we thresh in peace, may we eat in peace and with health, O my Lord God". The rest of the oil and *tagúlla* is eaten by those present.

Among the Ida Ugŏrḍ in Ḥáḥa I myself took part in a similar ceremony one Sunday morning. When the bullocks had been yoked, a little boy brought a plate with argan-oil, in the midst of which was placed a handful of *tummit*, a mixture of roasted barley and salt. With the plate in his hand, my host then went round the animals and plough, sprinkling them with a few drops of the oil. He began the ceremony with the *bismillāh*, and went on muttering his blessings in an inaudible voice. When this was done he mixed a small lump of the *tummit* with oil and gave it to one of the boys to eat, and then gave similar lumps to the others present; each of us had to eat a lump. Among the Ait Zĕlḍn I was told that the plough-share and the necks of the animals are three times sprinkled with oil, the remainder of which is mixed with barley-flour and salt and eaten by the persons who are assembled on the spot. The same ceremony is practised at Tagrágra among the Iníknâfĕn, with the difference that oil is put into the nostrils of the animals instead of being sprinkled on their necks. In other places in Ḥáḥa some *tummit* is mixed with argan-oil, after which a portion of the mixture is three times applied to the plough-share and then partaken of by somebody whose name is Můḥámmed, while the rest is eaten by others. Among the Iglíwa, before a person begins to plough, his wife makes a big dish of *sĕksů*, which is taken to the mosque of the village and is eaten there by the person himself and others who are present.

The most prominent feature of the rites just described is the ceremonial meal, to which magic efficacy is ascribed. It is charged with supernatural energy in various ways: *fâṭḥa* is made and blessings are pronounced in connection with it; it is sometimes eaten in a mosque; it is in certain instances especially partaken of by little children and schoolboys, who are regarded as more or less holy individuals; and in one case a person with the holy name Můḥámmed plays the most prominent part in the ceremony. It is perhaps in some measure an act of imitative or homœopathic magic, suggested by the idea that like produces like, that a certain effect may be brought about by imitating it: the eating of food made of corn will cause the eating of the same kind of

food in the future, in other words, the crops will prosper. It is true that I have never heard this explanation of the ploughing meal, but there are other instances of ceremonial meals which are evidently based on the principle in question.[1] Yet although the ploughing meal may be partly based on the belief in homœopathic magic, it may also serve as a conductor of blessings. In order to be efficacious a blessing requires a wire through which it is transmitted from the person who blesses to the object blessed, and the closer the contact between them the more readily is the blessing transferred. Now the eating of a thing implies the most intimate contact possible between the thing eaten and the person who eats it, and, according to the rule of *pars pro toto*, so commonly applied in magic, to communicate blessings to some representative of a certain species is to bless the whole species. Thus by eating bread, *trid*, *sěksŭ*, *šéršem*, *tagúlla*, or *tummit*, people transfer their blessings to the future crops—it is noteworthy that in one case the loaf of bread which is eaten on this occasion is made of three different kinds of cereals ; and to give further efficacy to the blessings a portion of the food is often put into direct contact with the ploughing animals or the plough. This contact, however, may also be intended to make the work easier or to serve as a protection against accidents, as well as to influence the crops. As appears from certain phrases or formulas mentioned above, the blessings may expressly refer to the work or to the ploughman, hence the latter may also be supposed to be benefited by the meal of which he partakes. Other phrases, again, are directed against the devil, whose presence might be injurious to the ploughman, animals, and crops. In these cases the devil may be regarded as a representative of the *jnūn* of the ground.

Besides the rites already described there are various other practices which have reference either to the ploughing animals or to the future crops.[2] In Andjra the owner of the ploughing ox not only places a loaf of *ftaïr* between its horns,

[1] *Supra*, i. 591, ii. 167, 193.

[2] *Cf.* Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, i. (Paris, 1872), p. 409 (Algerian Berbers).

but also puts there an oleander twig as a charm against the evil eye. In Aglu the animals are protected from the evil eye by a charm consisting of sulphur, alum, harmel, and a small piece of salt, enveloped in a black rag tied up with a red string; previous to the ploughing meal this charm is hung over the forehead of the animal, if it is a bullock, or round its neck, if it is a horse, mule, donkey, or camel, and is left there till it falls off of its own accord. The Ait Waráin hang on the animals pieces of rock-salt, harmel, and written charms, the Ait Temsâmän rock-salt and earth from a shrine. In the Ḥiáina, the Shāwîa, and Dukkâla some earth from a saint's tomb is wrapped up in a rag and hung between the horns or round the neck or, as the case may be, at the tail (Shāwîa) of the animal to make it good or to protect it from the evil eye; whilst among the Mnáṣăra and the Aiṭ Nḏēr this is only done in case the animal does not plough well or if it gets ill. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if a bull, cow, or mule[1] is not good at ploughing, it is taken three times round a saint's shrine, after which a little bag containing some earth from the shrine is hung on it, and the farmer promises to give a present to the saint if the animal improves. There is a similar custom in Aglu, the animal with the plough being taken round the *qóbba* of Sîdi Mûsa bĕn Daud on three consecutive days, three times on each occasion; if this proves effective, the promised sacrifice is offered to the saint, and the earth which was hung on the animal as *'ār* on him is taken back to his shrine. In the Ḥiáina, if a bullock is obstinate and lies down, the ploughman whispers into its right ear the chant of the *múdden* and then beats it, cursing the devil.

The ploughman, who is called in Arabic *l-ḥárrāṭ*^{s} or *l-ḥámmāṣ* and in Berber *aḥarraṭ* (Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Yúsi) or *aḥammaṣ* (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), is subject to certain rules the transgression of which is supposed to injure the crops. It is considered necessary that he shall be sexually clean; if he has had intercourse he must wash himself before he commences his work, since otherwise there would be

[1] They plough more frequently with cows and mules than with bulls, and never castrate their bulls.

no *baraka*, or holiness, in the seed or there would grow mostly grass and weeds on the field. In Andjra the result is said to be the same if he begins to sow wheat or barley without previously shaving his pubes and armpits. On the other hand, among the Ulâd Bū"ăzîz, the Aiṭ Nḏēr, and other Brâber as well, the ploughman abstains from shaving his head till the first ploughing season has come to an end or till the crops have grown so high as to " cover the ground ", so that the corn on the field shall become as thick as the hair on his head ; and in the Ḥiáina he must not shave any part of his body till the sowing is over. In this connection it may also be mentioned that among the Aiṭ Nḏēr the women are not allowed to paint their eyes with antimony during the first ploughing season lest the wheat or barley should turn black. In Andjra, when a person has finished the ploughing of a field, he must, before he goes to plough another field even though it be his own, carefully remove all earth from his slippers and feet as well as from the plough-share, so as to transfer no earth from one field to the other ; such a transference would take away the *baraka* from the first field. But he must by no means remove the earth with water ; should he wash the plough-share, there would be so much rain that he could not plough, or somebody would steal the oxen, or he would get sick, or some other evil would befall him. A similar custom prevails among the Brâber of the Aiṭ Sáddĕn. In the Ḥiáina, when the ploughman fetches the animals, the plough, and the seed from the master's house in the morning, he must on no account be called back once he has left ; but if the master has forgotten to tell him anything he has to go after him.

The seed requires special precautions. In the Ḥiáina nobody must step over or sit on the *ṯ'éllīs* (two united sacks used for the transport of grain) in which the seed is kept,[1] and none of it must be mixed with other grain ; should anybody eat of it the effect would be like that of poison, since there is much *baraka* in it. But on the day when the sowing is finished there should be left in the *ṯ'éllīs* half a *mudd* of seed to be given to the ploughman (or, if there are

[1] Stepping over the plough is also prohibited.

more than one ploughman, to be divided between them) together with some milk and salt butter, this being regarded as lucky for both parties; nay, even if the ploughing was done by the farmer himself he must leave some of the seed and eat of it. Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr the seed is likewise kept in a *ṯ'éllīs*, or *ṯaġrarṯ* as they call it, which every morning, after a portion has been given to the ploughman, is carefully sewn up by one of the men as a precaution against anybody touching it; and if the ploughman in the evening brings back some of the seed it must not be mixed with other grain but is used on the following day. It is said that if anybody should eat of it he would get ill and the crops also would suffer. But when the sowing is over the ploughman is obliged to bring back some seed, of which is made *sěksů* to be eaten the same evening by the owner of the field and his family, as well as by the ploughman, for the purpose of benefiting the crops; and after the meal the participants make *fâṭḥa* and call down blessings on the fields, themselves, and their families. In Andjra the seed is likewise kept carefully apart from other grain; and both there and elsewhere (Ġarbîya, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän, Aiṯ Yúsi) it is believed that if a child or unmarried person passes ahead of the sower so that some of the cast seed touches him or her, that person will never marry—"the *bạs* will remain in him till his death".

While the wheat is being sown there is supposed to be a mystic relation between the future crops and the wheat at home. Among various Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez—the Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Yúsi, and Aiṯ Nḏēr—the women are during this period prohibited from making *tûrift*, or *ṯûrifṯ*, consisting of roasted wheat with the addition of salt and water, lest the grain resulting from the sown wheat should also have the appearance of having been roasted. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina during the first ploughing season not only abstain from making this dish, in Arabic called *ġélya* or *glîya*, but also avoid making the dish called *hrîsa*, consisting of roasted barley pounded with the addition of either raisins or salt.

Before we leave the ceremonies connected with ploughing

and sowing we have still to notice a custom the object of which is undoubtedly to promote the growth of the crops. In the beginning of the first ploughing season the people of the Ḥiáina make *ḥaqq s-sîyŭd*, that is, promise to give to a certain saint the grain from a portion of the field set apart for this purpose and called the *tˢwîza* of Sîdi So-and-so; the grain is then presented to the descendants of the saint or to his *mqáddem*, who divides it with the scribes connected with the shrine.[1] Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr it is the custom for a farmer who has some shereef as his friend to reserve a portion of the field for him, giving him the grain from it when threshed; and they also set apart a small piece of the field for the schoolmaster of the village, if there be any—which is by no means always the case.

In the spring, when the wheat has grown somewhat, an interesting rite is performed among many tribes of the Jbâla and some of their neighbours in Northern Morocco. I witnessed it myself in the village of l-Mŭmbar in the Faḥṣ. When I arrived there, a considerable number of women were assembled on a green field belonging to the schoolmaster of the village, engaged in weeding it and trilling the *zġârītˢ*. After having a meal of bread and cheese they made a doll by dressing up a cane, about two feet long, as a girl in different kinds of clothes and hung a string of glass-beads round its neck. A villager, mounted on horseback, took the doll from the women and rode away with it. Then a race ensued; other men, likewise on horseback, tried to capture it, and thus the doll passed from one horseman to another till a man from a neighbouring village came and seized it and endeavoured to ride away with it to his own village. If he had succeeded, the people of the village where the race was held would have been obliged to buy back the doll with some nice food, which he would have shared with the folk of his own village; but as a matter of fact he was overtaken and had to return the doll. The race took place over wheat and barley fields and fallows. This occurred in May, but the ceremony is more frequently performed earlier in the spring. It may during the same season be repeated

[1] See also *supra*, i. 172.

several times in the same village when different fields are cleaned, but there are also years when it is not practised at all, especially when the crops are bad and the owners of the fields do not consider it worth while to arrange it; and it is always preceded by an entertainment of the women of the village, who have been invited to come and weed the field. Among the Jbâla of the Sáḥel I was told that horsemen from two or more different villages join in the race, and that the village which loses the doll has to give a feast of which the whole company partake. At Ḍār Fĕllaq, in the mountain tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb, I heard that the people even take the trouble of going to Tetuan to have a doll made by a carpenter, which is then nicely dressed up as a girl. The doll is everywhere called Mâṭa, a word which has been associated with the Latin Terra Mater but which may also, possibly, be a corruption of the name Martha. In Andjra, when the doll is caught by one of the men, the women sing, *Hâhi Mâṭa hâhi Mâṭa, kaḥl ĕl-'ăyûn šŭwâṭa kaḥl ĕl-'ăyûn šŭwâṭa, hâhi lâlŭ hâhi lâlŭ, kaḥl ĕl-'ăyûn ḏyâlŭ kaḥl ĕl-'ăyûn ḏyâlŭ, râha râha râha râha, kaḥl ĕl-'ăyûn 'abbâha kaḥl ĕl-'ăyûn 'abbâha*, "Here is Mâṭa here is Mâṭa, the black eyes are aflame the black eyes are aflame, here [she comes] to him here [she comes] to him, his black eyes his black eyes, look at her look at her look at her look at her, the black eyes caught her the black eyes caught her". The women then trill the *zġârīt*[s].

This rite is restricted to a very limited area;[1] I have

[1] For this ceremony *cf.* Drummond Hay, *Western Barbary* (London, 1844), p. 9; Harris, 'The Berbers of Morocco', in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (London, 1898), p. 68; Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 156; Salmon, 'Une tribu marocaine', in *Archives marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1904), p. 236 *sq.*; Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 330 *sqq.* Drummond Hay gives the following description of it:—"When the young corn has sprung up, which it does about the middle of February, the women of the villages make up the figure of a female, the size of a very large doll, which they dress in the gaudiest fashion they can contrive, covering it with ornaments to which all in the village contribute something; and they give it a tall peaked head-dress. This image they carry in procession round their fields, screaming and singing a peculiar ditty. The doll is borne by the foremost woman, who must yield it to any one who is quick enough to take the lead of her; which is the cause of much racing and squabbling. The men also have a similar custom, which they

found no trace of it either among the Berbers or among the Arabs of the plains with the exception of some Arabs who, like those of the Ġarbîya, have it in common with their neighbours in the mountains. As for the explanation of this ceremony, it is essential to notice that it takes place on the day, called *nhār n-nqa*, when the owner of some field has invited the women of the village to come and clear the crops of weeds. On this occasion the women must observe the greatest possible cleanliness as regards both their persons and clothes; it is believed that if they are not clean they will become ill themselves and the field will be full of weeds. It is perhaps for the same reason that they are not allowed to have drawers on, although I am told that the absence of this garment also in a more positive manner promotes the growth of the crops. Now the doll, Mâṭa, is obviously a personification of the wheat and its vital energy; she is regarded as the bride of the field, and the ceremony itself I have heard called *'örs z-zra'*, " the wedding of the wheat ". Considering how commonly violent movements, contests, and racing are found as rites of purification,[1] I venture to believe that the ceremony of Mâṭa is originally meant to serve a similar purpose, that it is essentially a magical means of cleaning the corn, which is added to the more realistic method employed by the women on the field. At the same time, however, there may also be an idea of distributing *baraka* over the fields by racing about with the doll. Sometimes a ladle is used in making the doll. In many parts of Morocco a ladle dressed up as a woman is employed as a rain-charm,[2] and among the Tsūl the doll which is employed

perform on horseback. They call the image Mata. These ceremonies are said by the people to bring good luck. Their efficacy ought to be great, for you frequently see crowds of men engaged in their performance running and galloping recklessly over the young crops of wheat and barley ". Mr. Meakin says that the doll is burned at sunset; but this statement, far from being confirmed by any fact of which I am aware, has on the contrary been emphatically denied by all natives whom I have questioned on the subject.

[1] See, besides *supra*, Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 128, 224, 245, 261, 268, 325, 327.

[2] *Infra*, p. 266 *sqq*.

as a rain-charm is called Mánṭa ; but I have never heard that the ceremony of Mâṭa is supposed to exercise any influence on the weather.

In the Ḥiáina the following custom is practised at the time when the wheat is forming ears. If the owner of the field has a good wife, she paints her eyes with antimony and walks about through the crops in order that the ears shall get dark, that is, full of good, brown grain. But she must not speak to anybody when she does this, and she must go there alone.

In May or, in Northern Morocco, June the barley and wheat are ready for the sickle. In several tribes (Aglu, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) the reaping—called in Arabic *ḥṣād*, and in Berber *amgur* (Aiṭ Sáddĕn), *amg^{w}ur* (Aiṭ Yúsi), *amjer* (Ait Waráin), *ṯamyra* (Ṯemsâmän), *tamĭgra* (Amanūz) [1]—begins on the same day or days of the week as are considered suitable for the commencement of the ploughing. It is generally performed by men, the women only gleaning the little corn left behind ; but among some of the Jbâla the latter join in the work. It is a common rule that the reapers, like the ploughmen, shall be clean. In some places the commencement of the reaping is accompanied with a meal on the field. Thus among the Aiṭ Nḍēr some bread, salt butter, and dried fruit, if the people have got any, are brought to the field and partaken of by the farmer and the male inhabitants of his tent as well as by the ploughman or ploughmen, after which they make *fâṭḥa* invoking God to help them in their labour. Then the farmer asks some good man present to begin the work, and the others follow his example ; but the reaping only lasts for a short while that day, being nothing more than a ceremony. Early next morning the work begins in earnest, and with the aid of hired workmen if the field is large. The Ait Waráin likewise have a meal of bread and salt butter on the field the day when the reaping commences. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, on the same occasion, the owner of the field takes there some buttermilk and all the butter made on that day, to be eaten with *sĕksŭ* by the reapers ; this is called *l-kráma tā't l-feddân*, "the feast of the field". A similar custom is practised in

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 351.

the Shāwîa, where it is considered important that the butter should be taken to the field in one big lump. By eating it with *sĕksŭ* the people maintain that they will make the corn increase; for its growth is not yet supposed to have come to an end. In the Shiáḍma the sickles are smeared with some greasy food, just as was the case with the plough-point at the commencement of the ploughing, and obviously for a similar purpose.

In many parts of Morocco it is the custom for the reapers to leave a small patch of the field untouched, which is sometimes called "the bride of the field"—*l-'ărûṣa ḍe l-fĕddān* (Andjra, Ġarbîya, Shāwîa, Mnáṣăra), *'ărôṣt l-fĕddān* (Ḥiáina), *taslit ĭñ îyer* (Ait Waráin), *ṯaslit n yîyĕr* (Aṯ Ubáḥṯi), *ṯasriṯ n yîya'* (Ṯemsâmän),—and sometimes "the fringe of the field"—*gŭṣṣăt l-fĕddân* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz), *ṯabzzät yîg'ĕr* (Aiṯ Yúsi).[1] In Andjra I saw a square patch of this kind in the middle of a field of wheat; a sheaf had been put outside each corner of the square and a fifth one in the centre of it, perhaps as a charm against the evil eye, which, as we have seen, is frequently warded off by some representation of the number five. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the reapers, when they have finished their work, sing, *'Aḍḍăm 'áḍḍăm mĕl lä imût, yā fĕddân úla mĕtti qâdär mulâna yáḥyik*, "Praise praise him who does not die; O field, although you died our Lord can make you alive". In the Shāwîa the following words are sung on the same occasion:—*'Aḍḍam 'áḍḍam lä inâm wáḥed fi mílku bâqi, mūt yā feddánna, ulâ métti qâdär mulâna yáḥyik*, "Praise praise [him who] does not sleep, one who is still in his kingdom; die O field, although you died our Lord can make you alive". Among the Aiṯ Yúsi one group of the reapers sing, *Mūt mūt yā fĕddan mūt*, "Die die O field, die". And another group answer, *Subḥân mĕl la imût*, "Praise be to him who does not die". The corn which is left must never be taken by the owner of the field, although his wife may be among the women who gather it. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz it must be removed on the day when the reaping is finished; hence, if nobody then comes and gathers it, animals are taken to the place to graze it.

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 378.

Most commonly it is appropriated by the women, who must pluck it with their hands. While doing this they trill the *zġârīt*, and in Andjra the men fire their guns. The women there sing, *Bismillâ bąš ębḏîna u 'la ħ-nbi ṣallîna*, " In the name of God in which we began, and we prayed for the Prophet ". After they have finished the gathering of the crop they say to the field, *Äbqa 'la ḥąir l-féddän*, " Farewell O field ", and cry. In the Ḥiăina the women sing, *Mūt^{s} yā feddánna, subḥân men lä imût^{s}, qâdär mulâna yâḥyih bá'den imût^{s}*, " Die O our field, praise be to him who does not die ; our Lord can make it alive after it dies ". When they are approaching the end of their work they sing, *Ṭâbĕt^{s} j-jénna u fâḥąt^{s} wa nwâwar wa l-qáḥät^{s}, dukr n-nâbi u šáhhed a ṣlāt^{s} 'ăla Mûḥámmed*, " Paradise is lovely and [its] scents and flowers and sprouts ; praise the Prophet and profess the faith, O prayer for Mûḥámmed ". The very last portion of the crop is plucked by the wife of the owner of the field, who after gathering a handful throws it up in the air so that it falls down on the people. She accompanies this ceremony with the words, *Fi sąbíl lláh*, " For the sake of God " ; and its object is said to be to rid the reapers of the fatigue and evil influences they have contracted during their work. The women then trill the *zġârīt^{s}*, clap their hands, and sing, *A ṭ-ṭreg l-báiḍa ḥáifa 'ăla dârû sîdi 'Ăli, yá mma są'dāt^{s} men zârû*, " O white road which leads by the house of my lord 'Ali ; O mother, fortunate are those [women] who visited [him] ".

The meaning of the custom of leaving a patch of the field unreaped seems clear enough. The corn which remains is an incarnation of the *baraka* of the crop ; hence it must not be cut with the sickle, which is made of steel and iron, but must be plucked with the hand, and hence also the *zġârīt* and the firing of guns, which are commonly believed to expel evil influences. The unreaped corn is left untouched for a while so as to transmit the *baraka* to the next year's crop. It is the " bride of the field " from which the corn is to be re-born, when the field comes to life again. I was told that among some Brâber in the neighbourhood of Mequinez the last sheaf is preserved in the tent till the

sowing time, when its corn is sown before the other seed.[1]

When the reaping is finished, or also every afternoon successively as long as it lasts, the reaped corn is carried to the place in the open where it is going to be threshed. This threshing-floor of earth is called in Andjra *nwâḍěr*, in the Ḥiáina *nâder*,[2] in the Ġarbîya and among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, as also among other Arabs of the plains, *gâ'a*[3]; and among the Berbers *anrär*[4] (Aglu, Amanūz, Demnat, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḍēr), *anrār* (Ait Waráin), *andraʳ* (Ṯemsâmän), *annār* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *ärnän* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), *rrḥabṯ* (Aiṭ Sádděn).[5] Two stacks are made there, one of barley and another of wheat, unless indeed there happen to be different kinds of wheat which the owner wishes to keep separate. The stack is called in Arabic *fésqar* (Ġarbîya, Andjra), *nâder* or *nâděr* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Shāwîa, Mnáṣăra), *tˢâffa* (Ḥiáina); and in Berber *taffa* or *täffa* (Shlöḥ), *ṯaffa* (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn), *ṯäffa* (Aiṭ Nḍēr, Ṯemsâmän), *ašmin* (Ait Waráin), *aḥmin* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi).[6] Certain measures are commonly taken to protect the stack from evil spirits or other evil influences, or to make it grow. The mountaineers of Andjra place at the bottom of it salt and some article of steel, to keep off *jnūn*, and an oleander twig as a charm against the evil eye. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz and the Mnáṣăra put salt and tar there as a protection against *jnūn*, yeast in order to make the stack increase, and pulverised blood of the sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast on account of the *baraka* contained in it. The Arabs of the Shāwîa use for similar purposes tar and yeast; those of the Ḥiáina a big piece of rock-salt, rue (which likewise is supposed to keep *jnūn* away), and yeast which has

[1] *Cf.* Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 377.

[2] In the Ġarbîya the straw-stack is called *nwâder*, whilst elsewhere the name *nâder* (or *nâděr*) is given to the stack of wheat or barley.

[3] In the Ḥiáina *l-gâ'a* denotes the spot between the stacks of wheat and barley where the threshing is done, whereas the whole place is called *n-nâder*.

[4] The Aiṭ Sádděn give the name *anrär* to the straw-stack made in the shape of a house or a beehive. If small, this stack is called *ṯänrärṯ*.

[5] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 358 *sq.*

[6] See also *ibid.* p. 358.

been kept from *innéir*; the Aiṯ Nḍēr rue and harmel, said to protect the stack both from *jnūn* and the evil eye; the Aiṯ Yúsi, besides salt and rue, a written charm or a stone brought from a shrine on which is poured some tar; the Ait Temsâmän a piece of rock-salt which has been kept in the mosque during the 27th night of Ramaḍān; and the Ait Waráin an egg or a piece of rock-salt, besides which they thrust into the top of the *ašmin* a stick with the skull of a horse or mule or some other dead animal at the end of it. But persons or families that have become prosperous by robbery, have their own peculiar methods of making their stacks grow. In Andjra and the Faḥṣ there are families of this kind that are in the habit of placing at the bottom of the stack one or two bones of some animal which is forbidden to be used as food, believing that the corn will increase owing to the *baraka* which in such a case is attributed to the bones. In the Ḥiáina persons of the same class put there the skull of a dead animal, among the Ait Waráin some bones of a sheep which they have stolen and eaten, and among the Aiṯ Yúsi an armful of corn taken from a neighbour's field. In the last-mentioned tribe it is also the custom for such persons to steal a little seed from somebody else and mix it with their own seed on the day when they begin to sow.

In the division of Andjra called l-Ḥaiṯ ḍe l-Ġâba the following custom prevails, which is not found in other districts of the tribe. Some day after the *'ánṣăra*, but before the threshing begins, the people go to the *nwāḍĕr* and make there a dish called *ġráinŭ* by boiling together all the different kinds of corn and pulse of the season. After partaking of it they call down blessings on the corn and ask God to help them in the work which is still to be done. This ceremony is called *ḍ-ḍyâfa ḍe l-féddän ḍe ṣ-ṣaif*, "the hospitality offered to the field in the summer".

The threshing-floor is swept clean before the commencement of the threshing, which is called in Arabic *ders*, and in Berber *irwátn* (Amanūz), *ärwa* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi), *aṣărwŭt* (Ait Waráin), *asâwŭṯ* (Ṯemsâmän).[1] No Jew, and in many places no woman, is allowed to enter the floor,

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 359.

and any man who comes there must be clean and leave his slippers outside. An old man from the Ḥiáina told me that sheep are excluded from the threshing-floor because there is *baraka* in both, and *baraka* must not come in contact with *baraka*; but some Berbers from neighbouring tribes said that, among them, the prohibition has no other object than to prevent the sheep from eating the corn. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr no water must be taken to the threshing-floor, but anybody who wants to drink has to go a little aside; for it is believed that water would make the corn damp so that it could not be threshed.

As for the time when the threshing commences, the Aiṭ Nḏēr and the Ait Waráin consider that there would be little or no *baraka* in corn threshed before the *'ánṣára* day, when they fumigate the threshing-floor with the smoke of various kinds of leaves and herbs.[1] The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi likewise never begin threshing before the *'ánṣára* is over, and fumigate the threshing-floor with the smoke of oleander branches, harmel, and *izri* (*Artemisia alba*). In the Ġarbîya there is no objection to threshing before the *'ánṣára*, but the grain must not be taken to the granary until it has passed. In Dukkâla the threshing is commenced on the same days of the week as is the ploughing, and among the Ait Temsâmän on a Sunday or Thursday.

The corn is generally trodden out on the threshing-floor by animals—horses, mules, donkeys, or in some tribes, *e.g.* the Aiṭ Nḏēr, by oxen. The wheat is commonly subjected to this process a second time, if there is any considerable quantity of it, in order to be cleared of the husks which may still cling to it; but the barley is threshed first so as to supply the animals with fodder. The second threshing of the wheat is called in Arabic *tġîza*, in the Berber of the Aiṭ Yúsi *aġíyiz* or *ttġîza*. If the wheat is infected with smut (*ṯazûlṯ*) the Aiṭ Yúsi, before the second threshing, mix with it some chalk (*abïyaḍ*), which is crushed to powder by the animals treading on it and thus gives a better colour to the grain. In the same tribe, when the corn spread out on the floor has been threshed, the animals are driven round on it other ten times

[1] *Supra*, ii. 184 *sq.*

as a mere ceremony, the driver counting the turns each time he faces the east and after the tenth turn twice repeating the words, *Ṣṣla 'l ḥnbi*, " Prayer for the Prophet ", before he drives the animals away. This ceremony, which takes place both after the first and second threshing, is undoubtedly a kind of *lă'šór*—that of the threshing,—the same word, *'aššar*, being used for it as for measuring out the *lă'šór* of the grain.

FIG. 136.—Threshing in the Ġarbîya.

The winnowing is done first with pitchforks, which separate the ears from the straw, and then with wooden shovels, which remove the husks. The fork is called in Arabic *méḏra* or *médra*, and in Berber *täzzärt* (Ait Waráin), *ṯäzzěrṯ* (Aiṯ Nḏēr), *ṯazzärṯ* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ṯazärṯ* (Aiṯ Yúsi), *ṯezzāᵗ* (Ṯemsâmän), *aseˇrrârru* (Amanūz); the shovel is called in Arabic *lōḥ*, and in Berber *llöḥ* (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi) or *ᵈᵈjoḥ* (Ṯemsâmän). Winnowing is in Arabic *teḏrîya*; the Ait Temsâmän call the winnowing with forks *azuzzar* and that with shovels

asffi^{n}, the Aiṭ Sádděn call the former *azuzzer* and the latter *aṣffa*, and the Aiṭ Yúsi give the name *azuzzer* to either kind of winnowing.[1] The Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez and the Arabs of the Ḥiáina winnow their corn only when a westerly wind is blowing, there being no *baraka* in other winds. In order to produce such a wind the people of the Ḥiáina make at the threshing-floor a cairn which they dedicate to Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ (*kórkār sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ*). If no west wind is blowing the Ait Waráin likewise pile up stones on the western side of the threshing-floor and invoke Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ with the words, *Akerkurnneš a sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ*, " Your cairn, O Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ ". Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, when the stacks (*ṭaffiwin*) of barley and wheat are built, a pile of stones is made on the west side of them ; this, also, is " Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ' cairn " (*ag*^{w}*rur n sîḏi Bell 'Abbaṣ*), and, as we shall see presently, it is stained with sacrificial blood in order that the saint shall send a westerly wind. If this fails to produce the desired effect, new stones are added to the cairn with invocations addressed to him, or a fork is thrust into the threshing-floor with a sheaf of corn (*ṭäḏla*) stuck on it. While the corn is being tossed in the air with the forks, the winnowers sing antiphonally, in Arabic, *Ā Hbūb yā Hbūb—Ddī t-tben, ḫallî l-ḥbūb*, " O Hbūb [the name which is on this occasion given to the west wind for the sake of the rhyme], O Hbūb "—" Take the straw, leave the grain ". Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr, in order to get a west wind, the women hang a mallet on the tent and the men thrust a pitch-fork in the threshing-floor, fixing a sheaf at the other end of it. The Shlöḥ of Aglu, again, try to raise the wind by tying a rag to the end of a reed, which is then thrust into the heap of unwinnowed corn by a woman who has given birth to a child every year of her married life. In these cases wind is supposed to be produced by the suspension of an object—a sheaf, mallet, or rag,—ready to be moved by the first breeze, whereas another method is resorted to by the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi. When the people on the threshing-floor are waiting for wind it is announced that so-and-so, who is a notorious liar, is coming, although

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 360 *sq.*

this is not true ; in other words, a lie is told about a liar, and this is supposed to raise the wind because, when a person is speaking what is not true, it is commonly said of his talk that it is *ġēr rrēḥ*, which literally means that it is "only wind".

After the first threshing and winnowing the wheat is, in some tribes, shovelled into a hollow, in Arabic called *ḥšel*, in Berber *anšel* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḏēr), which is covered with sheaves or clothing so as to keep off the evil eye. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina put in the wheat a sickle (*ménjĕl*) and some rock-salt, as a protection against *jnūn*, and a stone of the kind used for sharpening tools (*ḥájra ṣainîya*) to which is attributed *baraka*, in order to make the grain heavy. The Ait Waráin likewise put a sickle (*amjer*) there and some rock-salt ; the Aiṭ Nḏēr a sickle and a stone and on the top of the corn a small bottle of tar, the *jnūn* being afraid of tar as well as of steel and salt ; and the Aiṭ Sádděn a sickle (*amgur*) or a plough-point (*ṯagursa*) and a stone, and in many cases a stick which has either grown at Mûläi 'Abdsslam's shrine or been taken there and brought back again and consequently participates in his *baraka*.

The heap of ready threshed corn—which is called in Arabic *ṣâba*, and in Berber *tirrīt* (Iglíwa), *tiršt* (*ibid.*, Amanūz, Aglu), *ṯirršṯ* (Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn), *tirrejt* (Ait Waráin), *ḏirrešṯ* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *ṯiarrĕšṯ* (Ṯemsâmän) [1]—is protected against *jnūn* by salt (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ait Waráin, Iglíwa), tar (Aiṭ Yúsi), rue (Ḥiáina), or harmel (Aṭ Ubáḫṯi), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger. But where the dagger or sickle is thrust into the top of the heap it is also looked upon as a charm against the evil eye (Dukkâla, Andjra, Demnat), being apt to attract the first glance, which is supposed to be the most dangerous ; and the same is the case with the lump of earth which in various places (Dukkâla, Demnat, Iglíwa, Aglu) is put on the heap, although its object may perhaps partly be to make the grain big and heavy. As a protection against the evil eye the heap is very frequently covered with clothing, at least in part. Outside Ṣĕfru I saw a cloak thrown on the top of it, whilst in Dukkâla its sides are often covered

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 360.

with clean clothing, a sickle or dagger and a lump of earth being placed on its top.

The heap of threshed corn, however, has to be protected not only against supernatural dangers, but against natural risks as well. It is liable to be robbed by ants. In order to prevent this the Aiṭ Yúsi put a palmetto leaf into the hole from which the ants come out, with the following incantation in Arabic:—*Qal lkum sîḏna Súliman, fétlu ḥāḏ š-škäl au ḥárju měn ḥāḏ l-mkän*, "Our lord Solomon said to you, 'Twist this rope or go away from this place'". The same is done if there are ants in the house or tent.[1] In Andjra, again, to protect the heap of grain from the invasion of ants seven knots are made on the fresh and soft central leaf of a palmetto, a few words of the Koran being recited for each knot, and the leaf is then put into the hole from which the ants are coming out; and if there are several holes the same thing is done to each of them. Moreover, there are also human robbers, and for their sake the corn has to be guarded at night as long as the threshing lasts. But the watchmen must stay at a little distance from the threshing-floor so as not to disturb the *jnūn* of the place, who may come and increase the *baraka* of the corn. In this case the *jnūn* may be regarded as personifications of the beneficial element of its holiness.

It is generally believed that the grain may still grow in weight or quantity after it has been threshed. To promote such a growth a stone is put in or underneath the heap (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) or a piece of bread is put inside it (Aiṭ Nḍēr, Andjra). In Andjra seven pieces of bread made with salt are sometimes placed along its edge, and although this practice was represented to me as a precaution against the devil, its object may at the same time very well be to give additional *baraka* to the grain. In the same tribe, in order to increase its quantity, some earth taken from seven different ant-hills is at night strewn on the heap after some passages of the Koran have been read over the earth. For a similar purpose seven tamarisk (*aṭraf*) branches are stuck round the edge of the heap of wheat. Moreover,

[1] Among the Aiṭ Sádděn it is done on this occasion only.

there are persons who increase the *baraka* of their heaps by taking grain from those of others and putting it on their own ; but this is a wicked deed because they may thereby deprive the other heaps of their holiness.

The most important methods of imparting additional holiness to the grain, however, are the making of a sacrifice and the partaking of a meal, followed by blessings, on the threshing-floor.

Among the Aiṯ Yúsi, before the threshing commences, a sheep, goat, or cock is sacrificed on the floor, and the bleeding victim is taken round the stacks and to the cairn, which is stained with its blood. This is *'ār* on " the saints of the country " (*ṣṣaléḥin n ṯămázirṯ*) that they shall give *baraka* to the corn, on the *ínsĕlmĕn* (*jnūn*) that they shall not steal from it, and on Sîdi Bel 'Abbâs that he shall send a westerly wind. This sacrifice, however, is not performed by persons who succeed by *lḥram* and put stolen corn underneath their stacks, nor do such persons make a cairn on the threshing-floor ; by omitting all this they need not be afraid of being found out, as they are well known anyhow, and the trifle they take from their neighbours' corn is not supposed to deprive it of its *baraka*. The sacrifice is followed by a meal on the threshing-floor with a few invited guests, after which the threshing begins. Before the commencement of the second threshing of the wheat another sacrifice, called *ṯamġrûṣṯ ûġíyĭz*, is made on Sîdi Bel 'Abbâs' cairn as *'ār* on *jnūn* and saints, and a meal consisting of *afttäl* (*sĕksû*) and meat is partaken of at the threshing-floor ; *afttäl* must be served on this occasion so that there shall be as many measures (*lĕmḏûḏ*) of corn as there are grains in the *afttäl*. Among the Ait Waráin also, on the day when the threshing begins, the farmer sacrifices on the threshing-floor a sheep or goat as *'ār* on the spirits of the place. After its throat is cut the victim is, while still alive, taken round the floor from right to left with the blood gushing out from the wound, and is then divided between the farmer and his workmen, each taking his portion home to eat it there. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn there is an optional sacrifice before the second threshing of the wheat begins, but a meal of *ṯṭă'âm* (*sĕksû*), with or

without meat, on the threshing-floor is considered necessary on this occasion for the purpose of increasing the grain in the same magical manner as among the Aiṭ Yúsi. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr, while the second threshing is proceeding, the farmer sacrifices a sheep or goat close by, putting himself and the workmen under the *'ār* of the spirits of the place, asking them not to make them ill but to help them in their work, and calling down blessings on themselves and their children that they may have a good year. The meat is carried to the tent to be prepared, and is then taken back together with *afttäl*. This is the regular custom, but it may also be that, if the farmer has not many animals, he buys the meat instead of making a sacrifice. The food is eaten by the men on the spot and neighbours who are invited to come and partake of it; and after the meal they make *fâṭḥa*, asking God to give them peace and strength to finish their work and to let them and their children have corn to eat during the year.

Similar customs are found among Arabic-speaking tribes. In the Shāwîa, before the threshing commences, a sheep is slaughtered on the threshing-floor, which is stained by its blood, and the people then retire to a short distance from it with the slaughtered animal "to leave the *gâ'a* alone with God"; one part of the sheep is eaten by the workmen, whilst another part is taken by the farmer to his home. In Dukkâla, when some of the corn has been threshed, a sacrifice (*dbêḥa*) is offered to the spirits, or "masters of the ground" (*mmŭḏ̣ālīn l-arḍ*), or, as I have also heard it put, to the *ṣâba*, so that there shall be *baraka* in the grain. A fowl, or perhaps even a sheep, is killed on the threshing-floor in such a manner as to make its blood splash on the threshed corn, and sometimes the victim is taken three times round the place; after the fowl or mutton has been boiled at home, it is eaten with *sĕksŭ* by the farmer and workmen close to the threshing-floor. Some people in Dukkâla, however, defer this sacrifice and the subsequent meal till the threshing is finished; and among the Shlöḥ it seems to be the rule to do so. Thus at Aglu, on the day when the grain is going to be removed from the threshing-floor, the farmer slaughters a sheep in order to increase its *baraka*; it is sacrificed to "the masters of the

threshing-floor" (*lmluk unrär*), who are addressed thus :— *Lmluk unrär, hăiyag ngrărs fillaun,* "Masters of the threshing-floor, look here, we killed for you". Here, as elsewhere, the spirits are supposed to take the blood of the victim, while the meat is eaten in the farmer's house by himself, his family, and the workmen, after the grain has been carried away from the *anrär*. At Demnat a quadruped, by preference a sheep, is likewise sacrificed on the threshing-floor when the threshing has come to an end ; the contact with its blood is believed to give *baraka* to the corn, while its flesh is taken to the farmer's house to be used as food. In the Ḥiáina, if the threshed corn amounts to one hundred *ṣḥāf* (sing. *ṣáḥfa*)—that is, six thousand *mdūd* (plur. of *mudd*),—a bull is slaughtered, and its meat eaten, at the threshing-floor, after which *fâtḥa* is made on behalf of the owner of the corn ; but otherwise there is no sacrifice at the threshing-floor.

As appears from these instances, the sacrifice at the threshing-floor may or may not be accompanied with a meal at the same place. On the other hand, there are also tribes in which it is the custom to have on the threshing-floor meals which are not preceded by any sacrifice. In the Ḥiáina, when five or six layers of wheat have been threshed, the neighbours are asked to come and help to shovel it into the *nšel*, or hollow on the border of the threshing-floor, and the farmer gives there a meal of *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksŭ*) to everybody present. Among the Ait Waráin the meal on the threshing-floor only takes place after the wheat, or at least part of it, has been threshed and winnowed a second time. The farmer then kills a sheep at his house, and a large dish filled with *sĕksŭ* and meat on the top of it is carried to the threshing-floor, where, after the meal, *fâtḥa* is made and blessings are called down on the farmer with the wish that benefits may come from every grain eaten ; *fâtḥa* is likewise made on behalf of the Sultan, parents dead or alive, friends who are absent and those who are ill. It is worth remembering that in the same tribe a sacrifice is made on the threshing-floor on the day when the threshing commences, but there is no common meal on that occasion. In the Ġarbîya, on the

other hand, I have found no threshing sacrifice at all, only a meal called *lé-ǧyäz*, consisting of *sěksů* with milk, pumpkins, and perhaps dried meat, which is given by the farmer at the *gâ'a* on the day when the threshing of the wheat is finished. In some parts of Andjra, when the wheat has been threshed and the heap is still on the threshing-floor, the farmer slaughters a sheep and takes there a portion of its meat together with *kůsksů* to be eaten by himself, the workmen, and others who happen to be present, after which blessings are invoked on the grain. This meal is called *l-ǧïäz*, or *t-t°áǧyiz*, and is said to be *l-kráma ḍě ṣ-ṣâba*, "the feast of the heap of corn"; it is maintained that it makes the heap grow big, whereas if it were omitted insects would eat the wheat. Pieces of the raw meat of the slaughtered sheep are also sent to the neighbours. In various tribes (Ḥiáina, Dukkâla, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḍēr) it is the custom that the dish in which the food was taken to the threshing-floor shall be returned filled with wheat, to give *baraka* to the house or, especially, because it is considered unlucky to send back empty a dish which was full when it left the house or tent. Among the Ait Waráin the second measure (*lmudd*) is poured into it when the grain is measured on the evening of the same day.

Yet although the people are most anxious that the *baraka* in their heaps of grain shall be strong and rich, it may also be excessive and thereby become a danger to the farmer and his family. As we have noticed before,[1] there may be *qazqûza* in the heap, and measures are taken to avert the danger connected with it.

The threshing and winnowing of the corn is followed by the measuring of the grain, and in this process also precautions are required to preserve its *baraka*. In many places it is only done after sunset or about daybreak so as to prevent the grain from being affected by the evil eye. In the Ḥiáina the man who is going to measure it, immediately before he begins his work, moves a shovel once round the heap from right to left, takes with it some grain with which he fills his left hand, pours the grain from there into his

[1] *Supra*, i. 220.

right hand, and at last throws it over the blanket covering the heap ; he throws it into the evil eye, my informant says, blinding it as it were. It is a common requirement that the person who measures the grain shall not only be clean but also a good and religious man who is in the habit of saying his daily prayers. While engaged in his work he faces the east with his head covered, as if he were praying, and nobody must stand in front of him. He must not count aloud, nor is anybody else allowed to speak. The first measure is not counted at all but put aside as " the *mudd* of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ "—in Arabic *l-mudd d sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ* or (in Andjra) *l-mudd ĕḏ mûlai l-'Abbaṣ*, in Berber *lmudd n sîdi* (or *n sîḏi*) *Bel* (or *Bell*) *'Abbaṣ*—or " the *mudd* of the Prophet "—in Arabic *mudd ĕn-nbi* (Ḥiáina), in Berber *lmudd nĕ nnbi* (Aiṯ Sádděn),—and given to the schoolmaster of the village or the ploughman or scribes or poor people or some shereef who comes to the place or the living relatives of some deceased saint ; if there is no schoolmaster in the village, the ploughman is often considered to have a right to it. In the Ġarbîya it is the custom to take from it a handful of grain and throw it back again on the heap, to give the latter the benefit of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ' *baraka*. In some instances the *mudd* dedicated to him is set apart each time grain is measured, in others the first time only ; and this practice prevails both in the case of any kind of corn and also, though not universally, in the case of pulse, if there is a considerable quantity of it. The so-called " *mudd* of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ ", however, is not necessarily a whole *mudd* ; among the Aiṯ Yúsi, for example, the measure called *arb'ăi* is only a fourth part of the *mudd* of Ṣĕfru, and yet the first *arb'ăi* is styled *lmudd n sîḏi Bell 'Abbaṣ*. In Dukkâla some handfuls only are set aside with the words, *Hā ṣadáqtăk a sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ*, " Here are your alms, O Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ " ; this is called *l-'abbaṣîya*, and is either left where it is put or given to some poor person. The first-fruit offering to Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ is believed to secure his blessing for the corn or pulse from which it is taken and which, if it were omitted, would be haunted by *jnūn*. The Iglíwa give the first basket (*taryalt*) of any kind of corn to the patron saint of their country

(*šše̱ḥ n tămazirt*), Sîdi ʿĂli u Mḥammd, as represented by his descendants. The first-fruit offering has no doubt originated in the fear of the first or the new, although, by being offered to a saint, the first measure has been utilised as a means of transferring *baraka* to the rest.

The grain is, indeed, considered to be able to increase as long as it remains on the threshing-floor, and even afterwards. An old Berber from Aglu told me that when the people in the morning begin to take away grain from the threshing-floor and estimate that the work will be finished about noon, it may in point of fact last till sunset, for the reason that the heap of grain has been growing while they have been working. Another Berber, from the Rîf, said that the *baraka* of the corn particularly displays itself when the grain touches the *rmudd* by which it is measured; it may happen that the heap of threshed corn is quite small and yet when measured gives a large quantity of grain, whereas a large heap may give a small quantity. It is therefore natural that the person who measures the grain should try to impart to it as much *baraka* as possible and at the same time to keep off evil influences and to avoid everything which might cause it harm. In counting the measures he thus makes use of lucky or holy words, names, or phrases instead of, or in addition to, the ordinary numerals, and often takes care not to mention dangerous numbers; with regard to the holy words I was told that they put the *jnūn* to flight (Andjra).

In the Ġarbîya I heard the following counting:— *Bárka mḛ̆n ălláh, hâdi barkt^{s}ắin, hâdi tlât^{s}a, hâdi árbʿa, hâdi ḫámsa f ʿain yíblis, hâdi sétt^{s}a, hâdi sáhla, hâdi nět^{s}mḛ́nnau ălláh l-báraka, hâdi nés^{s}áu ălláh t-t^{s}ắuba u l-ġófran, hâdi ʿášra u ṣḥāb ṉ-nbi rasûlû llah*, "Blessing from God, here two blessings, here three, here four, here five in the eye of the devil,[1] here six, here easy (instead of 'seven', which is called 'difficult' in the common phrase *séb*ʿ*a ṣ*ʿắiba*), here we wish for a blessing from God (instead of 'eight', *t^{s}mḛ́nya*, on account of its phonetical resemblance to *nět^{s}mḛ́nnau*), here we ask God for

[1] *Cf. supra*, i. 445.

repentance and forgiveness (instead of 'nine', *tsʿa*), here ten and the friends of the Prophet the apostle of God". The Arabs of the Ḥiáina say, *Bárka mẹn ălláh, barktˢáin, tlâtˢa, árbʿa, u árbʿa, hā sĕttˢa, sáhla, netˢménnau l-ḥäir ʿand ălláh, nĕsʿáu l-ḥäir ʿand ălláh, ʿášra ṣḥāb ṅ-nbi, ḥădáš ḥōtˢ sîdna Yûsĕf, ăṭnáš ăṭnášar šhar*, "Blessing from God, two blessings, three, four, and four (instead of five), here six, easy (instead of seven), we wish for good from God (instead of eight), we beg for good from God (instead of nine), ten the friends of the Prophet, eleven the brothers of our lord Yûsĕf, twelve twelve months". Then the counting is continued in the ordinary manner except that all numbers containing either five or seven are avoided; thus instead of fifteen is said "and fourteen" (*u arbáʿṭaš*) and instead of seventeen is said "and sixteen" (*u sĕṭṭáš*). The Ulâd Bůʿăzîz say, *Waḥd llah, lä tˢâni mʿah* (three to seven as usual), *tmânya nětménnaů llah, tsʿa nsʿaů llah, ʿášra ṣḥāb ṅ-nbi*, "One is God, he has no second, . . . eight we wish [for good from] God, nine we ask God, ten the friends of the Prophet".[1] The number nine is also in other circumstances considered a somewhat dangerous number and has often the said phrase added to it; and the Ulâd Bůʿăzîz avoid it altogether when speaking of the price of an animal. Instead of nine they say "eight and one" or "ten less one"; and if a person offers for the animal for example nine dollars, the owner of it replies, *Tsʿa fi ʿain š-šiṭān*, "Nine in the devil's eye".

The following counting is in use among the Aiṭ Yúsi:— *Hā bărka nă lláh, hā bărktnáin, hā ṯlâṯa, hā rbʿa, hā ů rbʿa, hā stta, hā u stta, hā ṯmânya nětmẹ́nnau lḥẽr* (or *llah*), *hā tsʿa bab rábbi, hā ṣḥāb ṅnbi ʿášra*, "Here is the blessing of God, here are two blessings, here three, here four, and here

[1] In Palestine many Muhammadans, when measuring the grain, say "God is one" for the first measure, and "He has no second" for the next. They also avoid mentioning the numbers for some of the following measures, saying "your hand" instead of five; "a blessing", instead of seven (unless they prefer passing over it in silence); "pray in the name of Muḥammed", instead of nine; and "there are ten" instead of eleven (Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 212 *sq.*).

four, here six, and here six, here eight we wish for good (or, '[for good from] God'), here nine the gate of God, here the friends of the Prophet ten". Subsequently both five and seven are mentioned as usual. A native of the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, for many years resident among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, told me that the latter count as follows:—*Bismillą́, barká mn alláh, barktáin, bárakt ńnbi, nerbḥū, ḫámsa fi ʿăin íblis, sétta fi ʿăin wḛ́ldu, šébʿa mn alláh, ntmḛ́nnau lḫēr, nssáʿdu, ṣḥab ńnbi, alláhu márḍi ʿălḛ́hum, hā ṭnaš*, "In the name of God, blessing from God (one), two blessings, the blessing of the Prophet (three), we shall profit (four), five in the devil's eye, six in the eye of his son, satiation from God (seven, on account of the resemblance between *šébʿa* and *sébʿa*), we wish for good (eight), we shall be lucky (nine), the friends of the Prophet (ten), God is gracious to them (eleven), here is twelve".[1]

When the corn or pulse is measured a tenth part of it is, or should be, set aside and given away to the poor, widows, scribes, or shereefs; it is said that otherwise there is no *baraka* in it or that it will be haunted by *jnūn* or infested with vermin or pilfered by men. The Ulåd Bůʿăzîz maintain that if the tenth measure of corn is not set aside for the said purpose, that corn will spoil the whole contents of the granary in which it is stored, and will cause sickness to any animal eating of it. These alms, which are called *lă-ʿšōr* (or *la-ʿšōr*), are prescribed as a religious duty; but the prescription is by no means universally followed, and in many places the giving of *lă-ʿšōr* is quite an exception.

After the grain has been measured it is taken from the threshing-floor to the place where it is to be stored. Among the Ait Waráin, on the day when all the grain has been thus removed, the farmer gives on the *anrār* a meal of *sḛ́ksū* and mutton with the other farmers of the village and all the men who took part in the work as guests, after which *fåṭḥa* is made and the participants call down blessings on themselves.

[1] This manner of counting the measures of grain resembles that prevalent among the natives of el-Qalʿa (Oran) in Algeria, which is given by M. Doutté (*Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* [Alger, 1909], p. 179 *sq.*) on the authority of M. Destaing.

Later on the same day or early next morning the widows of the village, and perhaps the wife of the ploughman as well, come and sweep the place and take the grain which is left; for it is the custom that when the measured corn is carried away the threshing-floor should not be swept clean, as the grain remaining there is supposed to contain its *baraka*. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr women belonging to the farmer's and ploughman's families sweep the threshing-floor and divide the grain between themselves. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the threshing-floor must not be swept until all the corn has been carried away from it, lest the *baraka* should be swept away. The Shlöḥ of Aglu consider that the grain left behind on the *anrär* contains much *baraka* and use it therefore, mixed with other grain, for seed. These customs evidently correspond to the practice of leaving a patch of the field unreaped: the grain left on the ground preserves the *baraka* of the corn at the threshing-floor and transmits it to the next year's crops, more particularly when afterwards used as seed.

Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic *mắṭmûra* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) or *mắṭmūr* (plur. *mṭâmar*; Andjra), and in Berber *tasräft* (plur. *tisĕrfin*; Aglu), *täsräft* (plur. *tíserfin*; Ait Waráin), *ṯäsräft* (plur. *ṯíserfin*; Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḍēr), *ḏäsräft* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).[1] At each village there is a place, called *l-mers*, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits. Among the mountaineers aboveground granaries are found; the Ait Waráin call a granary of this kind *taḥzänt* (from the Arabic *ḫázna*, "treasury"). In the mountains of the Aiṭ Yúsi the grain is stored in a division of the dwelling-house named *lmắḫzen*, or rather in two divisions (*lĕmḫázĕn*), one for wheat and another for barley; and the Amanūz likewise keep the grain in their houses, in a special room called *aḥânu* or, if small, *taḥanut*. Certain things are often placed in the granary either to protect the people who are working there or the grain against *jnūn* or to increase the *baraka* of the grain. At Aglu some harmel is put on the straw which

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 362.

is laid on the bottom of the *tasräft* to keep off *jnūn* from the man who makes the place ready for the storage. At Demnat and among the Iglíwa salt is put in the granary to prevent *jnūn* from taking away grain when persons come to fetch it. The Ait Waráin protect their granaries against the same enemy with rock-salt and harmel, and the Arabs of the Ḥiáina with salt and rue, besides which they make use of squill (*fár'ūn*) to keep away vermin with its smell. In Dukkâla people put there tar and salt as a safeguard against *jnūn*, yeast to make the grain increase, and dried blood of the sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast to give it the benefit of its holiness. In Andjra *baraka* is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the *mâṭmūr*; while the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there. But in other tribes, like the Aiṭ Yúsi, the corn which is stored in the granary is no longer supposed to be capable of increasing, nor to be haunted by *jnūn*; hence nothing is put with it.

Before a person enters the subterranean granary it must be opened for some hours or longer, since otherwise the heat there is supposed to cause his death or make him seriously ill when he again comes out into the fresh air; but this precaution is not held necessary if the granary is full of corn or if it is opened very frequently. Anybody who goes into a granary must first remove his slippers and must also be sexually clean. If he were not clean, it is believed not only that the grain would lose its *baraka* but that he himself would fall ill; a Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that he once got bad boils because he entered a granary in a state of uncleanness. Women are commonly forbidden to go into the granaries so as not to spoil the *baraka* of the latter; but the Iglíwa make an exception for such women as are in the habit of praying, and in the Ḥiáina all women are allowed to enter the granary though not to tread on the threshing-floor. In Andjra it is said that if an unmarried woman goes into a *mâṭmūr* she will never marry, that a married woman who does so will never have a child, and that a woman with child will have a miscarriage. In the same district schoolboys

and students who have not yet completed their study of the Koran must likewise keep away from the *mâṭmūr*, lest they should become unable to learn anything more or cease to grow. This is one instance out of many in which it is supposed to be injurious for *baraka*, as well as for unclean individuals, to come in contact with *baraka*.

It is a common custom that the person who takes grain from the granary says the *bismillāh*, with or without adding the words *r-raḥmân r-râḥīm*, so as to drive away the *jnūn* or the devil. The Ait Waráin say, *Bismillâ u ttakúnna 'âl alláh a bārakt sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ*, " In the name of God and we trust God, O blessing of Sîdi Bel 'Abbâs ". The Shlöḥ say, *Bismilláh yā râbbi lbaraka*, " In the name of God, O God a blessing ", or some similar phrase ; the person in question may repeat this three times, each time taking with both hands as much grain as he can hold, and if at the third time some grain in the heap slides down there is supposed to be much *baraka* in it. In the Ḥiáina the corn in the granary must always be levelled, since it is believed that any person or animal who should eat grain left in a pile along the wall would die in consequence. Among the Ait Waráin, when corn is for the first time fetched from the granary, the widows of the village come there and receive each their share of what is taken out, in order that there shall be *baraka* in the granary. This custom is probably in its origin akin to the setting apart of " the *mudd* of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ ".

The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided. The woman who grinds it must be clean lest the flour should be bad (Andjra). Among the Ait Waráin she says the *bismillāh* before starting and sprinkles a little salt on the handmill (*täsirt* ; in Arabic *ṛḥa*). The Aiṯ Wäryâġer put some salt in the hole of the handmill (*ḏäsirṯ*) to prevent *jnūn* from coming to steal flour. In the Ḥiáina, where corn is mostly ground at night, it is said that *jnūn* would rob the grain of its *baraka* if the work were done in the dark—an idea closely related to the prohibition, found among some neighbouring Berbers, of taking corn (Aiṯ Nḏēr) or at least wheat (Aiṯ

Sádděn) out of the tent or house between sunset and the following morning. In several tribes all grinding is abstained from at (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) or after (Iglíwa) the *'âṣar*, or mid-afternoon, prayer, when the *jnūn* are believed to come out from their haunts, or between *'âṣar* and sunset (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr).[1] The Iglíwa do not even touch grain after *'âṣar*, and in Andjra and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer nobody is then allowed to lend his handmill to a neighbour. The Aiṭ Yúsi abstain from taking corn or the handmill (*azĕry*) out of the house or tent between *'âṣar* and sunset. Among the Ait Waráin the latter must be covered up if it is removed from the house after *'âṣar*, and at any time they insist upon its being taken out whole as it is and not in pieces. In the Ḥiáina, however, there is an interesting exception to the rule which prohibits grinding between *'âṣar* and sunset in so far that, if a person in the village dies, the wheat which is distributed among the relatives for grinding is only ground just in those hours. Such wheat is perhaps considered to be in some measure polluted by death and therefore unfit to be ground at the same time as other corn. The idea that grinding is liable to be affected by the defilement of death is very obvious in the custom of the Aiṭ Yúsi which forbids it altogether when there is a death in the village, and also on the day of the funeral if this does not coincide with the day of the death ; and this rule even applies to the people in a neighbouring village, if related to the deceased. In the Ġarbîya, again, no grinding must be done on a Friday.

But fear of exposing the corn to evil influences is not the only motive which has led to prohibiting grinding in particular circumstances : it is also sometimes considered to exercise an injurious effect on domestic animals and people. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn it is the custom that if a mare foals no corn must be ground in the household for three days. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, if a person has bought an animal with money gained by selling corn from his own field, there must be no grinding between sunset and the *'ăša* prayer, lest the animal

[1] Among the Aiṭ Sádděn certain households, only, avoid grinding at *'âṣar*.

should die or some other evil happen to it. In the Ġarbîya there must be no grinding in the afternoon when the domestic animals come back to the village from the pasture. The Ait Waráin maintain that grinding between *'áṣar* and sunset would cause destruction among the animals which then return. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr and in the Ḥiáina grinding between *'áṣar* and sunset is supposed to cause death or give *baṣ* not only to domestic animals but to persons of the household as well. In the latter tribe there is a village named Ulâd ṭ-Ṭâlĕb, in the district of the Ulâḍ Méllūk, where no woman from another village is allowed to grind corn since her doing so is believed to cause death among its inhabitants. I have never heard an explanation of any of these customs or beliefs, but I presume that the destructive tendencies occasionally ascribed to grinding belong to the sphere of homœopathic magic, being suggested by the crushing of the grain in the mill. The *baraka* of the grain readily charges the act with magic energy, and it becomes dangerous to a creature in a delicate condition like a new-born foal, or to an animal which is closely connected with its owner's corn as among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, or to animals or men who are near the spot where the grinding takes place at a time of the day when evil spirits are about, or when the woman who grinds is a stranger. It remains, however, to add that the rules and practices relating to grinding are not all of a prophylactic character intended to protect the grain or animals or men against evil influences, but that there are also some from which more positive benefits are expected. The Ait Waráin never leave their handmills quite empty however hungry they be, so that they shall have corn to grind in the future also. For the same reason the Aiṭ Yúsi, when the grinding is finished, put some grain into the mill; and at the Little Feast they give *fḗṭra* to it. The women of the Aiṭ Sádděn, as said above, fill their handmills with wheat and cover them up on *mūt l-arḍ*, the 17th of May. In the Ġarbîya the first thing ground in a new handmill is some barley which is then thrown into a river, in order that there shall always be corn to grind as there is always water running in the river.

Magic propensities are also ascribed to the flour, which is called in Arabic *ṭḥēn* and in Berber *ärn* (Ait Waráin), *aggurr* (Aiṭ Yúsi), or *aggurn* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Amanūz).[1] A Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that he falls asleep if he hears the noise of a mill, because, when he was a little child, his mother strewed some flour from the mill on his head to make him sleep, this being a cure for sleeplessness in children. The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi believe that if an unmarried person eats flour there will be cold and rainy weather at his or her wedding.[2] In the same tribe it is the custom to add salt, by preference rock-salt, a small piece of charcoal, and some flour to money which is buried in the ground in order to protect it against *jnūn*. The Aiṭ Yúsi bury with it some flour and tar or, if they have no tar, a piece of charcoal. The Aiṭ Wäryâger put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the *jnūn* from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by *jnūn*, who are said to be afraid of corn after the *ra'šōr* (*la-'šōr*) has been paid out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed;[3] and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.[4]

There is also *baraka* in the bread, called in Arabic *ḫobz* and in the various Berber dialects of Morocco *aġrum* or *aġrom*.[5] We have seen that bread is used as a means of increasing the *baraka* of the corn; and like everything holy it is also subject to various taboos.[6] Bread and corn picked up from the road contain much *baraka*. In Andjra

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 76.

[2] For flour and corn as rain-charms see *infra*, p. 272 *sq.*

[3] *Supra*, ii. 116 *sq.*

[4] *Infra*, p. 463. For the ritual use of flour see also *supra*, ii. 32, and 'Index', *s.v.* Flour.

[5] *Cf.* Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 76 n. 6.

[6] *Supra*, i. 239, 240, 252. For the ritual use of bread see also 'Index', *s.v.* Bread.

such corn is mixed with the seed to improve the crops, and among the Aiṭ Yúsi, if an ear of wheat is found on the road, it is considered good to sow the seed in it separately on a special spot; the grain resulting from the crop is again sown separately, and the same procedure is repeated as long as the person remains alive. When he dies, part of this wheat is sold and the money spent on buying his shroud and defraying the funeral expenses, whilst another part is used for the supper (*imĕnsi*) given on the second day after the funeral; but there may still be left of it some for his children.

There are superstitions connected with other things made of corn besides bread. When the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz make *gĕlya* by roasting corn or pulse in an earthenware pan (*ṭajīn*), they stir it not with a stick but with their fingers, lest the kind of corn or pulse which they are roasting should become dear. They also believe that if a child eats *gĕlya* which has been standing over night, it will have pimples on its face. A similar belief prevails among the Aiṭ Sádděn and the Aiṭ Yúsi with reference not only to children but to young people in general. The Aiṭ Yúsi, however, think that they can cure this disease by making some fresh *gĕlya*, or *ṭûrifṭ* as they call it, this time without salt, and burying it in the grave of a stranger (*ṭínḍalṭ óġrib*); they evidently have the idea that they at the same time bury the pimples, which are actually called "wheat", *erḍĕn*. The same Berber tribes believe that if anybody is eating *ṭûrifṭ* and hides it when a child or young person comes, the latter will have pimples on his face; by such a method, I was told, the beauty of many a young woman is spoilt by others who are jealous of her. But a similar effect is also attributed to the hiding of other food besides *ṭûrifṭ*.[1]

Much *baraka* is ascribed to yeast, which is called in Arabic *ḫmîra*, and in Berber *taḫmirt* (Iglíwa), *tiḫmirt* (Amanūz), *ạntun* (Ṭemsâmän), *ṭanṭunṭ* (Aiṭ Yúsi).[2] We have previously noticed that it is frequently used as a magical means of increasing the corn. It is a symbol of prosperity, whilst its absence means destitution; a common blessing is,

[1] For superstitions relating to *gĕlya* see also *supra*, i. 166, 251; ii. 220.

[2] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 77.

Lâh la yáqṭa' lek ḥmîra mẹn dârăk, " May God never cut off [the supply of] yeast from your house ". In the Ġarbîya, the Ḥiâina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after *'âṣar* ; to do so would be to give away the *rezq* or *baraka* (Aiṭ·Wäryâġer). At Fez it is believed that a person who should lend or give yeast to anybody else would have pustules, called *ḥmîra*, round his mouth, which, however, may be cured by applying to them the scorched part of toasted bread made into powder. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi and the Aiṭ Sádděn, again, if a young person asks the mistress of the household to give him or her some yeast and she refuses, that person's face will break out with pustules, called *ṭanṭunṭ* on account of their resemblance to the blisters of yeast. The woman, however, has good reason to refuse ; for if she gives yeast to the person asking for it and does not in return get some yeast from the dough made with it, her children will get *ṭanṭunṭ*. As a remedy for this disease yeast is smeared on the affected part of the face ; but I was told that this cure is not infallible.[1]

Magical and medicinal qualities are also attributed to the bran [2]—called in Arabic *noḫḫála* or *noḫḫal*, and in Berber *ilămmĕn* (Amanūz, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḍēr), *anḫḫal* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), *tanḫḫalt* (Ait Waráin) [3]—which remains in the sieve at the sifting of flour. It is used for the curing of scorpion stings,[4] and the smoke of it for increasing the quantity of butter.[5] But it is a dangerous substance, as may be expected in the case of a refuse.[6] A common belief is that anybody who treads upon or walks over it will get an affection of the leg or hip (sciatica) named *būzĕllum* (Ġarbîya, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) or *azĕllim* (Aiṭ Yúsi), which is described as a *jẹnn* ; hence it is never carelessly thrown away but is, mixed with water or buttermilk, given to the dogs or other domestic animals to eat, or put in a place where nobody walks.

The sieve—called in Arabic *ġarbāl* (*ġărbāl*, *ġŭrbāl*), *kărbăllŭ*, or *gărbăllŭ*, and in Berber *tăllunt* (Amanūz,

[1] See also 'Index', *s.v.* Yeast.
[2] See also 'Index', *s.v.* Bran.
[3] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 77.
[4] *Infra*, p. 355 *sq.*
[5] *Supra*, i. 249 ; *infra*, p. 298.
[6] There is a similar belief with regard to ashes.

Ait Waráin), *ṯällunṯ* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi), *ḏārdund* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *ärkkuṯ* (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution. In the Ḥiáina it must not be taken out of the house between *'âṣar* and sunset, and among the Ait Waráin it is hung on the wall when not in use, since it is considered bad to step over it. In the latter tribe it must on no account be seen by the sheep or goats, and anybody who has to pass them with it must hide it underneath his clothes; it is said that if they saw it they would get rot (*täzerzäšt*), no doubt because of the resemblance between this disease and the round holes in the skin of the sieve. So also among the Aiṯ Yúsi the sieve must not be shown to the sheep or goats, though no other explanation of this prohibition was given me than that it would be bad for them to see it.[1] Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi the shepherd is not allowed to touch a sieve; and the Aiṯ Nḏēr maintain that if he takes it in his hands he will break the legs of the sheep and goats when he throws stones at them.[2] On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them. Among the Tsūl, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house, she is received there by his mother carrying on her back a sieve covered with her *ízār*, in order that the young wife shall give birth to children, the sieve representing a baby; and among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the bridegroom's mother likewise carries a sieve on her back.[3] The sieve also figures in the rites practised when a new-born child is named, presumably as an instrument of purification.[4] It is shaken over the head of a new-born boy if the earlier

[1] In Syria "ein Bauer wird nie ein Sieb nach Sonnenuntergang ausleihen; dies könnte seinen Kühen schaden" (Eijūb Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. [Leipzig, 1884], p. 98).

[2] See also *supra*, i. 251.

[3] See *supra*, i. 583; Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 195, 196, 199.

[4] *Infra*, p. 390.

children of the family have died.[1] It is employed as a means of producing wind [2] or rain.[3]

The ceremonies connected with the growing of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables are by no means so numerous as those connected with wheat and barley. One or two have already been mentioned, and a few more may be added. In Andjra the sowing of maize and durra by preference begins on a Tuesday or Friday, two days which, so far as I know, are nowhere considered very suitable for the commencement of the first ploughing season, but on the contrary are specially avoided for that purpose. In the same district the person who sows these cereals must be without trousers so that the crops shall grow better; and when his work is over it is the custom for the wife of the farmer to give him a good meal, whether he be her husband or anybody else, with a view to ridding him of his fatigue. This meal has the name *'ăšat*^{s} *késrat*^{s} *ĕd-d-jĕrû*, "the supper on the dog's [4] pieces of bread". In the Ġarbîya the sower of maize or durra, but not of wheat or barley, must let the hair grow on his head till he has finished his work so that the crops shall prosper. In the same district, on the day when the sowing of beans is going to commence, the ploughman takes up beans with the plough-point, three or four times, and gives them to the mistress of the household to boil. They are then eaten by the family; and although no *fâṭḥa* is made after the meal, its object is no doubt to benefit the future crops. This is expressly said to be the case with the very similar custom of the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz mentioned above.

There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden. It must not be entered by a person who is sexually unclean, as such a visit would do harm to it and also to the person himself (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Andjra, Ait Waráin). Among the Ait Waráin women do not work in the *tábḥērt* nor do they gather vegetables from it. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer believe that

[1] *Infra*, p. 402. [2] *Infra*, p. 280.

[3] *Infra*, p. 270. For the ritual use of the sieve see also 'Index', *s.v.* Sieve.

[4] *Cf.* the English expression "dog-tired".

a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry ; and among the Aiṭ Yúsi, I was told, a woman can enter it only by force, if she is more powerful than her husband. In the Ḥiáina, on the other hand, if the vegetable garden does not thrive, a clean woman is sometimes asked to walk about in it, flicking the plants with her finger ; but a Jew is by preference employed for such a task, and this is invariably the case among the Aiṭ Yúsi and the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi. The reason for these practices may be that a woman is a fertile being and the Jews are a fertile race ; but the Jews are also in a curious manner associated with rain, great efficacy being attributed to their prayers for it.[1] In similar circumstances the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi often bury a fish in the garden, either, I presume, as a charm for fertility or abundance[2] or, owing to the natural connection between fish and water, as a rain-charm. In the Ḥiáina a vegetable garden, an orchard, or a cornfield is protected in the following manner against vermin, animals, and thieves : a little earth from it is taken to a *fqī*, who reads an incantation over it seven times, and the earth is then returned.

A method of influencing the orchard still deserves notice. In the mountains of Northern Morocco, where much fruit is cultivated, it is the custom that if women carrying fresh fruit meet a band of scribes on the road, they must each offer the scribes some fruit, which the latter themselves pick from the basket, returning a blessing for the gift. This is supposed to benefit the fruit in the orchard.

The rites and beliefs connected with agriculture in Morocco have no doubt a deep foundation in the antiquity of the Berber race, that, in some regions of North Africa, is known to have cultivated cereals even before the arrival of the Phœnicians.[3] They present striking similarities to practices and ideas prevalent among peoples on the other side of the Mediterranean,[4] and therefore, like many other facts,

[1] *Infra*, p. 255. [2] *Cf. supra*, i. 590.

[3] Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, i. (Paris, 1913), p. 236.

[4] For rites and beliefs connected with agriculture in Europe see Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884) ; *Idem*, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1904–5) ; Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn*

suggest a common participation in an ancient Mediterranean culture. As an instance of these similarities may be mentioned customs relating to the handful of corn which is left standing last on the field, well known to students of European folk-lore and also found in Palestine, where to this day,[1] as in times of old,[2] a portion of the field is left unreaped for the benefit of "the widows and the fatherless". In ancient Egypt, according to Diodorus, the reapers were wont to beat their breasts and lament over the first sheaf cut, while at the same time they invoked Isis as the goddess to whom they owed the discovery of corn.[3] The first-fruit offering to Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ, again, has its counterpart in the tithe from the threshed grain which, in Palestine, is still set apart for the *derwīsh* or village priest,[4] as it was for the ancient Levite.[5]

and of the Wild (London, 1912); Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, ii. (Leipzig, 1911), p. 53 *sqq.*; Rantasalo, *Der Ackerbau im Volksaberglauben der Finnen und Esten, mit entsprechenden Gebräuchen der Germanen verglichen* (FF Communications ni. 30-32, 55; Sortavala & Helsinki, 1919–24); *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland*, vol. clxxxiv. *Växtlighetsriter*, ed. by Gunnar Landtman (Helsingfors, 1925). In a learned review of my earlier essay on rites and beliefs connected with agriculture in Morocco, Dr. Hammarstedt has pointed out many remarkable similarities to Swedish rites and beliefs (*Fataburen* [Stockholm], 1914, p. 57 *sq.*).

[1] Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 329; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), i. 146.

[2] *Leviticus*, xix. 9, xxiii. 22. *Cf. Deuteronomy*, xxiv. 19.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, i. 14.

[4] Conder, *op. cit.* p. 330.

[5] *Leviticus*, xxiii. 10; *Numbers*, xviii. 21.

CHAPTER XVII

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called *ṣalāt al-istisqā* in the morning at the *muṣalla*, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two *rek'āt*, or ordinary forms of prayer, two *ḫoṭbāt*, or sermons, and one *du'ā*, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of *takbīr* (*allāhu akbar*, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase *istaġfir allāh*, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first *ḫoṭba* the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and *vice versâ*, and the same is done by the congregation.[1] That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the

[1] According to some Muhammadan writers the Prophet reversed his mantle before he said the two forms of prayer, whereas according to others he did so after saying them (al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xv. 1, 4, 16 *sqq.*, French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. i. [Paris, 1903], pp. 331, 337 *sq.*).

faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.[1]

At Fez the ceremony of the *istisqā*, locally called *ṣlāt l-istˢísqa*, used to be performed at the *mṣálla* outside Bāb Ftˢöḥ, and I was told that the men went there with their *ksā*, or toga, put on not, as usual, from right to left but from left to right so that its loose end was thrown over the right shoulder instead of the left. Nowadays, however, the *istˢísqa* is not allowed at Fez since its performance is supposed to cause the death of the Sultan. According to M. Mouliéras, who also makes mention of this belief, the reason for it is that in 1859, when the last *istˢísqa* took place at Fez, the ceremony was followed by the death of Mûlāi 'Abdrráḥman.[2] In other parts of the country the *istisqā* is still practised, although I am not certain that it is carried out in all its details. It may also happen that the Jews are called upon to pray for rain.[3] A story is told that once upon a time the Prophet and his disciples asked God in vain to put an end to a severe drought; then an old Jew went to a Jewish grave, took from it a bone, and, keeping it in his hands, prayed for rain together with the other Jews, and two hours afterwards a plentiful rain began to fall.[4] The Moors say that the prayers of Jews are readily granted by God because they smell so terribly.[5]

[1] For the ceremony of the *istisqā* see Bel, 'Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de sécheresse chez les musulmans maghribins', in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publié en l'honneur du XIV^e Congrès des orientalistes* (Alger, 1905), p. 57 *sqq.*; al-Buḫārī, xv. 1 *sqq.* (vol. i. 329 *sqq.*); Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. (Halle a. S., 1889), p. 35; *Idem*, 'Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet', in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Giessen, 1906), p. 308 *sqq.*; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 138 *sq.*; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 590 *sqq.*

[2] Mouliéras, *Fez* (Paris, 1902), p. 312 *sq.*

[3] *Cf.* Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 60 *sq.*; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 593.

[4] Several instances are known of rain-making by means of the bones or corpses of dead people. Thus an Armenian rain-charm is to dig up a skull and throw it into running water; and the inhabitants of Ourfa for this purpose prefer the skull of a Jew, which they cast into the Pool of Abraham (Frazer, *The Magic Art*, i. [London, 1911], p. 284 *sq.*).

[5] *Cf.* Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (London, 1725), p. 62 *sq.*

A very common custom is to walk in procession to a saint's shrine to pray for rain. This custom is found in all parts of the Muhammadan world, and many instances of it are recorded from the past.[1] In the *Raōḍ al-Qarṭās* we are told that in the year 711 of the Muhammadan era, when there was a drought in Morocco, the Ameer Abū Sa'īd performed the *ṣalāt al-istisqā* with the usual ceremonies, and a few days afterwards went with the whole of his army to the tomb of Abū Ya'qūb al-Ašqar, where he prayed with such fervour that God almost at once sent an abundance of rain.[2] Nowadays, when rain is wanted at Fez, the *'ulâma*, shereefs, and other men, assemble at Mûläi Idrīs and walk from there barefooted and with uncovered heads to the cemetery outside Bāb Ftsöḥ, where there are many tombs of saints. There they *tsaiṭálbû l-ġaits*, "ask for rain", visiting the various shrines, reciting portions of the Koran, and making *fâtsḥa*. At Tangier men and boys walk in procession with flags to the shrines of the *mujāhédīn* outside the town, crying out, "O God have mercy upon us for the sake of the Prophet"; and if rain does not fall similar visits are paid to the tomb of Sîdi Muḥámmed l-Ḥaddj, who is the patron saint of Tangier, and other shrines. Here also rain is on these occasions called, not by its ordinary name *štsā*, but *ġaits*, which means an abundant and widespread rain. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz in Dukkâla take all the little boys and girls of the village to a shrine, tie their hands behind their backs, and let them walk round the shrine till they get tired. While going round they chant, *Ġétna yā mūlâna ărḥámna yā mūlâna háya rábbi, ta'ṭêna š-šta u djîna ṣáifa mḥállṭa bein l-ḥómmûṣ u ḍ-ḍrā*, "Help us quickly O our Lord, have mercy upon us O our Lord, hear us God, give us rain and we shall have a variety of crops between the chick-peas and durra". Or the huntsmen (*r-rma*), who also, like the little children, are considered more or less holy, go together to Mazagan, where their principal colleagues of the town join them; they then in a body visit the various shrines in the neighbourhood, and finally go

[1] Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 312 *sq.*

[2] *Raōḍ al-Qarṭās*, French translation by Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 561 *sq.*

to that of Sîdi Bûâfi, where they shoot at targets and pray till rain comes. In the same province an ox or other animals are also sacrificed as *'ār* for a dead saint " to induce him to intercede with God ", and the Koran is read by the scribes ; when the procession, consisting of men, women, and children, approach the shrine they take off their slippers, and after the recitation of the Koran, when they are going to make *fâṭḥa* and pray for rain, the men remove their turbans. In the Ġarbîya sheep and goats are sacrificed and eaten by the men who on similar occasions visit the saint or saints of their neighbourhood, singing, *Mūlâna mūlâna yā sâmę' du'âna bi fâḍlak wa ḥsânąk, lä t'ăqṭa' ărjâna mūlâna, nĕs'áu rîḍak wä 'la bâbąk wāqîfīn, yā raḥmânû yā ráḥīm,* " Our Lord our Lord, oh give our invocation a favourable and bountiful hearing, do not destroy our hope our Lord, we ask for your favour and are standing at your door, O merciful, O compassionate ". In Andjra the scribes and schoolboys pay a visit to some shrine, sacrifice there a bullock, and have a feast on its flesh ; the scribes recite the Koran, they all remove their cloaks, and the *fqī* says the *ṣalât' l-ist'ísqa*, while the others sit and listen. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make *fâṭḥa*. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred. The Shlöḥ of Aglu sacrifice cattle at the tomb of Sîdi Waggag, praying for rain and remaining there overnight ; they believe that if rain falls while they are making the sacrifice the year will be good, whereas the absence of rain is a bad omen.

It is only natural that people who are in the habit of appealing to their saints on so many other occasions should also do so when a drought threatens to destroy their crops ; and in this, as in other cases, they try to secure the assistance of the saint by a sacrifice, which in some instances at least is not looked upon as a gift to the saint but as *'ār*, which is a

magical act implying the transference of a conditional curse. There is also another magical element in the sacrifices made for the purpose of obtaining rain: the victims chosen for them are often black, in imitation of rain-clouds.[1] The walking with bare feet and the uncovering of the heads of the persons taking part in the procession have been represented as acts of asceticism;[2] but these practices may also, like the alteration of the dress accompanying the *ṣalāt al-istisqā*, have been intended to bring about a change in the weather, in accordance with the principle of homœopathic magic. This is suggested by the Dukkâla custom of removing the turbans and the Andjra custom of throwing off the cloaks immediately before the prayer for rain; and a similar idea probably underlies certain methods of making rain by a kind of masquerading.[3] At Tetuan a she-ass is in a time of drought dressed up in women's clothes and, when it is dark, taken about by the women to the shrines of the town with prayers for rain; and, as we shall soon see, a dressed-up donkey, cow, or sheep also figures in the rain-charms elsewhere in the country. Perhaps the widespread custom of dressing up a ladle or other object, of which we shall speak subsequently, partly belongs to the same class of customs.

Islam, which regards dearth as a punishment inflicted by God on those who have transgressed his law, recommends not only prayer but also almsgiving as a means of regaining his favour and inducing him to send rain.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Bel, *loc. cit.* pp. 65, 91; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 588. For other instances in which black cows figure in ceremonies intended to produce rain see *infra*, p. 264 *sq.*, and Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), p. 244 *sq.*

[2] Bel, *loc. cit.* pp. 54, 79. *Cf.* Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 589; *Raōḍ al-Qarṭās*, p. 562.

[3] In some Algerian tribes "les paysans font leurs rogations dans un déguisement des plus bizarres et transforment la cérémonie en une sorte de mascarade. . . . Dans la région de Palikao, par exemple, des hommes s'habillent en femmes et font des danses de femmes avec accompagnement de joueurs de flûte et de tambourin; d'autres s'enroulent dans de vieux morceaux d'étoffe des tentes. La plupart se noircissent la figure avec de la suie ou du charbon" (Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 80). See also *ibid.* p. 67; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 586.

[4] Bel, *loc. cit.* pp. 55, 56, 59, 79.

Traces of this belief in charity's efficacy in expelling a drought are found in the customs of the peasants of Morocco. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi alms (*ṣṣadâqa*) consisting of food and money are given to the women and children who are walking from village to village with a doll for the purpose of obtaining rain ;[1] these gifts are then used for a feast in the village mosque or at a shrine, where the men also assemble to partake of it, and after the meal they all make *fâṭha* imploring God to send them rain. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr the women who for the same purpose go about with a dressed-up ladle[2] receive presents of corn, eggs, or a little money, and these alms are considered essential for the success of the whole ceremony. So also at Aglu eatables of various kinds—corn, figs, onions, and so forth—are given to the boys and women who are carrying about a dressed-up ladle and pot-stick with prayers for rain.[3] All this food-stuff is handed over to a woman who has five or six children alive, that is, a woman who is particularly blessed, and she makes of it *tagúlla*, bread, and *sěksů*—the last-mentioned dish, like the rest, without butter or oil (presumably on account of the antagonism between water and grease), only with the addition of water, salt, onions, and turnips. The food is then eaten by the children of the village, who have assembled in her house, nobody else partaking of the meal ; and it is believed that if they play with the food, throwing it at each other, the year will be plentiful, whereas if they behave quietly at the meal the year will be bad. Among the Arabs of 'Abda a man rides about from tent to tent and village to village, and the people give him *sěksů*, salt butter, and money in charity. Two or three days afterwards, when he has finished his tour, he goes to spend the night at a shrine situated in a cemetery, and there also the scribes of the neighbourhood and those who gave him food assemble, bringing with them a bullock or cow to be sacrificed at the shrine. Some old women prepare a meal of the food collected by the man, everybody present partakes of it, and the scribes recite the Koran. This is done at night, and it is believed that rain will fall in consequence. Essentially the same

[1] *Infra*, p. 266. [2] *Infra*, p. 266. [3] *Infra*, p. 267.

custom is practised among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, who call it *ṣadâqa 'al š-štā*, "alms for the sake of the rain". In Andjra all the men, women, and children of a village go to the cemetery, each family taking with them a dish of *kûsksû*, which is eaten at the graves of their dead. The women eat first; the *fqī* recites the *ṣalât^{s} l-ist^{s}ísqa*, after which the men partake of the food, and all the people, even enemies, shake hands with each other. The meal is looked upon as charity for the dead, and the handshaking means that henceforth all will become friends, both the living and the dead; to pardon one's enemies is indeed, like almsgiving, recommended by Islam in a time of drought.[1] On these occasions it may happen that the men, after they have removed their slippers and cloaks, form a ring round the graves, while the scribes and schoolboys are praying for rain; and I am told that all the people of the village must be present, since it is supposed that there may be among them some holy person whose prayer will be heard by God. It should be added that when the schoolboys walk to the cemetery or, as in the case mentioned before, to the shrine, they carry on their heads their writing-boards (*lwāḥ*) with some passages of the Koran written on them, and sing, *Ġáiyt^{s}û û ġáiyt^{s}û bîha, rábbi l-ḥbîb yā rwîha*, "Ask for rain and ask for rain with the aid of it (the writing-board), dear God, oh give it drink".

So also among the Ait Waráin the schoolboys, who with their master visit shrines and the graveyard in order to make rain fall, carry on their heads their writing-boards and sing, *Ġétna yá mûġēt ġétna ya rábbi*, "Help us quickly O helper, help us quickly O God". After this all the boards are hung up in a tree in the cemetery, and the same night rain will inevitably fall—indeed, so certain are they of this that my informant would not even consider my question, how long the boards were to be left in the tree if rain should not fall. A widespread method of producing rain, which I have found prevalent among the Arabs of Dukkâla, the northern Jbâla, and the Shlöḥ of Amzmiz, is to write some passages of the Koran on a writing-board with the characters disjointed and without dots, and then to hang it up on the roof

[1] Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 55.

of the village mosque or on the top of its minaret (if it has any) or in a tree outside the mosque or close to a shrine. Among the Iglíwa the characters are written with the usual dots although they are disjointed, and the board is hung in a very high evergreen tree, where it is left till rain falls. I was told in Dukkâla that God sends rain at once because he does not like to see his own words written badly; but this explanation is no doubt an after-thought. As we have noticed above, it is common in magical writings to leave out the dots,[1] and the disjointed characters may have been intended to imitate rain-drops.

Homœopathic magic is frequently resorted to for the production of rain, and of all practices belonging to this class none are more common than those which are based on the association between rain and water or other fluids. At Tangier, when the men and boys come back from the ceremony at the *mujāḥḍīn*, the people pour water over them from roofs and windows. At Mogador I was told that in the year previous to my visit to that town the same had been done to the women and children who ran along the streets crying out, "The barley is thirsty, God give the barley water"; while the men were praying to God for rain in the mosque. In Dukkâla the schoolboys go from tent to tent praying to God for rain; the women give them milk to drink and then throw water over them. In Andjra, while the men are standing round the graves and recitations from the Koran are being made, the women fetch water from a spring or well and drench them with it; and when the scribes and schoolboys return from the shrine where they sacrificed a bullock, they pour water over each other as they pass a spring or river. On the same day the women dress up a she-ass like a bride and take it to a spring, where an old woman of the company gives it water to drink; it has been fed on barley and straw in the early morning so that it shall be thirsty. When the donkey has finished drinking, the old woman passes the vessel with whatever water is left in it to the other women, who fill their mouths from it and spit out the water on the donkey. This, I am told, has the same effect

[1] *Supra*, i. 217.

as pouring water over a saint, since the dressed-up donkey has the *baraka* of a bride. They then go with the animal to a watery and muddy place, which is believed to be haunted by *jnūn*. There one of the women, who was once a widow or divorced wife but was afterwards married to a bachelor and still remains his wife, is tied up and thrown into the mud, and the same is done with the donkey after the clothes have been removed from it. Water is poured over both of them, the drenched woman is tied to the donkey, and they are thus brought back to the village, while the women all the way are praying to God for rain. Until these prayers are fulfilled the woman and the donkey are not allowed to eat, and the woman besides, though freed from her bands, must spend her nights in the open air with her head uncovered and her hair dishevelled. It is interesting to notice in this connection that fasting, like prayer and almsgiving, is one of the practices recommended by Islam for the purpose of obtaining rain ;[1] but considering the circumstances in which it occurs in the present case, it almost looks as if this change of habits were supposed to cause rain for a similar reason as the change in the appearance. The dishevelling of the hair may be a female counterpart to the male custom of removing the turban ; but we shall later on see that the fluttering of the loosened hair is also believed to produce rain, and this would explain why the woman has to remain out-of-doors till the drought has come to an end. A much simpler custom practised for a similar purpose in Andjra is for boys to go to a spring and gargle with its water.

A common method of producing rain is to take a holy man to the sea or a river or spring and thoroughly drench him there, and should he make resistance his hands are tied behind his back. It is considered essential for the success of this ceremony that he should be an irritable person ; as we shall soon see, noise or violent movements are characteristic of certain rain-charms, and I was told that rain is produced by the curses of the drenched man.[2] But he is also

[1] Bel, *loc. cit.* pp. 56, 59, 80.

[2] In some parts of India curses are supposed to cause rain (Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 278).

asked to pray for rain, and when drenching him the people implore God to have mercy upon them. Once when my friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam went with his sister to visit his relatives in a village in the Ġarbîya, the people poured water over the young woman, who had a reputation for holiness ; and soon after it began to rain. In various places attempts are made to ensure an adequate supply of rain by sprinkling a bride with water,[1] or by offering her water which she sprinkles on the people round her,[2] or by throwing the grit removed from the wheat which is to be used at a wedding into a spring, river, or water-course.[3] Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, women engaged in weaving think they can make rain by removing one of the pegs (sing. *ṭagusṭ*) of the web (*azṭṭa*) from its socket and pouring water into the hole. At Fez the following ceremony is practised for the purpose of obtaining rain by the men of the Tlemcen colony residing in that town. They collect a large number of little pebbles,[4] which they put in palmetto baskets, and go with them in the evening to the shrine of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem outside Bāb Ftˢöḥ, where they have supper together, recite a verse of the Koran over each pebble, and then sew up the pebbles in the baskets.

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 180, 190, 203, 209, 216.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 198, 216. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 90, 93 *sq.*

[4] M. Eugène Aubin (Descos), who also mentions this ceremony in his book *Morocco of To-day* (London, 1906 ; p. 333), gives seventy thousand as the number of the pebbles, and says that they are arranged in seventy sacks. The custom of making rain by throwing stones into a river is found at Tlemcen (Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 70). In Tripoli " on creuse des fossés et l'on y jette soixante-dix outres dont chacune doit contenir mille petites pierres " (de Mathuisieulx, *A travers la Tripolitaine* [Paris, 1903], p. 70). " The Turks of Armenia make rain by throwing pebbles into the water. At Egin the pebbles are hung in two bags in the Euphrates ; there should be seventy thousand and one of them. At Myndus in Asia Minor the number of the stones used for this purpose is seventy-seven thousand, and each of them should be licked before it is cast into the sea " (Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 305). M. Doutté (*op. cit.* p. 587 *sq.*) justly observes, " Probablement les cailloux représentent la terre durcie par la sécheresse et en les immergeant on force la pluie à venir détremper le sol ". In connection with the custom of licking the stones it may be mentioned that at Tangier a girl who wipes the dish from which she has eaten with her finger and then licks the finger is supposed to have rain at her wedding ; and there is a similar belief with regard to a boy.

When this is done they carry them to the bridge over the Sbū and throw them into the water, afterwards returning to the shrine to pass the night there; but before they throw the baskets into the river they take care to fasten them to the bank with pegs and ropes so as to be able to remove them in case the rain should be too plentiful. In the same town, if rain falls on the blue flag which every Friday morning is hoisted on the minaret, it is believed that it will continue till the next Friday.[1]

In some cases the shedding of tears or ceremonial weeping is supposed to act as a rain-charm. In the Andjra ceremony just described the women, before they give water to the donkey to drink, weep over the heap of rubbish which has accumulated on the edge of the spring through the yearly cleanings of it, and at the same time pray to God for rain. While I was staying at Amzmiz in the Great Atlas I was told that rain had been caused to fall at Lálla Tákĕrkust, a neighbouring holy place of great repute, by two boys being taken twice round its shrines with their hands tied behind their backs and tears running down their cheeks. The weeping of children likewise forms part of a rain-making ceremony practised in the Ḥiáina, the details of which will be given below. Among the Ait Ḥássan, a subdivision of the Ait Waráin, the women go with a black cow to the mosque and cemetery and take it about until it makes water, after which they sprinkle the little boys who accompany them with the urine of the cow, and pinch them so as to make them weep.

In many other instances a ceremony is performed with a black cow, the urination of which is looked upon as a sign or a cause of rain.[2] Among the Mnáṣăra the animal has a turban tied round its horns and is thus taken seven times round a shrine; if it makes water there will be rain, if not the drought will continue. In Dukkâla the women of the

[1] In Andjra it is believed that if it rains on a Friday there will be rain every day till the following Friday. *Cf.* al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xv. 6 *sqq.* (vol. i. 332 *sqq.*).

[2] M. Bel (*loc. cit.* pp. 66, 97) mentions an instance of this from Algeria, and another case from the same country in which the urination of a ewe or lamb is regarded as a sign of rain. *Cf. infra*, p. 271 *sq.*

village dance and sing round a black cow at night; if it urinates at once rain will soon fall, whereas the longer it takes till it does so the longer the dry weather will last. Among the Aiṭ Mjilḍ a black cow is dressed up as a woman and taken about in the village and three times round the mosque, accompanied by men, women, and children. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr the men at night take a black cow seven times through the village, and the inhabitants of the tents they pass throw water over it; if it urinates during this tour the people believe that rain will soon fall, whereas in the opposite case they "leave the matter in the hands of God". In Andjra it is supposed that if on the day when the autumn ploughing commences the pair of oxen drawing a plough make water simultaneously, there will be rain on that or the following day and the year will be rainy.

In the Ḥiáina, again, a ewe which is still so young that it has not yet lambed is after sunset draped with a woman's shawl and taken to a shrine by a party of men, who sing time after time, *Ya lláh négdiu m-mġârĕf ya lláh n-nău š-šărf*, "O God we shall set light to the ladles, O God very much rain". By this they hope to frighten the ewe into urinating; and after it has done so they sing, *Ăf-fáila 'aṭšâna ġiṭha yā mulâna*, "The bean is thirsty, help it quickly O our Lord". In this case a rain-producing effect is evidently ascribed not only to the urination of the dressed-up animal but also to the mentioning of ladles in the song. Among the same people when rain is needed, the women and children visit the shrines of the village with a pitch-fork (*médra*) dressed up as a bride, singing, *Tˢaġúnja yā mórja ú lli ṭlábtˢi ráh ja*, "Tˢaġúnja O mother of hope,[1] and what you asked for, see there it comes". At the shrines the women pinch the children to make them weep; from there they go to a spring or well, hold Tˢaġúnja over it without allowing it to get wet, and unexpectedly splash water over the children so that they again begin to weep. This is done in the evening in

[1] The word *mórja*, which I, like M. Doutté (*Merrâkech* [Paris, 1905], p. 383), translate "mother of hope", has perhaps been invented for this occasion owing to its phonetical resemblance to *mérja*, which means a shallow lake.

order that it may not be seen by the men and youths. The name Tˢaġúnja is derived from the Berber word *aġunja* or *aġenja*, which means a ladle, and is given to the dressed-up pitch-fork because in the original Berber rite a ladle is used, owing to its connection with fluids.

The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer in the Rīf the women dress up a wooden ladle (*aġänja*) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain. So also the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi dress up a ladle as a woman and take it about to shrines, singing, *Allah n-nī̄ n-nī̄ állah n-nī̄ n-nī̄, állah ma fîha ḍī̄, állah n-nī̄ š-šärf, állah negdíu m-mġárĕf, a n-nī̄ z-zḷzâla baš t'äíš l-häjjâla*, "God rain rain, God rain rain, God there is no light in it, God very much rain, God we shall burn the ladles (that is, give us so much rain that we cannot even go out and fetch fuel but have to burn our ladles), O thunder-shower, [fall] so that the widow shall remain alive". Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the women dress up a wooden ladle (*aġenja*) as a bride and tie it to a bamboo cane or some other stick, after which they carry it round to the shrines of the neighbourhood, singing, *A Talġúnja yâsi uraunĕnnem s îgᵛẹ̈nna, ġĕr i rábbi, y ánzar átkker ṭûgᵛa*, "O Talġúnja, raise the palms of your hands towards the sky, call to God, O rain may the grass grow". Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a bamboo cane is dressed up as a bride, with a ladle tied crossways on it to represent the arms. This puppet, called Tlġénja, is for a day or two taken about from village to village and shrine to shrine by women and children playing the tambourine (*allun*), singing, dancing, and clapping their hands, and, as has been said above, they receive alms at the places they visit. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr the women walk about in the village and perhaps go to neighbouring villages as well, with a large ladle dressed up as a bride, singing, *Aġĕnja a bórrja, ā rbbi ušânḍġ ánzar*, "Ladle O master of hope, O God give us rain". They also, as we have seen, receive alms, with which afterwards a feast is made. The Ait Waráin give the name of *táslit úⁿnzar*, "the bride of the rain", to the dressed-up ladle which,

attached to a bamboo stick, is carried by the women to the cemetery of the village and neighbouring shrines. Among the Shlöḥ the dressed-up ladle is equally common as a rain-charm. At Amzmiz it is the custom to throw it into a river, pond, or spring, after it has been carried about from one shrine to another with prayers for rain. At Demnat the people pour water over the boys who go from house to house with a ladle dressed up in cloth, and present them with flour. Among the Iglíwa, when the ladle (*aġĕnja*), fastened to the end of a bamboo stick and with a piece of cloth tied to it like a flag,[1] is taken to a shrine, the children pray, *A Tlġűnja a mŏrja, a rábbi áwid ánzar*, "O Tlġűnja, O mother of hope, O God give rain". At Aglu a wooden ladle (*aġúnja*) and a pot-stick (*ůffal*) are together draped with the head-wrap (*a'broq*) of a woman who has never given birth to a child, the turban (*rrzza*) of a man who has never had more than one child, and the turban of another man who has never married. Fastened to the top of a bamboo stick, this puppet, called Blġűnja, is carried from house to house by boys and women who pray for rain and who also, as has been already said, receive corn, figs, and other eatables, of which a woman blessed with a large family prepares a meal for the children. The bamboo cane with the ladle and pot-stick is, like the food-stuff, handed over to the woman, who, with a prayer for rain, places it on the roof of her house after she has loosened the married man's turban; it is believed that if the wind makes the turban fly there will soon be rain, whereas in the opposite case the drought will continue. It should be added that the woman herself must have her hair uncovered and dishevelled, and that it is also regarded as a sign of rain if it flutters in the wind.[2]

The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is found not only among the Berbers but among the Arabic-speaking

[1] M. Laoust suggests (*op. cit.* p. 230) that the frequent use of bamboo canes in the present connection is due to the fact that they particularly grow in humid places.

[2] Since the first publication of the above facts, in 1913, similar customs among various other Berber tribes have been mentioned by M. Laoust in his *Mots et choses berbères*, p. 204 *sqq.*

people as well.[1] In the Ġarbîya the women dress up a large wooden ladle as a woman and carry it to a *sîyŭd*, singing, *Aġunja tálbet r-rja, iṣabbáḥ a mūlâna bẹ š-šta*, "Aġunja asked for hope, make the morning rainy, O our lord". In Dukkâla the women likewise dress up a ladle as a woman or a bride, and take it about from tent to tent dancing and singing, *Taġénja ḥállet râsha, yā rábbi tběll ḫrâṣha*, "Taġénja has loosened her hair,[2] O God mayest thou wet her ear-rings". But they may also make use of an ordinary piece of wood instead of a ladle and carry this to a neighbouring shrine, where they place it in a standing position and dance and play round it singing as before. The same words are sung among the Mnáṣăra when a dressed-up ladle is carried to a shrine for the purpose of obtaining rain. At Marráksh, when men, women, and boys walk without shoes to Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ' *ḫálwa* on the hill Gîliz outside the town to pray for rain, a wooden ladle fastened to the top of a bamboo cane and decorated with a flag—the so-called T^{s}enöġja—is carried in front of the procession. At Fez the women dress up a bamboo cane in female clothing, take it up to the roof of a house, and sing there, *Ġánja Mẹnnâna jib št^{s}a zärbâna*, "Ġánja Mẹnnâna, bring rain quickly". Among the Tsūl the women tie a ladle crossways on the handle of a shovel used for winnowing, dress them up as a woman, and walk with this puppet, which they call Mánṭa, from shrine to shrine, taking it three times round each place, singing, *Ā Mánṭa l-ġarrâba jib št^{s}a zerrâba, nẹ́mši m'ak le l-ĝâba, má nṣib fein nĕddérraq*, "O Mánṭa the stranger,[3] bring rain quickly, I shall go with you to the thicket, I shall find no place where to shelter myself". In the same tribe women for a similar purpose go to a place where they cannot be seen by men and play there, in a state of complete nakedness, a game of ball called *šérra* with wooden ladles. In this case, how-

[1] M. Doutté (*Merrâkech*, p. 383) mentions its occurrence in the Raḥámna and M. Bel (*loc. cit.* pp. 64-67, 71, 85 *sq.*) in certain parts of Algeria.

[2] Notice the cases mentioned in this chapter in which the actual dishevelling of a woman's hair serves as a rain-charm.

[3] I take *l-ġarrâba* to stand for *l-ġrîba* so as to rhyme to *zerrâba* and *l-ĝâba*.

ever, it seems that the rain-producing effect is ascribed not only to the ladles but to the game itself.

The dressed-up ladle is a widespread rain-charm in North Africa, and the Berber name given to it even among Arabic-speaking people may be taken as a mark of its origin. Dio Cassius testifies that magical rain-making was practised by the inhabitants of Libya.[1] According to some modern writers the puppet represents an ancient goddess—either a rain-goddess,[2] or a personification of the earth conceived sometimes as the *terra mater* and sometimes as a bride who is doomed to sterility unless fecundated by the rain.[3] As to these conjectures it may be observed that the personification of a natural phenomenon does not necessarily imply deification; that the Berber word for a bride, *taslit* or *tislit*, is also used for a puppet;[4] and that effigies or dolls figure in the rain-charms of various peoples,[5] for example the Arabs of Moab[6] and other inhabitants of the same neighbourhood.[7] In any case there can be no doubt that the use

[1] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, lx. 9.

[2] This opinion has been expressed by M. Bel (*loc. cit.* p. 86 *sq.*) and M. van Gennep, (*L'état actuel du problème totémique* [Paris, 1920], p. 218 n.). The existence of a Dea Caelestis may be inferred from a fragment in Duris Samius (*Historiae*, 34; in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. by Müller, ii. [Parisiis, 1848], p. 478). In the Roman period this goddess appears under the title of Dea Nutrix (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. viii. *Inscriptiones Africae Latinae* [Berolini, 1881–1904], no. 2664; *cf. ibid.* no. 8245); and it would seem that it was this goddess, in her Punicized form, whom Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, xi. 5) characterises as "rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina". See Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 203.

[3] Laoust, *op. cit.* especially pp. 214, 226 *sqq.*

[4] *Cf. ibid.* p. 240; Herber, 'Poupées marocaines', in *Les archives berbères*, iii. (Paris, 1918), p. 68.

[5] Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 275 *sq.*

[6] Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 326 *sqq.* *Cf.* Clermont-Ganneau, 'Traditions arabes au pays de Moab', in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. x. vol. viii. (Paris, 1906), p. 365 *sqq.*

[7] Among the Greek Christians of Kerak in Palestine, whenever there is a drought, a winnowing-fork is dressed in women's clothes and carried from house to house by girls and women singing doggerel songs (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day* [London, 1902], p. 114). In Syria, "wenn eine längere Trockenheit eintritt, so nimmt man zwei Stöcke, bindet dieselben kreuzweise zusammen und zieht ihnen die Kleider eines

of a ladle as a rain-charm is due to its connection with fluids. The same connection has led to the belief that if an unmarried person eats food from a pipkin with a ladle, there will be rain at his or her wedding (Ḥiáina, Ṯemsâmän).[1] On the other hand, if a person beats another with a ladle there will be no rain (Ṯemsâmän) ;[2] in such a case the ladle is, contrary to its designation, used for a " dry " purpose.

In various cases mentioned above a method of producing rain is to raise the wind—by the fluttering of a woman's dishevelled hair or of the loosened turban of a man, or by the use of a flag.[3] A similar idea underlies some other rain-charms. Among the Ait Waráin, when a person wants to spoil an enemy's wedding with rain he plays on a sieve, which is also a method of making the wind blow. In Andjra the jaw-bones of a sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast are suspended from a tree or a house-top or the end of a bamboo cane, as it is believed that when the wind makes them rattle there will be rain. In these cases, however, we have to consider not only the raising of the wind but also the homœopathic effect of the sound. Noise may act as a rain-charm. The prayers for rain are often exceedingly loud ; the efficacy of crying may be not merely due to the tears ; much bellowing of cattle or bleating of sheep or goats produces rain (Andjra). Violent movements may have a similar effect. If the cattle are capering rain will fall (*ibid.*). In a rain-making rite mentioned above it is regarded as good *fäl* if the

kleinen Kindes an. Diese Art Puppe, welche man schōschballī nennt, muss von einem Derwisch durch die ganze Stadt getragen werden. Eine Schaar Kinder folgt hinten nach, welche singen : schōschballī, schōschballī, wir gehen nicht weg, bevor wir nass geworden sind " (Eijūb Abēla, ' Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien ', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. [Leipzig, 1884], p. 94).

[1] I have also heard that the same will happen if an unmarried person eats food directly from the pot in which it was cooked (Fez, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Wäryâġer).

[2] In other cases it is said that it is bad to beat a person with a ladle (Ḥiáina), or that if an unmarried person does so he or she will never marry (Aiṯ Nḏēr).

[3] For the use of flags as rain-charms see also Laoust, *op. cit.* 228 *sqq.*

children throw food at each other.[1] And games of ball[2] and tugs of war are frequently supposed to bring about rain.

Among the Ait Waráin two or four naked women play a kind of hockey—not like the women of the Tsūl with ladles, but with sticks—for the purpose of obtaining rain. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz some good old women play at ball when rain is wanted, whilst in the Ḥiáina in similar circumstances the men of two neighbouring villages have a football match in the afternoon, after which they drape a ewe with a woman's shawl, as has been said above. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi it is the custom for men and youths in spring to play at ball with sticks, as a means of producing rain. It may be asked why games of ball are supposed to have a rain-producing effect. An explanation given me by an old Arab was that the ball is dark like a rain-cloud, but this only seems to express part of the truth. Among the Tsūl the men play at ball to *put a stop* to a long-continued rain, the scribes and students playing with the feet and other men with sticks; and I was told that in Andjra one game of ball is played to obtain rain and another to obtain dry weather. From these facts we may conclude that the essential function of playing at ball as a weather-charm is to bring about a change in the weather through the movements and changing fortunes of the game. In this respect it is like the tug of war, which is also supposed to influence the weather sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another. Among the Iglíwa of the Great Atlas it is resorted to as a method of bringing about rain;[3] the men pull at one end of the rope and the women at the other, and while they are pulling one of the men suddenly cuts the rope so that the women tumble down and show their nakedness. The manner in which this procedure was described almost made it appear to me as if the

[1] *Supra*, ii. 259. "Chez les Sejrâra (Oran), il y a une *ouaʿda* (banquet) de la pluie, au cours de laquelle on se jette des boules de boue" (Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 587; *Idem*, *Merrâkech*, p. 387 *sq.*).

[2] *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 322 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, pp. 554, 587; Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 242 *sq.*

[3] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 244 (Imsfíwan); Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 387.

exposure of the urinary organs of the women formed an essential feature of the rite, owing to an association of ideas already familiar to us. The Ait Waráin likewise practise the tug of war (*ájbäd ñ úṣġun*) as a rain-charm, and among them not only the men but also the women now and then let the rope go so as to upset the other party. But among the Tsūl a tug of war, which they call *jŭbbîd ḥbel*, is performed with a view to influencing the weather in a very different manner: it is arranged by men and women on a moonlight night in the autumn when there are rain-clouds in the sky and the people want sunshine in order to dry their figs and grapes.

The suggestion has been made that ceremonial combats for the purpose of producing rain occurred among the ancient Libyans. According to classical writers the Auseans, in the district about Lake Tritonis, worshipped a goddess spoken of as "Athena", who had a sanctuary dedicated to her.[1] Herodotus states that the Ausean maidens kept year by year a feast in honour of this goddess, whereat their custom was to draw up in two bodies, and to fight with stones and clubs; and if any one of them died of the wounds she received she was declared to be a false maiden.[2] Mr. Bates maintains that the significance of the combat is not hard to divine: "it was a rain-ceremony in which was acted the strife between drought and rain".[3] St. Augustine speaks of an ancient feast called the *Caterva*, celebrated every year at a fixed time, at which the inhabitants of Cæsarea, divided into two camps, fought with stones.[4] In neither case is the meaning of the rite disclosed to us; and, as we have seen, ceremonial contests may serve other purposes than that of producing rain.

There are, finally, certain rain-charms which depend on the close association between rain and the crops. At Tangier I heard that when other methods of making rain have failed, the people try to find a holy fool carrying barley or wheat

[1] Scylax, *Periplus*, 110.

[2] Herodotus, iv. 180. *Cf.* Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* (*situ orbis*), i. 7.

[3] Bates, *op. cit.* p. 204 *sq.*

[4] St. Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, iv. 24 (53) (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, xxxiv.-xxxv. [Parisiis, 1845], col. 115).

under his cloak ; if they find one they take the corn and throw it on the ground, with the result that rain will certainly fall on the following night. At Demnat it is an old custom that before the people go to the *mṣálla* to pray for rain the scribes assemble at the place where wheat and barley are sold to recite the Koran and make *fâtḥa* and have a meal together ; a saint is said to be buried underneath a stone in that place, but my informant told me that the scribes go there not only for the sake of the saint but for the sake of the corn. In the same little town, as we have seen, the boys who walk about with a dressed-up ladle are presented with flour ; and the Aṯ Ubáḫṭi believe that unmarried persons who eat flour will have cold and rainy weather at their weddings. It is quite possible that the dressed-up winnowing-shovel and pitch-fork, which play such a conspicuous part in certain customs mentioned above,[1] are not meant as mere passive representatives of the thirsty crops but as actual rain-charms,[2] side by side with the ladle which is attached to the shovel or the shedding of tears and the ceremonies at the spring ; indeed, this is suggested by the fact that the pitch-fork is called by the same name as is in other cases given to the dressed-up ladle. Among the Ait Temsâmän the women and children carry about a peel used in the baking of bread (*ṯaḍarraḥt*), dressed up as a bride (*ṯäsriṯ*), singing, *Ġétna ġétna yâ llah s únzar inšá'ällah*, " Help us help us quickly, O God, with rain, if God will ".[3] In Andjra, if rain is wanted at the time when durra is sown, the ploughmen turn their ploughs upside down so that the points are directed towards the sky, and leave them in that position until it begins to rain ; or, if this proves ineffective, they go

[1] *Supra*, ii. 265, 268.

[2] With reference to the dressed-up winnowing-fork at Kerak in Palestine (see *supra*, ii. 269 n. 7), of which we are not told that it is brought in contact with water, Frazer remarks (*op. cit.* i. 276) that the charm would hardly be complete without this feature ; but this remark does not necessarily hold good if the winnowing-fork, instead of being a mere representative of vegetation, is itself looked upon as a positive means of producing rain.

[3] *Cf.* Biarnay, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif* (Paris, 1917), p. 174 *sqq.* (Ibqqóyẹn).

to the shrine of the patron saint of the village and place their ploughs there as *ār* on the saint. A servant of mine, a native of the Shāwîa, told me that his people use their ploughs as rain-charms by turning the points in the direction from which they hope rain will come, whilst their neighbours, the Z'air, try to obtain rain by ploughing in the ground without a plough-point. According to a story related by M. Bel, Mûlăi 'Abdrráḥman, when he was going to perform the *istisqā* outside Fez, stopped on his way at the sight of a man ploughing his master's field, took hold of his plough, made three furrows with it, and implored God to send rain; in the same moment a storm broke out and the rain lasted for three months, that is, as many months as furrows made by the Sultan.[1] We have previously noticed the belief that if the ploughman should remove the earth from the plough-share with water, there might be so much rain that he could not plough.[2]

While ploughs and ploughing thus figure in the rain-charms, they also, curiously enough, do so in the ceremonies performed for the purpose of stopping an over-supply of rain. The reason for this may be that, however desirable rain is for the crops, the ploughing is generally done in dry weather; but at the same time it cannot escape our notice that the ploughing which is intended to make the weather dry is of an altogether absurd and impossible kind. In Andjra a looking-glass, which, as we shall see, is by itself used as a dry-weather charm, is for the same purpose sometimes laid on the top of a plough and sometimes on a brass pestle placed outside the house in a standing position; there can be little doubt that the latter object, like the looking-glass, is chosen on account of its shiny appearance, and this gives additional

[1] Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 63. The following method of procuring rain is found among the Muhammadans of Syria :—" Nachdem sie ihre Kleider verkehrt angezogen haben, begeben sie sich in Procession, unter dem Absingen von geistlichen Liedern, vor die Stadt. Beim ersten Felde, das in der Nähe eines Heiligengrabes liegt, angelangt, lassen sie ein Paar Ochsen kommen; diese werden an den Pflug gespannt, und man bittet die Spitzen der Geistlichkeit, den Acker zu bepflügen. Diese Ceremonie wird gewöhnlich dreimal wiederholt, und die Muslimen glauben fest an den guten Erfolg derselben " (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 94).

[2] *Supra*, ii. 219.

support to the assumption that the plough, also, in the analogous case is regarded as a means of stopping the rain. At Fez, with the same object in view, a woman lies down on her stomach with the palms of her hands turned upwards, and another woman pushes a plough without its point along her back; the expanded hands are said to represent sunshine, but it is obvious that a magical effect is also attributed to the "ploughing". A widespread method of stopping or preventing rain is to plough with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough; I have found this custom among the Arabs of the Mnáṣăra and Ġarbîya, among the Brâber of the Ait Waráin, and at Mequinez.[1] In the spring of 1910, when I was staying in Fez, it was reported there that a woman at Mequinez had just been put into prison because she had ploughed with cats and sown salt, repeating the words, *L-gṭōṭ ma iḥartˢû ši, l-mélḥa ma tenbét ši, štˢa ma ṭṭeḥ ši*, "The cats will not plough, the salt will not grow, rain will not fall". It was said that she had been bribed to do so for four dollars a day by a man who had a large quantity of corn and consequently wanted its value to rise. In the Ġarbîya I was likewise told that the ploughing with cats is an act of sorcery only done for wicked and selfish purposes.

In this ceremony, also, there is another rain-preventing factor besides the ploughing, namely, the cats, which are well known to have a great dislike for rain and therefore are made use of in ceremonies intended to stop it.[2] Thus among the Aiṭ Sádděn, when there is too much rain, a woman takes a cat, ties up its legs to prevent it from doing harm or running away, and beats it, saying, *Ṣṣăbb ṣṣăbb 'ámmar š-šta ma ṣṣabb*, "*Ṣṣăbb ṣṣăbb* (the exclamation generally used for driving away a cat), the rain will never fall". Like the cat the fowl, which is also much afraid of rain, sometimes figures as a dry weather charm. Among the Iglíwa, when it is raining at a wedding, a hen is thrown out through the

[1] See also Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 391 (Marráksh).

[2] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 252. In the Malay Archipelago cats are, on the contrary, frequently made use of in ceremonies intended to procure rain; but in these cases they are invariably drenched with water, ducked in a pool, or thrown into a stream (Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 289, 291).

window of the house, and some sort of magic is then practised with it by a woman. In Andjra women try to make the weather dry by taking a neighbour's cat and cock at night and smudging their eyes with soot from an earthenware pan used for baking bread (*l-máqla ḏe l-ḫobz*).

This ceremony, however, may be traced not only to the cat's and cock's dislike of rain but also to the natural antagonism between water and fire and the latter's connection with soot. In order to stop rain the women of the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi blacken the eyes of a bitch with antimony, which may perhaps be regarded as a more refined substitute for soot. As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain.[1] Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Ḗsa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (*anaḫăḍḍam*) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air. At Aglu, when it is raining much at a wedding, the girls take some of the water with which the bride has washed herself before her first intercourse and boil it in a pot. They then throw into it scrapings from inside her slippers, as also a small bit of her clothes, cover up the pot, take it outside the house, and leave it there, with the result that the rain will cease to fall in the place where the wedding is held, though it may continue in the neighbourhood. The Mnáṣăra, in order to get dry weather, thrust the plough-point into the fire on the hearth or throw out fire in front of seven tents. The Aiṯ Mjilḏ put into the fire a big needle ;[2] whilst in the Ḥiáina a needle, which has been made red-hot in an earthenware pan kept over the fire, is thrust into the threshing-floor, to be removed again when there has been enough sunshine.[3] Perhaps we may assume that the threshing-floor plays a part in this and some other ceremonies, which will be mentioned presently, because it is only used in dry weather. In Andjra a fall of snow is stopped by some snow being thrown into the

[1] See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 250. According to an Arab historian, a tribe of nomads in Ḥaḍramaut in Arabia, in order to stop rain, cut a branch from a certain tree in the desert, set it on fire, and then sprinkled the burning brand with water (Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 252).

[2] *Cf.* Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 250.

[3] *Cf.* Biarnay, *op. cit.* p. 179 *sq.* (Ibqqóyeṇ).

fire; and to make rain cease, women secretly carry away at night a neighbour's earthenware pan and bury it in a dung-hill. In the same district, when it is raining too much, a girl by name Ráḥma who is a first-born goes to the house of a woman who has been married a second time to a bachelor, and stealthily takes from its fire-place (*ḳânūn*) a stone, which is then buried in an old threshing-floor no longer used. When the girl together with other women go to bury the stone they chant, *D-derdûša mâtˢetˢ l-qáila ăḥmâtˢ*, "The loaf of durra-bread has died, the sun has got hot". A variation of this custom is that all three stones are taken from the fire-place [1] and that the woman who was married to a bachelor must not have given birth to a child. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr women for the same purpose take a stone from the fire-place and bury it in the waste land outside the village, pretending to scratch their faces as at a funeral and singing antiphonally, *Immûṯ bâba Dérduš, mäi ṯinġan?* "Father Dérduš has died, who killed him?"—*Inġaṯ wúni n ḥéḍran*, "The gutter of pitch (which was made to prevent the rain from entering the tent) has killed him". Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, who have the same custom, the answer is that "the heavy rain has killed *ddârduš*". Of this burying of a stone from the fire-place the following explanation was given me in Andjra:—"What is the use of having a fire-place when the rain is destroying the crops? It is just as well to bury it in the ground; then God will have pity upon us and make the sun shine." This explanation agrees with the song about the death of the durra-loaf, but seems nevertheless to be a later religious interpretation of a magical practice closely allied to others just mentioned—those of boiling water, throwing snow into the fire, heating a plough-point or needle, thrusting a hot needle into the threshing-floor, or throwing out fire. All these practices may be based on the antagonism between fire and water, but some of them, including the burial of the stone or stones from the fire-place, may also have been directly intended to make the sun shine owing to the resemblance between fire or heat and sunshine; the latter explanation is, in fact, distinctly suggested by the

[1] Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 251.

phrase "the sun has got hot", as also by kindred customs which depend on an association between sunshine and whiteness.

Thus, in the Ḥiáina, when the rain threatens to destroy the crops and sunshine is much desired, a woman takes a raw egg, makes a hole in one end of it, pours out its contents, and keeps the empty shell under a leak in the roof so that it gets partly filled with rain-water; she then seals up the opening with paste and buries the shell in a threshing-floor or dunghill, from which it is only removed when rain is again wanted. In Andjra women for a similar purpose steal an egg from a girl who is a first-born, and bury it together with a needle in an unclaimed grave or an old threshing-floor. In the same district, on the occasion when the corn to be used for a wedding is cleaned in the bridegroom's house, a raw egg in a bowl is put on the top of one of the heaps "in order that the wedding shall be without rain and the life of the bridegroom shall be white".[1] Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi and the Aiṯ Nḏēr, as well as in the Ḥiáina, the game called *sīg*—or *ssīg*, as is the Berber form of the word—is believed to cause sunshine. It is played with the quarter parts of a split bamboo cane, which are thrown up in the air, and the scoring, which is marked with pebbles, depends on which side is turned upwards when they fall down; this game is regarded as a sun-charm on account of the shiny appearance of the cane, and such efficacy is attributed to it that if, in the Ḥiáina, persons are seen playing it when sunshine is not desired, the sticks are taken away from them and broken. The Ait Waráin make fine weather by putting a looking-glass on the roof of the house or tent, no doubt because the glittering of the glass is thought to produce sunshine.[2] At Marráksh, if rain falls at a wedding, the girls resort to a similar method to stop it; while at Tangier the bride for the same purpose gazes into a looking-glass. In Andjra, as we have seen, a looking-glass is laid on a brass pestle as a dry weather charm. In the same district sunshine is also obtained by a newly

[1] *Supra*, ii. 19. For the idea that the whitewashing of a house causes sunshine see *supra*, ii. 172. *Cf. infra*, p. 331.

[2] *Cf.* Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 249 *sq.*

married couple, still regarded as bride and bridegroom, taking off their drawers and lifting up their clothes as far as their shoulders; in this case there seems to be an association between sunshine and the brightness of the naked bodies, or, perhaps, between the latter and a cloudless sky.[1]

But while rain in many cases is thus stopped by actions that are in the first place intended to produce sunshine, there are various dry-weather charms, besides those mentioned above, which have direct reference to the rain. Parallel to the antagonism between water and fire is that between water and oil, and this also has been used for the purpose of making the weather dry; thus among the Aiṭ Yúsi, at a rainy wedding, the bride fills her mouth with oil, which she then spits out into a hole in a stone. Moreover, written charms are used to put a stop to rain, as also they are to produce it. At Marráksh a man who is afraid that the rain is going to spoil the fruit in his garden asks a scribe to write for him a charm, which is then suspended from a tree; and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque. Sometimes the rain is, as it were, tied up. The Mnâṣăra girdle a dog with a *qáffäl*, or the cloth tied round the edge of the steamer in which *séksû* is made in order to prevent the steam from escaping; and among the Aiṭ Nḏēr a string is tied round the body of a bitch, which is then, in the evening, taken about in the village by the women, who cry out, *Ášt ašt a ṯîḏitt ṯaġ ṯmâra lállnněm*, "Come come O bitch, distress befalls your mistress". Among the Aït Waráin, if there is a hailstorm, a woman whose first-born was a boy takes a hailstone and splits it with a sickle saying, *Nettš ġárṣaġ i ušérra immút*, "I slaughtered the hail, it died".

[1] In the Trichinopoly district in Southern India, "when the tanks and rivers threaten to breach their banks, men stand naked on the bund, and beat their drums; and, if too much rain falls, naked men point firebrands at the sky. Their nudity is supposed to shock the powers that bring the rain, and arrest their further progress. According to Mr. Francis, when too much rain falls, the way to stop it is to send the eldest son to stand in it stark naked, with a torch in hand" (Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions in Southern India* [London, 1912], p. 309).

There are also means of dispelling a fog. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi it is done by a boy or unmarried youth, who is both his father's and mother's first child, lifting up his clothes, showing his bottom to the fog, and saying, *'Arra a ṭág^{w}utt nġadd aḏ'árraġ*, " Make yourself naked O fog, or else I will make myself naked ". A similar custom is found among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi and in Dukkâla, whilst among the Ait Waráin some unmarried girls go out and raise their clothes a little, singing *Ya tayútt ya tayútt 'árri nġad 'árriġ*, " O fog O fog, make yourself naked or else I shall make myself naked ". The words clearly indicate the association of ideas which underlie these practices, the fog being looked upon as a kind of clothing ; but the posture of the boy or youth also suggests the idea of driving away the fog. The Aiṭ Sádděn turn away the fog by turning over seven big stones. In Andjra the boys say to the fog, *Ahráb yā ḍbab qábla yáḳluk ḍ-ḍwâri ḍe l-'árab*, " Fly O fog before the dogs of the Arabs eat you ".

In speaking of winnowing we have previously noticed certain ceremonies performed with a view to raising the wind, such as the making of a cairn, the suspension of an object in the air, and the telling of a lie.[1] There are other methods of making the wind blow. One is to play on a sieve (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Ait Waráin, etc.), which is, no doubt, supposed to have this effect partly because the sieve is in constant motion when being used and partly on account of the sound. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a child who is seen playing on a sieve is stopped by its elders, as its action is believed to produce east wind. In Andjra, in order to get a cooling wind when the weather is very hot, an unmarried girl plays on a sieve with a little cat inside it, singing *Ara rwaḥ yā sîḏi, ána meryáḥa yā sîḏi*, " Give a breeze O my Lord, I am possessed with spirits (lit. winds), O my Lord ". It is said that the noise of the cat also helps to bring about the desired result, and the same is the case when, for a similar purpose, a cat is placed in the centre of a millstone which is then set in motion. At Tangier, if a baldheaded man removes his turban or fez in the street, the people say to him, " Cover

[1] *Supra*, ii. 231 *sq.*

your head cover your head, the east wind is coming"; the hairless head produces the cloudless sky characteristic of the east wind. Among the Iglíwa, when persons go to visit a certain place in the mountains, old people tell them that they must not walk on loose stones, which are liable to roll down and knock against other stones, since this would produce a gale. Here, then, we have another instance of the connection between stones and the wind. Moreover, when the mountaineers living near the miracle-working spring Imi n Tâla in the tribe Igdmiūn in the Great Atlas have a quarrel with their neighbours on the plain, they throw a stone into the spring to cause a gale, which does not abate until they offer up on its margin a plate of porridge prepared without salt, as the spirits of the waters like to have it. Again, when a strong gale has been blowing for several days, a black bullock is sacrificed at the same spring to make the weather calm. At Aglu, when there is much wind, a woman who has a sucking boy takes a little piece off his shirt, puts it into his right hand, and keeps the hand closed until an egg is brought—the first egg laid by a pullet; she wraps up the egg in the rag and places it in an old earthenware pot no longer used, which is then buried in an out-of-the way place by a barren woman. This resembles the Ḥiáina custom of stopping rain by burying an egg-shell filled with rain-water. The rag, which is shut up in the boy's hand and then buried, seems to represent the wind—it should be noticed that in the same tribe a rag is tied to a reed to raise the wind[1]; and the whiteness of the egg may in this case also be supposed to make the weather bright.

We have noticed instances in which the same ceremony is performed sometimes to make rain and sometimes to raise the wind, and so also the same method is occasionally used both for stopping rain and laying the wind. Thus the Arabs of Dukkâla tie up the wind by tying a black *qáffäl* round the body of a dog from the first litter of pups born of a bitch, just as the Mnáṣăra tie a similar cloth round a dog to put a stop to rain. In the Ḥiáina, when an easterly gale is blowing, people tie a blue cotton strip round the tail of a

[1] *Supra*, ii. 231.

dog so tightly as to make it howl, sprinkle its head with salt, and let it run. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts. The Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, when there is a strong wind, hang a mallet (*ázḏuz*) under the stomach of a bitch, and do not remove it until the wind abates. At Fez I heard that people calm the wind by putting an olive leaf in water to prevent it from blowing about. The Aiṯ Yúsi stop an easterly gale by burning a bit of the tail of an animal which has been sacrificed at the Great Feast,[1] and the people of the Ḥiáina by burning the dried blood of such an animal.[2]

[1] *Supra*, ii. 125. [2] *Supra*, ii. 123.

CHAPTER XVIII

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATING TO ANIMALS

THE HORSE.—A stallion is called in Arabic *'aud*, plur. *ḫaṣil*; a mare *'áuda*; a pack-horse *kidār*, plur. *kiâdar*; a foal *(d)jḏa'*, plur. *(d)jḏô'ă*, fem. *(d)jĕḏ'a*. In Berber a stallion is called *agŭmar* or *agmar* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), plur. *igŭmarn* (Amanūz), *ayis*, plur. *îsan* (Iglíwa), *iyis*, plur. *iysän* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *yis*, plur. *iḫsän* (Ait Waráin) or *iḫsän* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *yīs*, plur. *iysän* (Ṭemsâmän); a mare *tagŭmart* or *tagmart*, plur. *tagmârin* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *ṭägʸmärṭ*, plur. *ṭiġallin* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *täimärt*, plur. *täimârin* (Ait Waráin), *r'auḍa*, plur. *ra'yäḍ* (Ṭemsâmän); a male foal *ajda'*, plur. *ijd'an* (Amanūz) or *ajd'an* (Iglíwa), *ijda'*, plur. *ijd'an* or *ijd'aun* (Ait Waráin), *ijḍa'*, plur. *ijḏ'an* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ṭemsâmän).

We have previously noticed a variety of beliefs and customs connected with the idea that the horse is a holy animal.[1] It may be treated almost as a member of the family. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz a man on a feast day salutes his horse before he salutes any of his people; he says to it, *Ṣvaḥ l-ḫair*, "Good morning", touches its head with his right hand, and then kisses his fingers. So also anybody who visits the owner of a horse during the feast goes first to the horse and salutes it; and the women of the family, before painting their hands with henna, apply the same colouring matter to some white spot on the horse. When a mare gives birth to a male foal the event is celebrated on the seventh day, like the birth of a child, by the firing of guns in honour of the owner and by a feast given by him.

[1] *Supra*, i. 97-99, 229, 230, 232, 233, 239, 242, 254, 256. For customs relating to horses see also 'Index', *s.v.* Horse.

In the Ḥiáina, if a mare foals, the wife of its owner makes *bsîsa*, consisting of parched wheaten flour mixed with butter, and gives a small portion of it to each family in the village that has milk-producing animals ; otherwise the foal would die and the villagers would get no butter from their milk. Moreover, for seven days both the mare and the foal must remain in the stable, so as not to be hurt by the evil eye. The Aiṭ Nḍēr likewise believe that there will be little butter in the village unless, on the birth of a foal, each of the various households receives a handful of parched flour mixed with butter and calls down blessings on the foal and its mother. Among the Ait Waráin, on a similar occasion, the milk of the mare is boiled and given to the children, in order that the mare shall bear many foals in the future—as many as there are children partaking of its milk ; and the owner of the mare also kills a goat or a lamb and invites his neighbours to eat of it, or distributes among them some dried fruit, in order that they shall bless his animals. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, if a mare has foaled, no fire must be given out from the house or tent of its owner for three days.

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, if a mare proves infertile or its foals die soon after birth, its owner takes it three times round a shrine and hangs round its neck some earth from the shrine (*l-ḥánna dyāl s-sîyĭd*, " the henna of the saint "), enclosed in a small bag, promising to give to the saint a sheep or a goat if he will cure the mare. In Andjra, if a horse, mule, or donkey is fond of running away, its halter (*škîma*) is taken to a shrine and left there.

In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal ; after they have eaten they make *fåṭḥa*, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Wäryåġer). Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, when a man for the first time buys a horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow he invites the men of the village, or some of them, to a supper consisting of *sĕksů* and meat and tea ; if a horse is bought, all the men who are themselves owners of horses must be invited, and should anybody be omitted a fine has to be paid to him. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, if a sheikh buys

a horse or a mule, he gives some dates to everybody who calls on him, as a blessing, but all his subjects must also make him a present of something—for example, a fowl or a sheep or a silver coin, the value of the gift being left to their own discretion. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought. In Andjra a person who buys an animal which is larger than a sheep also buys some meat, with which he entertains his own children and the little children of the village as well; this is supposed to safeguard the animal from evil influences and prolong its life. If the animal is a horse, mule, or donkey, he puts some silver object or dollar-pieces on the ground and makes the animal walk over it, and he breaks an egg against its forehead. In the Ḥiáina, when a horse is bought, an egg is likewise broken against its forehead, and some white wool is tied to its right foreleg. Its new owner kills a sheep or goat or fowl and invites the men and women of the village to supper, and when the meal is finished they make *fâtˢḥa*, invoking blessings on the horse; and on the same evening its forehead, chest, and forefeet are smeared with henna. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn the mistress of the house ties some white wool to one of the ankles of a newly bought stallion or cow and lets it remain there till it comes off by itself. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (*ḏamqayyäsṯ*) or a pair of silver brooches (*ḏibzîmin*, sing. *ḏäbzind*), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (*azqaq*) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away. Among the Iglíwa a newly bought horse or mule is taken over a bowl of milk which has been placed on the threshold of the house, or over some flour strewn on it. I was told that the good effects of the egg, wool, milk, and flour are due to their whiteness, and in the case of the wool also to its *baraka*, which it possesses as coming from a holy animal.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the stallion must, on the day when it was bought, be fed with barley by some other person than its new owner; and if no friend comes and feeds it of his own accord, the mistress of the house goes to a respectable person of good family and asks him to provide barley for the horse. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a newly bought stallion or mare is taken by its new owner to somebody in the village who likewise belongs to a "big family" (*ṯáḥamt támqqŏranṯ*), and he not only feeds it with barley, but smears its forehead with salt butter to give it the benefit of the *baraka* inherent in his family. Or if a person buys a horse or mule, the mistress of a house or tent belonging to such a family smears the place between its eyes with milk or flour to give it good luck; while if a bullock or cow is bought she for the same purpose ties some wool to its tail. In the same tribe it is regarded as a good omen if a horse, mule, bullock, or cow urinates when it is bought, or immediately before or after, or when it has just arrived at the place of its new owner, and one of its feet is then dipped into its own urine; but if it dungs on any of these occasions it is considered an evil foreboding, and if it does so before being sold the would-be buyer refuses to buy it. It is said to be lucky both to sell and to buy horses:—*Bé'ă l-ḥail u šri l-ḥail tˢnāl l-ḥair* (Ḥiáina).

At Fez young girls smear their vulva with the lather of a stallion in order to prevent the growth of hair; and Höst says that the lather of a horse is used as a remedy for the sting of a scorpion.[1] To wash one's face with water from which a horse, a mule, or a donkey has drunk prevents the eyes from getting diseased (Tangier). In Dukkâla it is considered wholesome for a horse to eat its own excrements.

The Ass.—A he-ass is called in Arabic *ḥămâr*, plur. *ḥămîr*, and a she-ass *ḥămâra*. In Berber a he-ass is called *aġyul*, plur. *iġuyaḷ* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *iġyäl* (Ait Waráin) or *iġʷyäl* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *aġyur*, plur. *iġyär* (Ṯemsâmän) or *iġyer* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); a she-ass *taġyult*, plur. *tiġuyaḷ* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *tiġyäl* (Ait Waráin), *ṯaġyulṯ*, plur.

[1] Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* (Kiøbenhavn, 1779), p. 282.

ṯiġʷyäl (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ṯaġyutš*, plur. *ṯiġvär* (Ṯemsâmän). A young donkey is called in Arabic *daḥš*, plur. *dḥôša*, fem. *dáḥša*; in Berber *asnus*, plur. *isnạs* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *isnäs* (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän), fem. *tasnust*, plur. *tisnạs* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *tisnäs* or *tisnûsin* (Ait Waráin), *ṯasnuṯ*, plur. *ṯisnäs* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ṯemsâmän).

While the horse is a holy animal, the ass is a wicked one. It is unlucky to keep a donkey, because it is constantly praying that some misfortune shall befall its master. When it is braying it is cursing him, or Šíṭan is riding on its tail or blowing into its ear, or it sees the devil and wants to drive him away by cursing him; hence some people, when hearing the bray of a donkey, resort to the phrase, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate".[1] When a donkey is ridden by some person it says, *A sîdi Běl 'Abbāṣ l-gŭffa u l-fās*, "O my lord Běl 'Abbāṣ, basket and hoe"; which means a prayer for the death of the rider, as a grave is dug with a hoe and the earth is removed with a basket (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). A Berber from Aglu told me that a donkey with a black spot in its mouth, when ridden on, is continually saying, *Táryält d úgělzim*, "Basket and hoe". Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad *fäl*. If a person falls off a donkey he is seriously injured or will die in consequence, whereas the fall from a horse is generally harmless (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).[2] Yet in spite of its wickedness the donkey is appreciated for its usefulness. It is good both for riding and for all sorts of drudgery; hence it is compared to the ridge-pole of a tent—*L-ḥmār hûwa l-ḥommâr* (*ibid.*). And it is also good for a variety of medicinal and magical purposes.

If a person has burned his skin he cuts off a small piece of

[1] Among the North African Hausa a braying donkey is said to be calling Iblis (Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori* [London, 1914], p. 222).

[2] They also have the saying, *L-'aud bạ'd yĕrkĕb á'lih múlạḥ ikún qábrů māḥlúl ta yẹ̆nzél*, "When the owner of a horse has mounted it, his grave will be open until he gets down"; but this only refers to reckless riding.

a donkey's ear and touches the burn with it (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). If a man treats his wife badly or she wants to take liberties with other men, she boils a little piece of a donkey's ear together with mallows (*bqûl*) and salt butter or oil and gives this mixture to her husband to eat; he will then listen to what she says, as a donkey obeys its master (Andjra). Or if a married woman wants to rule over her husband she procures a little piece of a donkey's tongue and makes him eat it together with food (Fez). She may dry and pound it and put the powder into *sĕksû* or bread which he is going to eat (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz), or into his tea; but the woman who told me of this insisted that the lump of sugar used for the sweetening of the tea should be the top of a sugar loaf (Tsūl). Powder made of the dried brain of a donkey is also for a similar purpose mixed with the husband's food (Ṯemsâmän). In the south of Morocco scribes dry and pound a piece of a donkey's liver to make use of when they are digging for treasure: if a scribe has found money in the ground and is afraid of being killed by those who have been digging with him, he burns some of the powder so that the fume is inhaled by them and makes them sleep, and he in consequence can escape with all the money. The Ait Waráin give donkey's milk to little children to make them sleep. The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (*ḍmaġġiṯ*; Aiṯ Wäryâġer);[1] and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). It is also used as a remedy for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (*ibid.*). It is secretly given to quarrelsome women to make them quiet, and, by jealous and revengeful persons, to women to deprive them of their singing voice (Ulâd-Bû'ăzîz), and to scribes to make

[1] Among the Shawia of Algeria whooping-cough is treated by drinking hot ass's milk (Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Arab and Shawia Remedies and Notes on the Trepanning of the Skull in Algeria', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xliii. [London, 1913], p. 710).

them unable to recite the Koran properly, as it is supposed to make their voices resemble that of a donkey (*ibid.*, Fez).

A cure for gonorrhea is to have sexual intercourse with a she-ass on three days in succession (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).[1] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Aiṯ Wäryâġer); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn. In Andjra a person who has intercourse with another man's animal has to buy for it new shoes, a new pack-saddle, and new panniers; he must, besides, feed it for a day, and if it becomes ill he will have to pay its price, as the sperm of a man is considered to be injurious to a female animal. But with his own animal a man can do with impunity whatever he likes.

The Mule.—The male is called in Arabic *bġal*, plur. *bġāl* or *bġůla*, and the female *báġla*. In Berber the male is called *aserdun*, plur. *iserdan* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *iserḍaṇ* (Ait Waráin), *aserḍun*, plur. *iserḍaṇ* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *asāḍun*, plur. *isāḍen* (Ṯemsâmän); the female *taserdunṯ*, plur. *tiserdan* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *tiserḍaṇ* (Ait Waráin), *ṯaserḍunṯ*, plur. *ṯiserḍaṇ* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ṯäsāḍunt*, plur. *ṯisāḍen* (Ṯemsâmän). A young male is called in Berber *ašniḍ*, plur. *išnaḍ* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *ašnüḍ*, plur. *išnů̈ḍěn* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *az'ăoq*, plur. *iz'ăóqn* (Ait Waráin), *ifríyăḫ*, plur. *ifríyḫen* (Ṯemsâmän); and a young female *tašniṯṯ*, plur. *tišnaḍ* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *ṯifrîyăḫ'*, plur. *ṯifríyḫin* (Ṯemsâmän).

At Fez I was told that if a mule, not a horse, is making a hole in the ground with one of its fore-feet it is digging the grave of its master, and he is anxious to sell it. The Ulâd

[1] *Cf.* Quedenfeldt, 'Krankheiten, Volksmedizin und abergläubische Kuren in Marocko', in *Das Ausland*, lxiv. (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 79. For a cure of syphilis by means of the pounded hoofs of a donkey see *infra*, p. 322.

Bů'ăzîz maintain that a mule with a black spot in its mouth is ill-omened and should be got rid of; and, as already said, there is a similar superstition among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer. While procreative virtue is attributed to the ass, the mule is used in magic to produce sterility; a woman who is induced to eat bread made of flour mixed with the charred hoof-parings of a mule will become as barren as this animal (Aglu).[1]

We are told of saints whose dead bodies, by their own command, have been carried by mules to the places where they lie buried—for example, Sîdi Ḥbīb and Sîdi Mḥámmed ben Menṣōr;[2] while Sîdi Bůnäga was carried by a she-camel to his grave in the district of the Ait Wauzgit.

THE CAMEL.—The male is called in Arabic *(d)jmel*, plur. *(d)jmāl*, and the female *(d)jémla* or *nâga*. In Berber the male is called *ara'm*, plur. *ira'man* (Amanūz), *alġom*, plur. *ilġoman* (Iglíwa), *alġumm*, plur. *ilůġmaṇ* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *alġam*, plur. *ilġmaṇ* (Ait Waráin) or *ilăġmän* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *arġĕm*, plur. *irġmän* (Ṯemsâmän); and a female *tara'mt*, plur. *tira'min* (Amanūz), *talġomt*, plur. *tilġomin* (Iglíwa), *ṯärġĕnt*, plur. *ṯirġmin* (Ṯemsâmän). A young male is called in Berber *igīz*, plur. *igîzn* (Amanūz), *awarai*, plur. *iwarain* (Iglíwa), *ab'ĕir* (*ibid.*), *aj'ăuḍ*, plur. *ij'ăuḍĕn* (Ṯemsâmän); and a young female *tawarait* (Iglíwa), *tab'ĕirt* (*ibid.*), *ṯaj'ăut*, plur. *ṯij'ăuḍin* (Ṯemsâmän).

Many medicinal qualities are attributed to the camel. A piece of its larynx is hung round the neck of a child suffering from whooping-cough (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Fez, Ait Waráin); this medicine is offered for sale at Fez. Another cure for the same illness is to drink melted camel's fat (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). The head of a boy affected with ringworm is rubbed with camel's brain (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). The urine of a camel is drunk as a remedy for fever; but a Berber friend of mine told me that he had tried this cure for three successive days at Fez without any effect at all. A person who has a rank breath rinses his mouth with the same fluid (Iglíwa); and schoolboys who are afraid of being beaten by their master let a camel make water on their legs in order

[1] *Supra*, i. 576.

[2] See also *supra*, i. 82 *sq.*

to become insensible to pain (Northern Morocco). A head-gear consisting of camel-hair cords, which is frequently used by men in many parts of the country, is considered a protection against headache (Ait Waráin). If a calf is troubled with vermin (*l-gĕmla dyālt lĕ-bgár*), a small piece of a camel's skin with the hair on is tied to its right ear to relieve it of the trouble (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). If a person suffers from scabies, the bone of a camel is charred and pounded, and his body is rubbed with the powder mixed with tar (Aiṯ Nḍēr). Camel's flesh is eaten as a cure for boils (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); and it is considered good for every person to eat it at some time in every year, because it strengthens the body, the camel being itself a strong animal (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Sádděn).[1] On the other hand, should a greyhound eat camel's flesh it would become ill and die.[2] A Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that a person can protect himself against all sorts of witchcraft by pushing his arm into the mouth of a camel; but he should first put a stick between its jaws to prevent it from biting him.

Cattle.—An ox is called in Arabic *ṯ'aur* (*ṯaur*), plur. *ṯ'īrān* (*ṯīrān*), and a cow *báqra*. In Berber an ox is called *a'álluš*, plur. *i'állaš* (Amanūz), *azger* (*ibid.*, Iglíwa), *akentōr*, plur. *ikůntār* or *isággen* (Iglíwa), *azzyer*, plur. *izzyårn* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *afůnäs*, plur. *ifůnåsn* (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän); a cow *tamůgait* (Iglíwa), *tafunäst*, plur. *tisitan* (*ibid.*), *tafůnäst*, plur. *tifůnåsin* (Amanūz, Ait Waráin), *ṯafunäsṯ*, plur. *ṯifůnåsin* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ṯafůnäsṯ*, plur. *ṯifůnåsin* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏafůnäsṯ*, plur. *ḏifůnåsin* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). A calf is called in Arabic *'ăjel*, plur. *'ăjúl*, fem. *'ájla*; in Berber *igīz*, plur. *igéizn*, fem. *tigīzt*, plur. *tigéizin* (Iglíwa), *ageiz*, plur. *igéizn* (Ait Waráin), *ạinduz*, plur. *iyndúzn* (*ibid.*, Ṯemsâmän), fem. *ṯäindusṯ*, plur. *ṯiyndúzin* (Ṯemsâmän), *a'jli*, plur. *i'ăjlīn* (Aiṯ Sádděn). Cattle are collectively called in Arabic *bqar*, and in Berber *izgêrn* (Amanūz) or *izgärn* (Iglíwa), (plur. of *azger*, ox), *izzyårn* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ifůnåsn* (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän).

We have already noticed some practices which are

[1] See also *infra*, p. 384. [2] *Supra*, i. 255.

observed when an ox or a cow is bought. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion. In Andjra, if a cow gives birth to a calf, the owner of it should treat the cowherd either with *rġaif* (round cakes made of dough without yeast and a little salt) and salt butter or oil, or with sponge fritters, called *šfĕn^{d}j*. If he omits doing it the cowherd will have his revenge: he takes the after-birth (*sélwa*) of the cow, which he got hold of secretly, to the place where the calf was born, and burns it there in the belief that this will cause the death of the calf. Among the Ait Wárain on the day when a calf is born a few friends are invited to supper and treated with *bâzin*, that is, *sĕksû* made of small lumps of flour with milk and salt butter; and the calf is for seven days kept inside the house or tent so as not to be exposed to the evil eye. Among the Ait Temsâmän a cow which has calved must for the same reason remain in the yard for forty days. Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi no fire must be taken out of a tent for seven days after the birth of a calf (or a child), lest its eyes should get diseased.[1] At Aglu, when a cow which has calved many times dies it is not allowed to be eaten by the dogs, but is buried; the cow was good to you, and you should be good to her.

The slaughter of cattle is sometimes accompanied with a ritual which makes it resemble a communal sacrifice. Among the Jbâla, or at least some of them, the villagers are every year visited by a so-called *ḏĕbbâḥ l-bqar*, who selects an ox or a cow, or perhaps more than one, to be slaughtered at the expense of the villagers, who compensate the owner of the animal for his loss. The *ḏĕbbâḥ l-bqar* receives some money and food-stuff from the people; and the liver and some meat of the slaughtered animal are always given to him, while the other parts of it are divided between the villagers. During my stay at Ḍâr Fĕllaq, in the tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb, the village was visited by such a person, who was a

[1] See also *supra*, i. 294.

shereef of the Wazzan family ; all the cattle were gathered at an open place, and the sheeref called down blessings on the people and their animals. It is believed that if the selected animal were not slaughtered it would soon die a natural death ; and in Andjra I was told that there also would be sickness and death among the other animals, whereas the slaughtered ox or cow removes the *baṣ*, or evil, from the village. There, too, the *ḏĕbbâḥ l-bqar* is always a Wazzan shereef. At Mazagan I heard of a *dĕbbâḥ lĕ-bgár*, a holy man, who visited the villages in the neighbourhood. When the animal which he had chosen was brought to him, he and the people made *fâṭḥa*, calling down blessings on its owner. They said, *Fâṭḥa, l-flān a'ṭána bágra âḥna a'ṭainâh 'ášra, flān llah yĕḥléfha lih bĕ l-'ášra, "Fâṭḥa*, So-and-so gave us a cow, we gave him ten, may God recompense him for it by the ten ". The holy man stroked the back of the animal a few times, it fell down, and then he slaughtered it. Its body was divided equally between the men of the village, but a portion equal to that received by every man was also given to the *dĕbbâḥ lĕ-bgár*, who afterwards might sell his portion at an unusually high price on account of the *baraka* ascribed to it. *Fâṭḥa* was also made when the animal was divided, and once more after the supper in the mosque, at which the men of the village, with the *dĕbbâḥ lĕ-bgár*, partook of the meat. My native informant had himself witnessed all this at Sîdi Mûsa, outside Mazagan. He said that if the chosen animal is not allowed to be killed it will be useless or die, whereas the blessings said in connection with the slaughter of it are good for the other animals. The place in Dukkâla, in the district of the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, where I was staying for a considerable time, had not within the memory of the people been visited by a *dĕbbâḥ lĕ-bgár*. I have not found this custom among any Berber-speaking tribes, although I have made fairly extensive inquiries for it, particularly among the Rifians and the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas.

Cattle are not so stupid as they look. If a funeral procession meets a herd of cattle on its way to the cemetery, and the cattle are bellowing when it passes, the dead person will

go to hell; the cattle are aware of it (Andjra). Yet neither cattle nor sheep are intelligent in our sense of the word, nor have they a good memory; hence, if a schoolboy eats the brain of either he will forget what he has learned (Fez). There may be medicinal virtue in cattle. If a person is affected with leucoma (*lĕ-biáḍ fi l-'ain*), his eyes are painted with the gall of a black cow mixed with honey which has been procured without driving away the bees with smoke, in the same manner as women's eyes are painted with antimony; the cow must be black because of the whiteness of the affected eye (Ḥiáina).

While the excrements of men and any animals which are not used for food are much haunted by *jnūn*, the dung of cattle, camels, sheep, and goats is regarded as clean and even as possessed of some *baraka*. Cow-dung is used as a means of purification.[1] In Andjra hunters fumigate themselves with the smoke of burned cow-dung in order to be successful in the hunt.[2] At Midsummer the bees are fumigated with it in order that they shall produce much honey and not be harmed by the evil eye nor destroyed by thunder nor robbed of their honey by vermin; they are purified by the smoke of cow-dung "just as men are purified by water".[3] Among many tribes the women who scratch their faces at funerals rub the wounds with cow-dung.[4] A remedy for ulceration is the fresh excrements of a calf: they are heated on one of the stones of the fire-place and then applied to the ulcer and left there for a day or a night (Aiṯ Nḏēr).[5] In the Ḥiáina, before a person is starting to catch partridges or pigeons or other birds, he pours some urine of a cow into a bowl, and puts into it some arsenic (*zárnēḫ*) and, on the top of it, some wheat. He covers the bowl and lets it stand till the third day, when he strews the wheat, which has now absorbed the urine, at the place where he hopes to catch the birds; and I was told that they will come

[1] *Cf.* Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 268 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 240. [3] *Supra*, ii. 183 *sqq.* [4] *Infra*, p. 437 *sqq.*

[5] Rohlfs states (*Adventures in Morocco* [London, 1874], p. 90) that in some parts of the country wounds are dressed with cow-dung.

there in great numbers. There are euphemistic names for cow-dung.[1]

The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic *ḥlīb* or *ḥălîb*; and in Berber *akfai* (Amanūz), *takfit* (Iglíwa), *aġġû âkffa* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi), *aġi* (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi), *ašäffäi* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *ašffäi* (Ṯemsâmän, Ait Waráin). Buttermilk is called in Arabic *lben*; and in Berber *aġû* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *aġġû anddu* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi), *aġi ašĕmmaṃ* (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi), *aġiy* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *aġi* (Ṯemsâmän, Ait Waráin). Curded milk is called in Arabic *râyîb* or *raib*; and in Berber *ikkil* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ekkir* (Aiṯ Yúsi), *aklil* (Ait Waráin), *attšil* (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi), *aššir* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän).[2]

The *baraka* ascribed to cow's milk and various observances connected with it have been described above.[3] In another work I have mentioned many instances of the ceremonial use made of milk at the conclusion and celebration of marriages.[4] These rites are largely represented as means of making the future of the bride or the bridegroom lucky or "white",[5] but in some cases they are, or seem to be, looked upon as prophylactic or purificatory rather than productive of more positive benefits. Thus among the Aiṯ Sádděn the custom of sprinkling the bride and the people accompanying her with milk when they pass a village on their way to the bridegroom's place is said to serve the purpose of averting evil, namely, the fighting which would otherwise result from the discharge of gunpowder by causing enemies to come and attack the village with their guns; and a similar ceremony took place when the bridegroom's party went to fetch the bride, on that occasion also amidst volleys of gunpowder. I am, in fact, inclined to believe that the idea of protecting the village which the bride passes from misfortune is a more primitive motive for customs of this sort than the intention

[1] *Supra*, ii. 27.

[2] For Berber terms for milk see also Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), p. 80.

[3] *Supra*, i. 102, 103, 221, 223, 236–238, 240, 243–245, 256, 258, 421. For the ritual use of milk see also 'Index', *s.v.* Milk.

[4] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Milk.

[5] *Supra*, ii. 18 *sq.*

to benefit her or to derive benefits from her *baraka*.[1] A bridal procession, as we have seen, is considered to be a cause of ill-luck to anybody who meets it on the road.[2] And when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's place milk is offered her, or when she and her company come near the bridegroom's village they are sprinkled with milk, in circumstances which strongly suggest an intention to neutralise the evil influences which she might carry with her to her new home.[3] Milk is also made use of in the rites by which the animal ridden by the bride is purified after the journey to her new home : in Andjra the bridegroom's mother throws an egg which she has dipped into milk and flour at the forehead of the mule, and among the Iglíwa the bride wipes the finger which she has dipped in the milk offered her on the mane of the animal. Among the Ait Waráin the bridegroom's mother offers the bride on her arrival milk and flour ; of the former she drinks a little and sprinkles some on the people, and of the latter she takes a double handful and throws it over her head to get rid of all the evil influences attached to her. In the same tribe, when the newly married couple pay their first visit to the wife's parents, they are received by the mother with a bowl of milk, of which they drink ; this is said to bring good luck. In the Ḥiáina, when the young wife for the first time after her marriage visits her parents, the mother, on her arrival, washes her daughter's feet with milk, which was said to be a good thing to do ; and when the young husband some days afterwards calls on his father-in-law he is received by his mother-in-law, who offers him some milk to drink. We have in another connection spoken of the custom of receiving guests with milk.[4]

Milk is also in some cases used in leave-taking. At Fez, when persons are going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, their families assemble at the shrine of Sîdi Mḥámmed bel lă-Ḥsen, who has the epithet *msîfăṭ l-ḥŏjjăj* (" the sender of the pilgrims "), outside the gate called Bäb g-Gîsa, from which the caravan starts. The women trill the *zġârīt*[s] and

[1] See *supra*, ii. 7 *sq*. [2] *Supra*, ii. 8.

[3] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 194, 203, 207, 210, 212 *sqq*. [4] *Supra*, i. 540.

sprinkle the forefeet of the departing animals with milk. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, when a person who is going on a pilgrimage leaves his village, the women likewise trill the *zġârīt*ˁ and one or two of them offer him milk; he and the friends who accompany him to Fez drink of it, and are then sprinkled with any milk that is left. This is considered to be good *fâl*. Afterwards, when he comes back from his pilgrimage, he is received on the road by the villagers, and before he enters the village women again offer him milk and sprinkle him with it.

Milk is used as a medicine. We have previously noticed the rôle it plays in the ceremonies performed for the purpose of expelling *jnūn* from people troubled with them.[1] In Andjra I was told that when a band of ʿEṣáwa are invited to cure a sick person they are received with milk. Each of them blows on the milk, after which they take it with them into the house and make a recitation with the vessel containing the milk in the midst of them. Then they all drink a little of it, and the milk which remains is given to the patient to drink. In the same district, when a cow has calved, a small portion of its first milk is mixed with other milk, and this mixture, which is called *klîla*, is left to dry and then put in drinks given to persons suffering from some illness. To drink much sour buttermilk is good for a person who has been stung by a scorpion[2] or bitten by a poisonous spider.[3] At Fez a remedy for a cough (*sṓʿla*) is to drink hot milk which has been sweetened with sugar and mixed with pennyroyal.

Fresh butter is called in Arabic *zébda*; and in Berber *tudit* (Amanūz), *tamudit* (Iglíwa), *udi* (Ait Waráin), *tlussi* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), *ḏrussi* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *ṯrussiⁿ* (Ṯemsâmän). Salt butter is called in Arabic *ṣmen*; and in Berber *udi* (Amanūz, Iglíwa, Aglu, Ait Waráin), *ddhen* (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän). The *baraka* ascribed to butter, has also been discussed before.[4] Among the customs connected with it we have noticed various methods of protecting it from witchcraft, to which it is much exposed. There are other practices intended to increase the quantity of the butter,

[1] *Supra*, i. 346, 347, 351. [2] *Infra*, p. 356. [3] *Infra*, p. 357.
[4] *Supra*, i. 43, 102, 103, 221–223, 245–250, 254–256, 258.

though in certain cases it may be difficult or impossible to distinguish this purpose from the first named. In order to make the butter more plentiful a small piece of a hyena's brain is, either alone (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) or together with some rock-salt, enveloped in a rag of calico (Ait Waráin) and hung on the churn; or it is enclosed in a sealed-up piece of bamboo and put into the vessel in which the milk is kept before churning (*rriâba*, Aiṭ Sádděn); or a piece of a hyena's brain (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḍēr) or liver (Aiṭ Nḍēr) is put inside the churn. In the Ḥiáina the brain of a hoopoe is put into the milk before churning. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the *aqăšrōr*, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before. The Aiṭ Nḍēr burn the feathers of a hoopoe and fumigate the vessel in which they keep the milk, as also the churn, with the smoke; or they burn a sparrow's nest and fumigate them with the smoke on three successive mornings. These practices are supposed to increase the quantity of the butter. For the same purpose the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi smoke the churn, the milk-pan, and the funnel through which the milk is poured into the churn, with bran (*anḫḫal*) which has remained in the sieve at the sifting of flour. Among the Tsūl a woman tries to make her butter plentiful by the following method: she goes, without being seen by anybody, to a desert place where there is a crossing of two roads along which animals travel every day, takes from there a small stone and a few sticks, puts the stone into the vessel in which the milk is kept, and burns the sticks so that the smoke enters it. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr a woman goes to a place where nobody can hear what she is doing—not even the dogs. She uncovers her head and the upper part of her body as far as the waist. With a hoe which she has brought with her she shovels up the earth round a plant of the species called *addäḍ* (*Atractylis gummifera*), and strews some bran on the ground around it. Then she goes away, but returns the next morning and strikes the plant with the hoe, though only once. If it breaks

and falls down she takes it home with her, whereas if it sticks to its root it is of no use. In the former case she clears it of the dust; she cuts off a little piece of it, which she pounds and dries in the sun and then burns so that the smoke enters the churn and the vessel in which the milk is kept, while they are empty; and she puts another piece of it into the churn, and buries the rest of it in the ground underneath the milk vessel. The piece which she puts into the churn is left there for ever. A simpler means of making the butter more plentiful, which is used in the same tribe, is to put some *Teucrium* leaves into the funnel through which the milk is poured into the churn. I have previously spoken of certain methods of producing a similar result which are resorted to on New Year's day and at Midsummer,[1] as also of sorcerous practices by which people attempt to rob their neighbours of the *baraka* which provides them with butter.[2]

THE SHEEP.—A ram is called in Arabic *ḥáuli*, plur. *ḥwâla*, or *kebš*, plur. *kbāš*, and a ewe *ná'ja* or *ġánma* (also pronounced *ġálma*). In Berber a ram is called *izîmer* (Amanūz) or *izimẹr* (Iglíwa), plur. *izamarn*, *aḥóuli*, plur. *iḥulīn* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *aḥarfi*, plur. *iḥarfīn* (Ait Waráin), *iḥärri*, plur. *aḥrârẽn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *išārri*^{n}, plur. *ašărān* (Ṭemsâmän); and a ewe *tahruit*, plur. *tihrai* (Amanūz), *tîli*, plur. *tattn* (*ibid.*, Iglíwa), *tiḥsi* (Iglíwa, Ait Waráin; in Shelḥa there is the plur. *taḥsiwin*), *ṭiḥsi* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *ṭiḥsi*^{n} (Ṭemsâmän), *ḍiḥsi* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). A lamb is called in Arabic *ḥrūf*, plur. *ḥârfān*; in Berber *alqaġ*, plur. *ilqâġn* (Amanūz) or *alqaġn* (Iglíwa), fem. *tälqaġt* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), plur. *tilqáġin* (Amanūz), *ikrû*, plur. *ikrûan*, fem. *tikrut*, plur. *tikruin* (Iglíwa), *a'ălluš*, plur. *i'ăllúšn* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *izmer*, plur. *izmârn* (Ait Waráin), *izmā*, plur. *izmān* (Ṭemsâmän). Sheep are collectively called in Arabic *ġnem* (also pronounced *ġlem*), *ḥwâla* (also used as plur. for a ram), or *n'āj* (also used as plur. for a ewe); and in Berber *ulli* (Amanūz, Iglíwa, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Sádděn; in the two latter tribes also used as plur. for a ewe), *ûddji* (also used as

[1] *Supra*, ii. 169, 191. See also *supra*, ii. 97, 123, 125 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 249 *sq.*, ii. 170.

plur. for a ewe; Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *ûddjiñ* (also used as plur. for a ewe; Ṯemsâmän).

The sheep, as being considered a holy animal, has already figured in our discussion of the *baraka*,[1] and in the present connection I have not much to add. In Andjra custom requires that on the day when a lamb or a kid is born the owner of it should give the shepherd boiled beans to eat; if he does not do so the shepherd will thrust a stake into the ground on the spot where the young animal was born, and this is supposed to cause its death. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, when a person has bought a considerable number of sheep or goats he slaughters one of them so that there shall be much *baraka* in the animals and they shall be very fertile.[2] We have previously noticed a method of improving sheep or goats which do not produce the usual quantity of milk;[3] and cases in which the deficiency in milk is supposed to be caused by a tortoise will be mentioned below.[4]

There are rites connected with the shearing of the sheep. In the Ḥiáina, where they are sheared in March, the owner gives a feast called *'örs lă-ġlém*, "the wedding of the sheep", consisting of *ṭă'ám* (*sĕksû*) with butter, at the place where the shearing is performed. The Aiṯ Nḏēr shear their sheep shortly before the *nîsān*, that is, the time from 27th April to 3rd May (Old Style), as they consider its rain good for the growth of the wool.[5] The owner of the sheep gives in his tent a breakfast consisting of *sĕksû* with butter, or bread and butter, and sour milk. There are hired men to help him in the work or who do it alone, whereas no woman takes part in it. If a man has many sheep he slaughters one of them or a goat and, after the work is finished, gives to the workmen a meal consisting of *sĕksû* with butter and meat of the slaughtered animal, of which he and his family also partake. After the meal the workmen make *fâṯḥa*, calling down blessings on the owner and his family and his sheep, and asking God to help them again the next year when they are doing the same kind of work. The Ait Waráin consider *mût l-arḍ*, the 17th of

[1] *Supra*, i. 99–101, 230, 232, 237, 239, 241, 242, 250, 251, 254, 257 *sq.*
[2] See also *supra*, ii. 250.
[3] *Supra*, i. 199.
[4] *Infra*, p. 343.
[5] *Supra*, ii. 177.

May (Old Style), to be the best day for shearing the sheep owing to its healing influence on wounds.[1] When the work has been done—whether on that day or on any other day—and the sheep are leaving the place, the person who did the work moves the shears a few times in the air as if he were still shearing, saying, *Aḫsum ttâdunt išníun tišníwin*, " Meat, fat, male twins, female twins " ; if the sheep take fright and run away the flock will prosper, whereas if they take no notice of it there will be sickness and deaths in the flock. Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the shearing of the sheep also takes place on 17th May. When they have been sheared they are sprinkled with water and then frightened with shears in the same way as among the Ait Waráin. When they have run a little the people shout after them *derrrrrr* ; if they stop it is a good omen, but if they continue to run it is bad—they will be stolen by robbers or eaten by jackals. After the work there is a feast consisting of porridge mixed with salt butter, a dish called *íuzăn*. On the same day the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi also mark the ears of their lambs. The Aiṭ Yúsi shear on that day only such ewes as have recently lambed, the others having been fleeced before. The place where the sheep are sheared is a holy place—like a mosque. There are consequently taboos connected with it,[2] and people are made to swear there on the day when the sheep are sheared (Aiṭ Nḍēr).

Certain parts of the sheep are used for magical purposes. At Fez the horn of a ram is in the autumn hung in every pomegranate tree with a view to preventing the fruit from dropping ; the horn, I was told, serves the same object as the *gŭrṭaṭ*, or male figs, which are hung in the female fig trees, being likewise regarded as the " husbands " of the fruits. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a person, in order to become an early riser, washes some sheep's-wool which has never been washed before and drinks the water. In Andjra a woman who wants to tame her husband procures some urine of a Jew and a piece of the liver of a sheep or goat and boils it with oil ; by partaking of this mixture he will become timid like a Jew or a sheep or a goat. The Aiṭ Nḍēr believe that if an

[1] *Supra*, ii. 181. [2] *Supra*, i. 232, 241, 251.

unmarried woman eats the nose of a sheep, she will have a bad husband ; a married woman may do so, but no man, whether married or not. In the Ḥiáina pulverised sheep's dung is strewn on the wound of a circumcised boy.[1]

THE GOAT.—A he-goat is called in Arabic *(d)jdī*, plur. *jĕdyān*, or *'aṭrūs*, plur. *'ăṭâres*, and a she-goat *jĕdya* or *mą'za*. In Berber a he-goat is called *añkkor*, plur. *iñkkŭran* (Amanūz), *abukir*, plur. *ibukirn* (Iglíwa), *ŭqbi*, plur. *aqban* (*ibid.*), *a'ṯrus*, plur. *i'ăṯräs* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *aqtrib*, plur. *iqtrîbĕn* (Ait Waráin), *amyän*, plur. *imŭyän* (Ṯemsâmän) ; and a she-goat *taġaṭṭ*, plur. *tiġiṭṭą̈n* (Amanūz) or *tiġáṭṭn* (Iglíwa), *ṯġātt*, plur. *tiġăṭṭăn* (Ait Waráin), *ṯaġġaṯ*, plur. *ṯiġaṯṯan* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ṯġāt* (Ṯemsâmän). A kid is called in Arabic *(d)jdîwi*, fem. *m'ăiza* ; and in Berber *iġjd*, plur. *iġjdĕn*, fem. *tiġjtt*, plur. *tiġjdin* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *iġĕjḏ*, plur. *iġĕjḏen* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *iġid*, plur. *iġidn* (Ait Waráin), *iġiḏ*, plur. *iġaiḏĕn*, fem. *ṯiġiḏĕt*, plur. *ṯiġaiḏin* (Ṯemsâmän). Goats are collectively called in Arabic *jĕdyān* or *m'ą̈z* and in Berber *ṯiġaṯṯan* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *tiġăṭṭăn* (Ait Waráin). Sheep and goats are collectively called in Shelḥa *ulli* (Amanūz).

While there is *baraka* in the sheep, the goat, like the donkey, is a wicked animal, and *jnūn* often appear at night in the shape of goats. In order to induce a *jĕnn* to give a person a bad dream a charm is written on a piece of red paper with the blood of a perfectly black he-goat and then fumigated with coriander seed (*qáṣbōr*) and storax (*mi'a*) (Fez).[2] In Andjra children are not allowed to eat the heart or kidneys of goats lest they should get pimples on their faces which would last for ever. Yet there is medicinal virtue in the goat. A cure for night-blindness is to eat the so-called *rbīb* (*processus caudatus* ?) of the liver of a goat—an animal which is said to be able to see by night[3]—on which a scribe has written something from the Koran and which has then been sprinkled with the pounded dry leaves of a herb called *bašnêḥa* ; a Berber told me that he in this way had been

[1] *Infra*, p. 426.

[2] For the use of the fat of a black he-goat see *infra*, p. 340.

[3] Pliny also says (*Historia naturalis*, xxviii. 47) that goats are able to see by night.

cured of his night-blindness by a scribe from an Arabic-speaking mountain tribe. The same Berber, a native of the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi resident among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, mentioned the following cures for an affection of the eyes called *lefsâḍ*, which makes the eye watery, painful in the morning, and sensitive to light, and which is supposed to be caused by another person's rank breath or the exudations from his armpits or pubes : if the person who has caused the complaint is known, the patient procures a piece of his clothes, burns it, and lets the smoke enter the affected eye, whereas, if he is not known, the patient burns some hair taken from a he-goat and exposes the eye to the smoke. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer whooping-cough is cured with the milk of a perfectly black she-goat, which is taken in the morning on an empty stomach warm as it comes from the udder. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz use dung found in the intestines of a goat as a cure for people who have been bitten by a poisonous spider.[1] In Andjra, on the circumcision of a boy, dry goat's dung is, together with other things, put on the wound to make it heal sooner.[2]

The Dog.—A male dog is called in Arabic *kelb*, plur. *klāb*, or $^{(d)}$*jrû*, plur. $^{(d)}$*jrā*, or *ḍâri*, plur. *ḍwâri*, and a bitch *kélba* or $^{(d)}$*járwa*. In Berber a male dog is called *aidi*, plur. *îḍan* (Amanuz, Iglíwa), *îḍi*, plur. *îḍann* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *aiḍi*, plur. *eṭan* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *aidi*^{m}, plur. *iṭan* (Ṭemsâmän), *aqzin*, plur. *iqzinn* (Ait Waráin); and a bitch *taidit* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *tikzint*, plur. *tikzînin* (Igliwa), *takz'ăunt*, plur. *tikŭz'an* (*ibid.*), *ṯaqzint*, plur. *ṯiqzinin* (Ṭemsâmän), *ḏaqzint*, plur. *ḏiqzinin* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). A pup is called in Arabic *klîyĭb*, fem. *klîyba*, or $^{(d)}$*jrîwi*, fem. $^{(d)}$*jrîwa*; and in Berber *ikzin*, plur. *ikzínn* (Iglíwa), *akz'ăun*, plur. *ikŭz'an* (*ibid.*), *aqzin*, plur. *iqzinn* (Aiṭ Sádděn) or *iqzinin* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṭemsâmän), *aḥdur*, plur. *iḥdûrĕn* (Ait Waráin).[3]

The dog has fifty-two properties, one half of which are saintly and the other half devilish. For example, it watches at night, as a saint prays at night ; it waits while its master is eating, as patient as a saint ; it does not bite its master, just as a saint does not hurt his friends. On the other hand,

[1] See *infra*, p. 357. [2] See *infra*, p. 422.

[3] For euphemistic terms for a dog see *supra*, ii. 26 *sq.*

the dog only watches till daybreak, when it goes to sleep, which is a devilish thing to do ; it makes water even at the door of a mosque ; it barks at scribes ; and so forth. The faithfulness of the dog is praised in sayings like these :—*Li ma 'áddů ḫḫōt l-klāb hûma ḫḫôtů*, " If a man has no brothers the dogs are his brothers " ; *L-kelb gélbů 'åla gelb můläh*, " The heart of the dog is in accord with the heart of its master " (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). At the same time dogs are unclean animals.[1] They are not allowed to enter a mosque, and scribes have no dogs, nor do they like to touch a dog. If a dog enters a dwelling-house the angels of the house will leave it (Tangier, Iglíwa).[2] If a dog eats from a vessel or licks it the vessel will break, unless it is washed seven times with hot water (Andjra) ; or it must be washed with water into which seven stones have been put in order to make it clean (Aiṭ Wäryåġer).[3] To kill a dog is polluting ; a Rifian said it is as bad as to kill seven men, an idea which may be connected with the belief that a dog has seven lives (Aiṭ Sádděn).[4] A person who has committed such an act must never after perform the sacrifice at the Great Feast with his own hands (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Iglíwa, Aglu). If he slaughters an animal its meat will be bad to eat (Aiṭ Sádděn, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), even worse than the meat of an animal which has been slaughtered by a man-slayer (Ait Waráin). A Berber from Aglu told me that on the death and burial of his brother a dog dug up the corpse and ate a portion of it ; then a friend of the dead man shot

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 110.

[2] The Muhammadans of Syria believe that angels never enter a house in which there is a dog (Eijūb Abēla, ' Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien ', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. (Leipzig, 1884), p. 93.

[3] According to a tradition, the Prophet said that when a dog drinks from a vessel it must be washed seven times and that the first cleansing should be with earth (*Mishkāt*, iii. 11. 1 ; English translation by *Matthews*, vol. i. [Calcutta, 1809], p. 110).

[4] The Prophet is said to have forbidden the killing of dogs, with the exception of black dogs having two white spots upon their eyes, which he ordered to be killed, this kind of dog being the devil (*Mishkāt*, xviii. 2. 1, vol. ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 308).

the dog, but was taken ill in consequence, after twenty days began to bark like a dog, and after forty died. Some people said that that dog was a saint, but others that it was a *jenn*. We have seen that *jnūn* very frequently appear in the shape of dogs, particularly black ones,[1] which many people refuse to keep.[2]

If a dog is present when a person is eating he should give food to it; otherwise he incurs great guilt (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) or will himself become a dog in the future state (Andjra). On the other hand, if he shares his food with the dog it will ask God to grant him a great number of children, each of whom would give the dog something to eat (Aiṭ Nḏēr). But if a dog or a cat steals food belonging to the scribes of the mosque it will have the itch (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If the dog eats the flesh or blood of a camel it will become blind or die (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); and if it eats the blood of a person it will lose its hair (Andjra) or it is bad for the person (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If a bitch is addicted to stealing food, its owner puts its pups on the road leading to the market-place so that passers-by shall take them up and teach them how to behave; then their mother will cease to steal (*ibid.*). We have previously noticed certain practices calculated to make a dog a good watch-dog or hunter or to prevent it from running away.[3] In Andjra, if a person wants for all future time to prevent a dog from biting him, he puts a piece of bread on his bare foot and offers it thus to the dog. A bitch is made infertile by being taken seven times through a stirrup while still a little pup (Aiṭ Nḏēr), or by being made to eat whitewash mixed with flour and water (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) or a piece of bread into which have been put some dead bees (Andjra). Among the Ait Temsâmän a person who kills somebody else's dog, unless he has been bitten by it, has to pay for it in wheat, which is measured in a somewhat peculiar manner: the owner of the dead dog holds it by its tail so that the head just touches the ground, and the offender pours wheat over it until it is completely buried in the heap.

If dogs howl (Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), particularly at night (Ḥiáina), the village will become empty:

[1] *Supra*, i. 267 *sq.* [2] *Supra*, ii. 16. [3] *Supra*, i. 598 *sq.*

its inhabitants will either die or move to another place.[1] When people hear a dog howling at night they say, *Bą̈są̈k 'ăla rásą̈k*, "[May] your evil [fall] on your head" (Ḥiáina); or, *'Ăla ras mûlą̈k*, "On the head of your master" (Andjra). At Fez it is considered bad *făl* for a person to meet a dog in the morning before sunrise, unless he averts the evil by saying, *Yä nă̈bbă̈ḥ nt^{s}īn t^{s}énbă̈ḥ w ána nérbă̈ḥ u l-krīm 'ălîya yéft^{s}ă̈ḥ*, "O barker, you will bark and I shall gain money and the generous one will open for me [the gates of fortune]". But if a dog makes water on a man it brings good luck to him: he will become a governor (Ḥiáina).

Dog's flesh is used as a medicine.[2] Little pups are eaten by women as a cure for barrenness,[3] and a piece of a new-born male pup is eaten, or some urine of a male dog is drunk, as a method of securing the birth of a son.[4] A Berber from Aglu told me of the following custom, which he had himself witnessed in his native place and the details of which he had learned from his wife, a woman from Mogador. A married woman who suffers from an effusion of blood in her genitals accompanies some unmarried girls when they go out to the wood, and she takes with her a dog which has three colours. The dog is strangled, its head and legs are cut off, its entrails are removed, and the rest of its body is enveloped in a clean piece of cloth and put inside a bunch of wood which has been cut, not by the woman herself, but by the girls. She carries the bunch to her house, where the girls open it, take out the body of the dog, and cut it in little pieces,

[1] Among eastern Arabs the howling of a dog near a house is believed to forebode death (Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, i. [London, 1898], p. 302) or to be a bad omen, especially if there is a sick person in the house (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 87 [Syria]). See also *supra*, i. 270.

[2] For the eating of dog's flesh in other parts of North Africa see Lyon, *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa* (London, 1821), p. 52 (Tripoli); Monchicourt, 'Répugnance ou respect relatifs à certaines paroles où à certains animaux', in *Revue tunisienne*, xv. (Tunis, 1908), p. 18 *sqq.*; Bertholon, 'Essai sur la religion des Libyens', *ibid.* xvi. (Tunis, 1909), p. 438 *sq.*; Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), p. 537 *sq.*; Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 177.

[3] *Supra*, i. 585. [4] *Supra*, i. 585.

which are then boiled and together with *sěksû* eaten by the woman for three days. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, if a little child is weak, its mother kills a pup, boils it with butter, salt, and various spices, and gives a piece of it to the child to eat. A Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that he had seen a woman eating the flesh of a little pup as a cure for syphilis.[1] The Ait Temsâmän give the flesh of a pup which has been boiled in oil to a person who shows symptoms of poisoning. At Tangier the flesh of a new-born dog or cat is eaten as an antidote against witchcraft. In Andjra the first milk of a bitch which has pupped for the first time is, mixed with food, given to a man who is in trouble; my informant said that he had himself been released from prison by partaking of such a dish.[2] In the same district men secure themselves against ever being put in prison by having sexual intercourse with a black dog.

Persons who have been bitten by a mad dog are generally treated by holy men or shereefs of certain families,[3] or with water taken from a saintly spring;[4] but there are also other cures.[5] Among the Ait Temsâmän such a person is taken to the sea-shore and forty *mdūd* (sing. *mudd*) of sea-water are poured over him;[6] but this old method is now becoming obsolete. The following cure is also practised in the Rīf, as well as among Arabic-speaking people in Northern Morocco. Some cockroaches are killed, dried in the sun, and pounded; the powder is taken with cold water, and immediately afterwards the patient drinks chicken-soup without salt; and for seven days he is only allowed to eat unsalted food. In order to be effective this cure must be undergone within fifteen days after the person was bitten. It is also applied to bitten dogs, with the difference, however, that no soup is given them. I was told that a person who is not cured will have rabies after forty days. In another place I have spoken of the belief that if a person who is

[1] For the use of dog's flesh as a medicine for syphilis elsewhere in Northern Africa see Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* p. 537; and Bates, *op. cit.* p. 177 (Siwah).

[2] For a custom relating to the first pups of a bitch, see *supra*, i. 607.

[3] *Supra*, i. 157 *sq.*

[4] *Supra*, i. 167.

[5] See also *supra*, ii. 124 *sq.*

[6] See also *supra*, i. 158.

sexually unclean does not keep out of sight of one who has been bitten by a mad dog, he will cause the rabies to break out.[1]

Unlike other dogs the greyhound is regarded, not as unclean, but as possessed of *baraka*.[2] It is called in Arabic *slôqi*, plur. *slāq*, fem. *slōqîya*; and in Berber *ûskai*, plur. *ûskain*, fem. *tûskait*, plur. *tûskáyin* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *ossḫa*, plur. *ossḫain* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *ûšša*, plur. *ûššáyĕn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *ušša*, plur. *ušṣ̌áin*, fem. *ṯušššäšṯ*, plur. *ṯušṣ̌áyin* (Ṯemsâmän), *abărhuš*, plur. *ibărhaš* (Ait Waráin). Many people take care to protect their greyhounds against the evil eye,[3] and paint them with henna at the Great Feast.[4] Their feet are smeared with henna before a hunt in order that they shall run well (Ḥiáina), or after a hunt in a thorny country (Aiṭ Sádděn).

The Cat.—It is called in Arabic *qaṭṭ*, plur. *qṭōṭ*, fem. *qáṭṭa*, or *mĕšš*, plur. *mšāš*, fem. *méšša*; and in Berber *amûšš*, plur. *imûššiun* (Amanūz), *mûšš*, plur. *imûšša* or *imášṣ̌ûn* (Iglíwa) or *imíšṣ̌ûn* (Aiṭ Sádděn) or *imûššwûn* (Ait Waráin), *mûš*, plur. *imûšwûn* (Ṯemsâmän), *amšiš*, plur. *imšíšĕn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), fem. *tamûšša*, plur. *timûššíwin* (Amanūz), *tamášṣ̌ut*, plur. *timúšša* (Iglíwa), *ṯmûššu^{k}ṯ*, plur. *ṯimûšwin* (Ṯemsâmän).

The cat, also, has some *baraka*.[5] It is good to eat food of which a cat has eaten before. This is a cure for nervousness (Andjra); and so it is to wash oneself with water from which a cat has drunk (Tangier), or to eat the flesh of a cat (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If a person has been bitten by a venomous snake, a live cat is cut up and its opened stomach applied to the wound (Ṯemsâmän). Magic qualities are in particular ascribed to a cat which is perfectly black. Its flesh is given to a prisoner to eat to procure his release.[6] The blood of a perfectly black cat is used for the writing of powerful charms. A man who is going to see the Sultan procures such a charm to prevent anybody at the court from speaking badly about him (Ḥiáina). A person who is going to dig up money

[1] *Supra*, ii. 4. [2] *Supra*, i. 103. [3] *Supra*, i. 423, 443, 451.
[4] *Supra*, ii. 108. *Cf. supra*, i. 540. [5] *Supra*, i. 103 *sq.*
[6] *Supra*, i. 599.

which has been buried in the ground provides himself with the charm *ḥerz Mûrjâna*[1] written with the same fluid. While he is digging, the scribe who wrote the charm is fumigating it with gum-lemon and reading an incantation, with the result that the *jnūn* haunting the place will run away and leave the digger unmolested. The blood of the black cat was said to produce this effect because such a cat is itself a *jenn* (*ibid.*). *Jnūn* frequently show themselves in the disguise of cats; hence nobody would dare to hit a cat in the dark.[2] A cat has seven lives; hence to kill one is as bad as to kill seven men (Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

If a cat mews for food while you are eating, she is praying that you may become blind so as to be able to take your food (Aiṭ Nḍēr). If a cat walks over a little child which is lying on the ground the child, when older, will begin to purr like a cat (Ait Waráin). At Fez kittens which are born at the time when the pumpkins are ripe, so-called *qar'ăiyen*, are thrown away because they will become thievish, whereas kittens born at the time when the rose-bushes are flowering, so-called *wûrdíyen*, are preserved because they will be good catchers of rats and mice.

In some parts of the country cats are eaten not only for medicinal or magical purposes but as nourishment. This is the case among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, though scribes and saintly persons among them refrain from this sort of food. The inhabitants of a tent, however, never eat their own cat, which has shared food with them and, like the dog of the tent, is in their *'ār*. A servant of mine who was a native of Andjra was quite shocked when he heard of the practice of eating domestic cats, although the people of his own tribe have no objection to eating the wild-cat.

The Domestic Fowl.—A cock is called in Arabic *farrūj*, plur. *frârăj*, or *dīk*, plur. *dyūk*, and a hen $^{(d)}$*jdâda* or $^{(d)}$*jâja*. In Berber a cock is called *afûllus*, plur. *ifûllûsn* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *afullus*, plur. *ifullúsn* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *yazeṭ*, plur. *iyazéṭn* (Ait Waráin), *yaziḍ*, plur. *iyaziḍn* (Ṭemsâmän), *yaziḍ*, plur. *yaziḍĕn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); and a hen *tafûllust*, plur. *tifûllûsin* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *tašišaut*,

[1] See *supra*, i. 214 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 267 *sq.*

plur. *tišišáwin* (Iglíwa), *ṯafullusṯ*, plur. *ṯifullúsin* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *tyazeṭṭ*, plur. *tiyazéṭin* (Ait Waráin), *ṯyazit*, plur. *ṯiyaziḏin* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏyaziṭ*, plur. *ḏyaziḏin* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). A chick is called in Arabic *fellūs*, fem. *fellûsa*, or if very young, *flîlěs*, fem. *flîlsa*; and in Berber *fi^{d}jus*, plur. *ifi^{d}jusn* (Ṯemsâmän), *ašišau*, plur. *išišaun* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ašẖšau*, plur. *išẖšaun* (Ait Waráin). Fowls are collectively called in Arabic $^{(d)}$*jdād* or $^{(d)}$*jāj* and chicks *flâlěs*; and fowls in Berber *ifûllûsn* (Amanūz), *iyaziḏn* (Ṯemsâmän).

White fowls are looked upon with some regard on account of their colour. They are said to belong to the *záwiāṭ* of Mûläi 'Abdlqâder and are often taken and left there. In a house which I occupied at Fez a white hen was allowed to walk about freely because my servants said that it gave good luck to us, and they refused to kill it.[1] In the same town it is, for a similar reason, the custom to keep a white cock—a so-called *dīg mûläi 'Abdlqâder*—in a state of liberty in the open centre of the house and to refrain from killing it; and such a cock, and a *farrūj sěb'á lwān*, or "cock of seven colours", as well, fetch twice the ordinary price for a cock. The latter is used for *'ār*-sacrifices intended to influence the *jnūn*,[2] but so are black cocks and cocks of other colours also. Charms written with the blood of a black hen or a white cock are used as a remedy for illness caused by those spirits;[3] while the head of a black hen with a charm containing the names of *jnūn* written on it with its own blood is a means of causing mischief to an enemy.[4]

A person who eats the liver of a fowl is supposed to become a coward (Iglíwa, etc.); hence it is not eaten by men and boys (Aglu, Ait Waráin) or is not given to young boys to eat (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän). Yet in Andjra a father secretly makes his young son eat the liver of a fowl so that the boy shall become afraid of him. A person, or at least a child (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), who eats the head of a fowl will become night-blind, because the fowl is unable to see

[1] Among the ancient Arabs it was considered unlucky to kill a white cock (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. [Halle a. S., 1890], p. 349).

[2] *Supra*, i. 285, 345. [3] *Supra*, i. 326. [4] *Supra*, i. 360.

in the dark (Andjra, Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḍēr); and the same will happen to anybody who interferes with cocks or hens which are fighting (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). In Andjra I was told that it is bad to gnaw at the bone of a fowl. In the same tribe, if a little child is fond of eating earth, the mother takes some earth from the fire-place and puts it at the place where the fowls spend the night, leaving it there for three days so that they shall make it dirty. She then puts the child on that earth in order that he may eat of it and, owing to its nasty taste, never again feel inclined to eat earth. The crowing of a cock is sometimes supposed to predict the weather: if it crows shortly after sunset there will be a strong easterly wind, and if it crows in the evening at *'ăša* there will be rain (Ḥiáina).[1]

If a newly bought fowl is inclined to run away, it is taken seven times round the fire-place and some feathers are pulled from its wings and buried underneath the stones of the hearth (Andjra). If a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung in a tree with the head downwards while it is raining (*ibid.*), or oil is put into its mouth and genitals (Aiṭ Wäryåger).

An egg (in Arabic called *báiḍa*, plur. coll. *baiḍ*; and in Berber *taglait*, plur. *tiglai* [Amanūz, Iglíwa], *ṯigʷliṭ*, plur. *ṯigʷläi* [Aiṭ Sádděn], *tamĕllălt*, plur. *timĕllălin* [Ait Waráin], *ṯämᵈᵈjätš*, plur. *ṯimᵈᵈjärin* [Temsåmän]) is used in magical or medicinal practices for a variety of purposes: to promote fecundity in a woman,[2] to increase the capacity of reproduction in a man,[3] to facilitate child-birth,[4] to make the weather fine,[5] and at weddings also to make the life of the bride or the bridegroom or both bright and happy,[6] or to help the bridegroom to consummate the marriage.[7] Charms are written with the white of an egg, or on hard-boiled eggs or egg-shells.

The Bee.—It is called in Arabic *nåḥla*, plur. coll. *nḥäl*;

[1] In Syria it is believed that if a cock crows at night there will soon be a change in the weather (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 95).

[2] *Supra*, i. 585. [3] *Supra*, i. 581. [4] *Infra*, p. 370 *sq.*

[5] *Supra*, ii. 19, 278, 281. [6] *Supra*, ii. 19 *sq.*

[7] *Supra*, i. 581 *sq.* For the ceremonial use of eggs see also 'Index', *s.v.* Eggs; and Laoust, 'Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas', in *Hespéris*, i. (Paris, 1921), p. 53 *sqq.*

and in Berber *täzuit* (Amanūz) or *tizzuit* (Demnat), plur. *tiz(z)ua*, *ṯizízwit*, plur. *ṯizízwa* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ṯzizwit*, plur. *ṯizizwa* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏzizwit*, plur. *ḏizizwa* (Aiṯ Wäryâger). Honey is called in Arabic *'ăsel*; and in Berber *tamment* (Iglíwa), *ṯamenṯ* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *tamemt* (Ait Waráin), *ṯämmĕnt* (Ṯemsâmän).

We have seen that *baraka* is ascribed to the bee and to honey, and noticed many observances connected with the idea of their holiness.[1] If the person who is robbing the bees of their honey eats a great quantity of it on the spot while the sun is shining and then lies down and sleeps until he is in a perspiration, he will always be in good health (Aiṯ Nḏēr, &c.). In the Ḥiáina, when a young horse is bridled for the first time, the bridle is smeared with honey, which is considered to be good for the horse. It is also said to be good to offer honey to a guest. At Fez, after a proposal has been accepted, honey is used as a means of making the girl "sweet" to the family of the future husband;[2] but it is never served there at the wedding itself, the partaking of it being a regular feature of a funeral. The bridegroom, however, not infrequently makes use of honey as an aphrodisiac.[3] We have noticed various rites relating to bees and honey which are practised at Midsummer.[4]

The Wild-Boar.—It is called in Arabic *ḥallûf l-ġâba*, plur. *ḥlâlĕf*, dim. *ḥlîlĕf*; the domestic boar is called *ḥallûf mrăbbi*, and a sow, whether wild or tame, *ṯamûda*. In Berber the wild-boar is called *ilf*, plur. *alfiun* (Amanūz) or *alfan* (Iglíwa) or *ilfaun* (Ait Waráin), *irf*, plur. *irfän* (Ṯemsâmän), *irẹf*, plur. *irfän* (Aiṯ Wäryâger), *abûlḥer*, plur. *ibûlḥêrn* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *aḥălluf*, plur. *iḥälfạn* (*ibid.*).[5]

The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the

[1] *Supra*, i. 104, 220 n. 2, 222, 223, 229, 230, 232, 241, 242, 253 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, ii. 22.

[3] *Cf.* Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 714 (Algeria).

[4] *Supra*, i. 234, ii. 183–186, 193 *sq.* For the use of honey see also 'Index', *s.v.* Honey.

[5] For a euphemistic term see *supra*, ii. 27.

Koran.[1] In Andjra I heard the following story as regards the origin of the prohibition. In ancient times the Muhammadans used to eat pork. It then happened that the huntsmen of a village shot a wild-boar and divided it between the various households, but omitted to give any share to a poor widow. She began to cry and complain, and God heard her complaint and punished the villagers with thunder and rain, sickness and death. The people went to the *qâḍi* of the Prophet, Sîdna 'Omar bel Ḫaṭṭab, and asked him why they were thus punished by God. He wanted to know if they had not done something which might have provoked God's anger, and after thinking the matter over they told him about the boar. The *qâḍi* then said that God had heard the widow's cry and decided that that part of the animal which they ought to have given to the widow must never be eaten by anybody. It is thus only a small portion of the pig that is unlawful as food, but as nobody knows what part it is the Muhammadans must abstain from pork altogether.

The Koranic prohibition, however, is not always strictly observed ;[2] in fact, for medicinal purposes it is quite frequently transgressed. The boar is appreciated on account of its strength ; it is a compliment to call a person a *ḫallûf* —it means that he is a strong man or a good warrior. In Andjra a piece of the liver of a wild-boar is given to persons or animals to eat in order to impart strength to them. The person should take such a piece on an empty stomach on forty successive mornings ; to the animal it is given mixed with

[1] *Koran*, ii. 168, v. 4, vi. 146, xvi. 116. For the abstinence from swine's flesh among ancient Semitic peoples, in ancient Egypt, and elsewhere, see Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1917), p. 326 *sqq.* Herodotus says (iv. 186) that none of the Libyans bred swine, and that the women of Barca abstained from pork.

[2] *Cf.* de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788), pp. 117, 176 ; Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco* (London, 1874), p. 45 ; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, i. (Paris, 1895), p. 57, ii. (*ibid.* 1899), pp. 297, 492 *sq.* ; *Idem*, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc* (*les Zkara*) (Paris, 1905), p. 33 ; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 42 *sqq.* ; Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* p. 16 *sq.* (Tunis) ; Baker, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia* (London, 1871), p. 114 (Arabs of Upper Egypt).

barley. So also the fat of a wild-boar is given to horses in order to strengthen them (Fez, Salli). Wild-boar's flesh is frequently used as a medicine for delicate children (Iglíwa, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). Moreover, to eat such flesh gives immunity from pain: persons who eat it in their youth will never feel pain if they are flogged (Iglíwa), and if a person is afraid of being punished by his governor he may likewise make himself insensitive by eating swine's flesh (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Such flesh is also eaten as a remedy for syphilis (*ibid.*, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aglu); or a person suffering from this disease rubs his body with the blood of a wild-boar (Andjra). The brain of a boar is used externally as a cure for rheumatic pain (Aglu). If any one has a sore throat, which makes swallowing difficult, he may get rid of his complaint by putting his hands seven times round the throat of a little wild-boar which has been caught alive, as if he were going to strangle it (Aiṭ Nḍēr). A cure for whooping-cough is administered by a person who has strangled a wild-boar and affects to strangle the patient by pressing his throat with his hand seven times, the last time rather severely (Ait Waráin).

Governors and wealthy Moors very frequently keep a boar or two in their stables. The smell of the boar is said to be good for the horses and mules (Dukkâla); it makes them strong (Ḥiáina, Salli), or it removes evil influences from them (Fez).[1] Or the boar protects them from the evil eye (Iglíwa),[2] by attracting the first glance of anybody who comes into the stable (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). A wild-boar's tusk is hung round the neck of a horse to protect it from the same danger (Beni Ăḥsen, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or from other evil influences as well (Ḥiáina), and it will also make the horse strong (Aiṭ Nḍēr). The Ait Waráin hang a boar's tusk on their churns as a charm against the evil eye. In Andjra such a tusk is likewise used as an amulet against the evil eye, and the head of a wild-boar is buried underneath

[1] *Cf.* Höst, *op. cit.* p. 275; Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 44 *sq.*

[2] In Persia a wild pig kept in a stable is supposed to keep the evil eye off the horses (Ella C. Sykes, 'Persian Folklore', in *Folk-Lore*, xii. [London, 1901], p. 269).

the entrances to a garden and to the place where the animals are kept at night (*zrîba*). A small piece of the skin of a wild-boar is hung round the neck of a horse to protect it against the evil eye (Dukkâla, Aiṭ Sádděn).

The wild-boar is said to have been once a *fqī*. While he was teaching the boys somebody brought to them a dish of *sěksů*. The boys began to throw the *sěksů* at each other, and the *fqī*, instead of correcting them, only laughed. Then the voice of an angel was heard saying, " O wild-boar, tell your monkeys that they should let alone the food given by God ". At the same moment the *fqī* was transformed into a wild-boar and the schoolboys into monkeys. Even now if children, after eating *sěksů*, do not clean their fingers by licking them, as they ought to do, but by shaking them over the dish, their mother frightens them by saying that if they do so they will become monkeys (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin).

The Monkey.—It is called in Arabic *qĕrd*, plur. *qrūd*, fem. *qĕrda*, dim. *qrîyĭd*; and in Berber *za'ḍůḍ* (or *aza'ḍud*; Iglíwa), plur. *iza'ḍúdn* (Amanūz) or *iza'ḍaḍ* (Iglíwa), fem. *taza'ḍůṭṭ*, plur. *tiza'ḍůḍin* (Amanūz), *abaġůs*, plur. *ibaġůsn* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *giddůu*, plur. *igiddwaun* (Ait Waráin), *ărqĕăḍ*, plur. *ărqwáḍ* (Ṯemsâmän).

It is a general belief that the monkey was originally a man, who for some fault of his was transformed into a monkey, but there are different opinions as to the nature of his fault.[1] Besides the story told above, there are others according to which he became a monkey because he committed incest with his sister (Ḥiáina), or because he had sexual intercourse in the daytime in the month of Ramaḍān (Aglu), or because he urinated in milk, washed his face with milk, and cleaned himself with bread after doing his needs.

The Lion.—It is called in Arabic *sbạ'*, plur. *sbô'ă*, and a lioness *lĕbîya*. In Berber a lion is called *izm*, plur. *izmaun* (Iglíwa, Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *bůharrů*,

[1] For similar beliefs *cf.* Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 400; Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 111 (Syria); Brehm, *From North Pole to Equator* (London, 1896), p. 282 *sq.* (quoting an Arab story); Pallme, *Travels in Kordofan* (London, 1844), p. 188; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, ii. (London, 1832), p. 220 *sq.*

plur. *ibûharrúṯĕn* (Ṯemsâmän), and a lioness *tizmt*, plur. *tizmáwin* (Iglíwa).

The lion and lioness were also once human beings, husband and wife. As they had no children they went to a shrine to pray for one, the man promising the saint a sheep and the woman her bracelet if he granted their request. Subsequently the woman gave birth to a child, and they went back to the shrine to give to the saint what they had promised him. But just when they were going to fulfil their promises Šíṭan appeared and told them that it was stupid of them to give away such valuable things, since God had already blessed them with a child. They followed his evil advice; but they had hardly left the shrine when an angel from above said to them, "O lion, why have you and your lioness betrayed the saint?" At once the man was transformed into a lion and the woman into a lioness, and they ate their new-born baby, whom they had brought with them (Ait Waráin).

If a man eats lion's flesh he will become very brave.[1] Chénier states that mothers used to decorate their children with the remnant of a lion's hide on the head, "thinking that by this means they acquire strength and courage".[2] The claw of a lion is used as a charm against the evil eye (Fez), and so is that of a leopard (*ibid.*, Andjra; a leopard is called in Arabic *nmer*, plur. *nmûra*, and in Berber *wagerzámmĕn*, plur. *idwagerzámmĕn* [Iglíwa], *wagrār*, plur. *idwagrār* [*ibid.*], *waġuilās*, plur. *idwaġuilās* [*ibid.*], *aġilạs*, plur. *iġilạ̈sn* [Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin], *aġirās*, plur. *iġirâsn* [Ṯemsâmän]). But the lion is a dangerous animal. If it lets its spittle fall on a person (Aiṯ Nḍēr) or if it makes water on him (Casablanca), he will follow the beast and be devoured by it. A similar story, however, is more frequently told of

THE HYENA.—It is called in Arabic *ḍba'*, plur. *ḍbô'ă*; and in Berber *ifis*, plur. *ifasíun* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *ifisn* (Ṯemsâmän), fem. *tifist* (Amanūz, Iglíwa) or *ṯifisṯ*, plur.

[1] *Cf.* Jackson, *An Account of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1814), p. 87.

[2] de Chénier, *op. cit.* i. 120.

ṯifisin (Ṯemsâmän), *mejjġiul*, plur. *imjjġiạl* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin).

It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East[1] and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity.[2] If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Iglíwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), or when seeking him makes a noise (Aiṯ Wäryâger), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him. Or if it finds a man in a desert place, walks round him,[3] and then vomits upon him, the man will fall down and be devoured by the beast (Ṯemsâmän). But it has no power to enchant and do harm to a brave man. There was once in Ḥáḥa a hyena which on the 27th of Ramaḍān made water on forty scribes, one after the other, as they went out to urinate. It took each of them in turn to its den and went then to fetch another victim, so that at last only two scribes were left. These became anxious about their friends and went to look for them, one taking a gun with him. The hyena came and made water on them also. They did not lose their heads, however, but only pretended to be fascinated by the animal and followed it. They thus found their friends, and the one who carried the gun shot the beast. I was also told that

[1] The natives of Palestine believe that the hyena bewitches a person and lures him to his den by rubbing against him endearingly and then running on ahead (Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* [London, 1907], p. 270); or that it posts itself near a road and by an irresistible power of fascination obliges a traveller to follow it, "leading him through rough and thorny places, in hopes that he may fall and bleed to death, or be worn out by fatigue and so become a defenceless prey". But the magnetic force of the beast has no effect upon two persons (Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* [Cambridge, 1864], p. 40).

[2] Pliny says that magicians have attributed to the hyena "the power of alluring human beings and depriving them of their senses" (*op. cit.* xxviii. 27); and that "it imitates the human voice among the stalls of the shepherds, and while there, learns the name of some of them and then calls him away and devours him" (*ibid.* viii. 44).

[3] Pliny (*op. cit.* viii. 44) speaks of the belief that the hyena, by certain magical influences, can render any animal immovable round which it has walked three times.

if a man sees a hyena and has enough presence of mind to take two stones and strike them against each other, or also if he shows the animal his penis, it will not come and make water on him (Aglu).

At the same time the hyena, with its vacant stare, is regarded as a stupid animal; hence a stupid person is said to be *mă̤ḍbô'ŏ*, or "hyenaised". Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi, whenever a hyena is slain, the people of the village are anxious that the head shall be cut off and burned, because even if a small particle of it comes into contact with the head of a person, the latter will become silly or mad for ever. They are particularly afraid that some woman may get hold of the head with its brain and cause mischief with it. In many places married women give a small portion of a hyena's brain to their husbands to eat in order to make them stupid; the wife thereby gains power over her husband and he becomes obedient and indifferent to her behaviour (Fez, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, Ṯemsâmän).[1] The same effect is produced by giving the husband a small piece of a hyena's liver (Aiṯ Nḏēr). Women also secretly induce other women, whom they hate, to eat a trifle of a hyena's brain.

Certain parts of the hyena are used for medicinal or prophylactic purposes.[2] At Aglu, if a horse becomes ill, the fat of a hyena is burned and the horse is made to inhale the fumes; it falls down and begins to kick, and remains on the ground until it is in a bath of perspiration, and then it is cured. Among the Ait Temsâmän a person who goes to a village at night to steal takes with him a piece of a hyena's or lion's skin which he waves in the air, with the result that the dogs will be frightened by the smell and run away. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi robbers tie round their right arm the tongue of a hyena on which a scribe has written something from the Koran; this also will frighten away the dogs and

[1] *Cf.* Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (London, 1891), p. 300. Among the Shawia of Algeria "hyena's brains are secretly mixed with a person's food in order to send him mad" (Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 715).

[2] *Cf.* Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 400 *sq.* (Upper Egypt). Pliny (*op. cit.* xxviii. 27) speaks of seventy-nine remedies derived from the hyena.

prevent them from barking.[1] In the same tribe people protect themselves against the evil eye and *jnūn* by wearing a little piece of skin taken from a hyena's head with some words from the Koran written on the smooth side of it.[2] The piece of skin is first put into a mixture of salt and water; after it has become dry it is put into water mixed with pounded cloves (*eqšḍan*) and henna, and after it has become dry again it is fumigated with benzoin. Then it is given to the scribe to be written upon, and is finally sewn up in a piece of skin. The Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi hang round the necks of their animals a piece of a hyena's skin, to counteract malignant looks; but they also say that the smell of the hyena is good for the animal's health. We have previously noticed the use made of a hyena's brain, liver, and excrements for the purpose of increasing the quantity of the butter[3] or counteracting spells cast on it.[4]

THE JACKAL.—It is called in Arabic *dīb*, plur. *dyāb*, fem. *dîba*, dim. *dwîyîb*; and in Berber *ušš̈n* or *ušš̈ěn*, plur. *ušš̈ännn* (Amanūz, Iglíwa, Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin) or *ušš̈âněn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän).

The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue. Persons suffering from *l-berd*—a term applied to various complaints attributed to the catching of cold—have their bodies rubbed with melted jackal's fat (Aiṭ Nḍēr), or eat jackal's flesh which has been boiled in salt butter and flavoured with garlic, onions, and cummin; but after being boiled the meat must be removed from the pot with a spoon and not with the hand. The patient partakes of this dish for seven days, and eats it with bread made of corn which has not been kept in the granary, "so as not to be cold"; and for the same reason the bread should be made without yeast (Aglu). If a woman becomes pregnant while she has a suckling at her breast and her milk makes the suckling ill, she boils jackal's brain in butter and makes the child eat of it a few times, with

[1] Pliny says (*op. cit.* xxviii. 27) that dogs will never bark at persons who have a hyena's tongue in the shoe, beneath the sole of the foot.

[2] Pliny (*op. cit.* xxviii. 27) mentions the belief that the skin of the forehead of the hyena is a preservative against all fascination.

[3] *Supra*, ii. 298.

[4] *Supra*, i. 248 *sq.*

the result, I was told, that it will recover (Ait Waráin). Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). A man who is incapable of having sexual intercourse hangs the dried gall-bladder of a jackal at his right groin ; I was told that this produces a marvellous effect (Fez). A lying-in woman whose breasts contain no milk cures herself by eating jackal's gall, cooked with butter, on three mornings before breakfast (Aiṭ Sádděn). A married woman who wants to be divorced by her husband procures from a scribe a charm written with the gall of a jackal, and puts it inside the husband's mattress or buries it at the place where he sleeps ; he will then divorce her on the following morning, however unwilling to do so he has been before (Ḥiáina).

A man from the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi told me that the jackal has seven livers, and that a person who eats them in the evening will keep awake not only that night, but for the future also ; hence they are eaten by watchmen. In the same tribe a small bit of a jackal is hung round the necks of sheep and goats as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking ; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid. The tongue and the throat of a jackal are eaten by young women who want to perfect themselves in trilling the *zġârît* (Aiṭ Nḏēr). Charms are written on the skin of a jackal.

On the other hand, there are also evil magic qualities in the jackal. If a boy before the age of puberty eats its flesh he will have trouble in the future and, however well he behaves, will be accused of wrongs done by others (Andjra) ; one of my servants, who was often punished for disorderly behaviour, exculpated himself by saying that he had eaten jackal's flesh as a boy. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, though it is eaten as food by ordinary people, it is refrained from by scribes and *fóqra*, or saintly persons ; otherwise the charms they write would be useless and the spittle of the *fqēr* would lose its *baraka*. Yet they maintain that jackal's flesh is not *ḥărâm*,

unlawful, but only *maḳrôh*, or "abominable", that is, condemned but still lawful.[1]

To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Ḥiáina,[2] Aiṭ Wäryâġer), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).[3] If a person who is travelling sees a jackal in a trap he should turn back; once a man who was going from Aglu to the Wād Sūs failed to observe this rule and was in consequence caught on his way and detained as hostage for some persons who had been captured by people living near Aglu. In the Ḥiáina it is considered a good omen to see a jackal in the morning; it is then called *ṭ-ṭâleb*, or "scribe", *'Ălí*, while the Aiṭ Sádděn call it *ṭṭālb 'Ălí* at any hour of the day. It is also held to be good *fäl* if the jackal shrieks at night during the ploughing season: it means that the year will be good (Ḥiáina). But once when jackals were heard shrieking in the daytime not far from my camp, one of my servants, a native of Andjra, became very serious and said that something bad was going to happen on that day.[4]

The Fox.—It is called in Arabic *ak'āb*, plur. *aka'bạ̄n*, or *k'ab*, plur. *ka'bạ̄n*, or *tˢá'leb*, plur. *tˢ'áleb*; and in Berber *arakuk*, plur. *irakukn* (Amanūz), *ak'ab*, plur. *ik'ăbaun* (Ait Waráin), *iḫ'äb*, plur. *iḫ'ăbaun* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *iš'ab*, plur. *iša'baun* (Ṯemsâmän), *ŭhār*, plur. *ŭhârĕn* or *ŭhráwĕn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).[5]

The fox contains 366 medicines. If a person is in love with somebody and wants to cure himself of it, he burns the dung of a fox and fumigates himself with the smoke. If a little child cries at night the eye-tooth of a fox is hung round its neck. If a person has a molar tooth which is aching he hangs outside it on the cheek a similar tooth of a fox taken from the same side of the mouth. If a boy suffers from ringworm the blood of a fox is smeared on his head after

[1] *Cf.* Drummond Hay, *Western Barbary* (London, 1844), p. 18:—"The Mahommedans of this country . . . will feast upon the jackal as a delicacy".

[2] *Infra*, p. 333.

[3] *Cf.* Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien, 1908), p. 311.

[4] In Syria it is believed that the shrieking of a jackal at an unusual hour forebodes a drought (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 109).

[5] For euphemistic terms see *supra*, ii. 27.

it has been shaved. A deaf person pours the melted fat of a fox into his ear to get rid of his deafness. The same substance is applied to the armpits to prevent the growth of hair, and to the chest and the pubes as a preservative against disease in those parts of the body. The melted brain of a fox is put on syphilitic sores and kept there for four or five days, and should this cure prove ineffective the hoofs of a dead he-ass are charred and pounded and the powder is mixed with the brain. All these cures are practised in the Ḥiáina. Another remedy for syphilis is to roast a fox with head and hair and entrails until it is charred, and to give the powder made of it, mixed with honey, to the patient to eat (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); among the Ait Temsâmän it is to be taken on forty mornings before sunrise. Among the Ait Waráin a part of the body of a fox, always including the head, is charred in an empty earthenware pot which has never been used before; it is then pounded and the powder is boiled with either butter or oil, which should be very old and rancid, and the mixture is partaken of by the syphilitic person seven mornings on an empty stomach.

In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Aiṯ Wäryâġer) or for *lberd* (Aiṯ Nḍēr). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.[1] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.[2] In the Ḥiáina a person who is going out to steal at night hangs on himself the dried ears of a fox to prevent the dogs from barking. If a fox makes water on a boy while he is sleeping the boy will become ill or die, because when he wakes up he will be frightened by the smell (Ulâd Bů'ăziz).

If a person meets a fox in the morning when he is going somewhere, he should turn back because it is a bad omen (Andjra, Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Nḍēr, Aṯ Ubáḥṯi). This belief, however, does not seem to be universal; for a man from Aglu told me that it is on the contrary a good

[1] *Supra*, i. 573. [2] *Supra*, ii. 23.

omen if a person meets a fox when he sets out on a journey.[1] The Ait Waráin maintain that if a person who is going out at night to steal hears a fox making a noise, he ought to go back. They also believe that if a fox barks in the neighbourhood of a village, somebody in the village will die. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Ġarb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The Weasel.—It is called in Arabic *fārtˢ l-ḫail*, "the mouse of the horses"; and in Berber *ḏäsriṭ iġaḏáyĕn*, "the bride of the mice" (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *ṯabġaġat*, plur. *ṯibġaġaṯin* (Ṯemsâmän).

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Wäryâġer) or person (Ṯemsâmän) is made to inhale the smoke. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz also fumigate abscesses in persons with the smoke of a burned weasel.

The Gazelle.—It is called in Arabic *ġzāl*, plur. *ġŭzlān*, fem. *ġzâla*; and in Berber *aznkuḍ*, plur. *iznkʷaḍ* (Amanūz), *amĕlal*, plur. *imĕlāln* (Iglíwa), *amläl*, plur. *imlâln* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), *ṯiġăiḍĕt wŭżgar* (Ṯemsâmän).

Among the Ait Waráin, if a gazelle is caught, it is taken to the women to look at, so that they may give birth to children with eyes as big and black and beautiful as those of the gazelle.[2] Their women fasten a small bag with gazelle's dung to their necklaces on account of its scent. In the Arab portions of the tribe men mix some dry gazelle's dung with the *kīf*, or Indian hemp, they are smoking in order to become jolly. Charms are written on the skin of a gazelle.

The Hedgehog.—It is called in Arabic *qanfūd* (in Dukkâla *gănfūd*), plur. *qnâfed*, fem. *qanfûda*, dim. *qnîfed*;

[1] *Cf.* Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 311 (Arabia Petraea).

[2] Jackson says (*op. cit.* p. 80) that "the greatest compliment that can be paid to a beautiful woman, is to compare her eyes to those of the gazel".

and in Berber *bûmḥamd*, plur. *idbûmḥamd* (Amanūz), *bûmḥämd*, plur. *idbûmḥämd* (Iglíwa), *inikf*, plur. *inákfĕn* (*ibid.*), *insi*, plur. *insaun* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), *insiⁿ*, plur. *ansäin* (Ṯemsâmän).[1]

It is said that the hedgehog was once a man who prostituted his sister and in punishment was transformed into a hedgehog (Ḥiáina). It is very rich in medicinal virtue,[2] and some parts of it are used as charms against the evil eye. Women burn the skin of a hedgehog with its bristles on, mix the ashes with henna, and put the mixture in their hair to make it grow strong (Iglíwa). The bristle of a hedgehog, together with a written charm, is worn as an amulet against the evil eye (Demnat). A horse which has a cold in the head is made to inhale the smoke of the skin and bristles of a hedgehog, which are burned under its nose (Aglu). If a person suffers from fever, the bristles of a hedgehog are burned and the patient is fumigated with the smoke (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). A bridegroom who is incapable of consummating the marriage during the first night fumigates his penis with such smoke ; and it is perhaps on account of the bristles that the melted fat of this animal is used as an aphrodisiac, a man smearing his penis with it to increase his sexual power (Ḥiáina). Another cure for impotence in a man is to eat the penis of a hedgehog which has been boiled in oil or butter, but it must not be eaten together with other food ; and the same part of the animal is also dried and preserved for future use in case of need (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). A person who cannot see well chars the head of a hedgehog, pounds it and mixes the powder with antimony, and paints his eyes with the mixture (Aiṭ Sádděn). Women hang the right jaw-bone of a hedgehog on the chest over their clothes to prevent sleepiness (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Its jaw-bone is, together with other charms, hung round the neck of a little child as a protection against the evil eye (Andjra), and grown-up people wear a similar charm for the same purpose (Aiṭ Nḏēr). The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (*ḏaqăššār*), so that it

[1] For a euphemistic term see *supra*, ii. 27.

[2] *Cf.* Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 712 (Algeria).

shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); women smear it on their cheeks if they are losing their natural colour and begin to look blackish, a complaint called *dess* (Ḥiáina); and it is also applied to feet with a cracked skin (*ibid.*) and to warts (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Among the Ait Waráin, if a little child is affected by the milk of its mother because she has become pregnant, or if its stomach becomes tender and swollen, the intestines of a hedgehog are dried, pounded, and mixed with old and rancid oil or salt butter, and the mixture is given to the child to eat. The Amanūz give the gravy of a boiled hedgehog to a child suffering from the first of these complaints. The gall is used as a cure for deafness: it is boiled in oil and a little of it is put a few times into the affected ear (Aṭ Ubáḥṭi). The liver contains medicine for night-blindness (*buṭe^{dd}jis*): it is kept over fire for a moment at sunset, and its blood is then squeezed into the eyes of the patient (Ṯemsâmän). The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog, mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). The boiled flesh of a hedgehog is eaten as a remedy for witchcraft (Tangier). But to eat the flesh of this animal may also be attended with danger: it may cause dysury, and in some cases it makes syphilis break out afresh in persons who seemed to have been cured of it (Aiṭ Nḍēr).[1]

The hedgehog is said to belong to the domestic animals of the *jnūn* and therefore to be *meskîn* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin).[2] The same is the case with

THE PORCUPINE.—It is called in Arabic *dĕrb*, plur. *drūb*, fem. *dĕrba*, dim. *drîyĭb*; and in Berber *aruš*, plur. *irušan*, fem. *tarušt*, plur. *tarûšin* (Iglíwa; the Amanūz also use *tarûšin* as plur. for *aruš*), *ärui*, plur. *äruin* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *arui*, plur. *aruin* (Ait Waráin, Ṯemsâmän).[3]

The flesh of the porcupine is used for food. Among the Ait Waráin the man who cuts it in pieces says, for each piece,

[1] For the use of the gut of a hedgehog see *supra*, i. 403 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 277.

[3] For a euphemistic term see *supra*, ii. 27.

Awîli awîli, "Woe woe!" This will make the meat increase, whereas if he omits saying these words it will become less. So also the woman who puts the meat into the pot repeats the same phrase for each piece. Although *awîli* is generally a bad word, used by people in wailing, there is in this case *baraka* in it. While the meat is being boiled the pot must be well covered up. In the Ḥiáina the dish from which it is eaten must also be kept well covered, on account of the *baraka* attributed to the flesh of the porcupine.

The flesh is used by the Ait Waráin as medicine for *l-berd*, or, as they call it, *asmaṭ*, showing itself in rheumatic pain or various other symptoms. A woman who suffers from sore breasts rubs them with the forefoot of a porcupine (Ait Waráin), or hangs the foot of a porcupine, which has been painted with henna, over the affected breast (Ḥiáina);[1] remedies of this sort used by women in childbed will be described in the next chapter.[2] Women use the bristle of the same animal for painting their eyes with antimony, which is supposed to be good for the eyes (Ṯemsâmän).

Another animal belonging to the domestic animals of the *jnūn* is

The Hare.—It is called in Arabic *árneb* or usually *lárneb*, plur. *rwą̊něb*, fem. *arnâba* or *larnâba*; and in Berber *autil*, plur. *iutlan* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *buigran*, plur. *idbuigran* (Iglíwa), *auṯul*, plur. *iuṯlą̊n* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *áirzez*, plur. *ierzaz* (Ait Waráin), *ayāziz*, plur. *iyāzaz* (Ṯemsâmän) or *iyāzizn* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), fem. *ṯayāzisṯ*, plur. *ṯiyāzaz* (Ṯemsâmän).

The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Aiṯ Sádděn). It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes. At Aglu, if a hunter has killed a hare, he eats its head in order to be lucky in his hunting in the future; and if a boy who is three years old is not yet able to stand on his legs, the charred and pounded head of a hare, mixed with salt butter, honey, and oil, is

[1] *Cf.* Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 711 *sq.* (Algeria).
[2] *Infra*, p. 400 *sq.*

given to him to eat on different occasions until he has eaten the whole of it. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, if a woman is troubled with a constant effusion of blood in her genitals, she eats the liver, lungs, and spleen of a female hare, boiled with oil or butter. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if a person suffers from night-blindness (*būtällis*), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (*ḏăzubäiṭ*) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint. At Aglu and among the Iglíwa scribes write love charms and other charms with the blood of a hare, saffron, and Moorish ink, a few words with each of them separately. We have previously noticed charms against the evil eye written with the blood of a hare and saffron, and other charms against it consisting of the dried blood of the same animal together with a *ḥerz*.[1]

If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkâla, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Iglíwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Ḥiáina). The Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin maintain that it is a bad foreboding to see a hare shortly after setting out on a journey, although not so bad that you need go back on that account; and that if a person goes out hunting and sees a hare the first thing, he will get no bag on that day.

The Mouse.—It is called in Arabic *fâr*, plur. *fîrān*, fem. *fâra*, dim. *fúiyar*; and in Berber *aġărda*, plur. *aġărdain* (Amanūz), *aġrḍa*, plur. *iġrḍain* (Iglíwa, Ait Waráin), dim. *taġrḍait* (Iglíwa), *aġrḍa*, plur. *iġrḍain* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *aġāḍa*, plur. *iġāḍäin* (Ṭemsâmän).

Mice are given to sucklings to eat as a medicine if they have become ill because their mother is pregnant with a male child (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).

The Bat.—It is called in Arabic *ṭair l-līl*, plur. *ṭiôr*

[1] *Supra*, i. 442 *sq.*

l-līl, or (in the dialect of the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) *saḥt l-līl*; and in Berber *tailält* (Iglíwa), *tamzzigst* (Aglu), *lwůṭwaṭ* (Ait Waráin), *ărwůḍwaḍ* (Ṯemsâmän).

The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Aiṯ Wäryâġer); but among the Ait Temsâmän the bat must have been caught and killed by a person whose name is Můḥámmed and it is burned at once. In Andjra the smoke of a bat is inhaled by persons suffering from fever which is supposed to have been caused by the moon. Among the Ait Waráin something from the Koran is written on a bit of the skin of a bat and on a piece of paper; these pieces are then burned and the person suffering from fever fumigates himself with the smoke, and this is done for three days. In the Ḥiáina, if a man's children die at an early age, he procures a bat, splits it open, puts harmel inside it, and fastens it to his wife's belt, with the result, I was told, that her future children will remain alive; this is a protection against the *jnūn*, who are supposed to have caused the earlier children's death. A bat which has had its entrails removed and then been dried is hung in houses and shops to bring prosperity (Tangier). The right wing of a bat is hung on the churn if the milk does not produce the usual quantity of butter, and witchcraft is supposed to be the cause of it (Ait Waráin). Young girls smear their genitals with the blood of a bat in order to prevent the growth of hair (Fez).

The bat, however, may also be the cause of disease. The Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi believe that if a bat flies over a little child at night, the child will be affected with an illness called *tamzzigst* or *tailält*, like the animal itself, which makes it vomit the milk it has sucked and also shows itself through other symptoms; hence mothers are afraid of taking their infants out in the evening, and shut the door of the house as soon as they hear the flight of a bat outside. This illness is cured by certain scribes who can tell when a child is suffering from it by measuring various parts of its body and comparing the measures with those of a bat. In Aglu the mother may take the affected child to the shrine of Sîdi 'Abdrrăḥman Lḥănbûbi, on the sea-shore. She gives a

white cock to one of the saint's descendants who is on the spot. He removes the covering from the chest of the saint, dresses himself up in it, pulling it over his head, kills the cock over the head of the child, collects the blood in a vessel, and rubs the body of the child with the blood. If on the following morning the blood is still found on its body it will die, but if it has disappeared the child will recover.

There are families who on the birth of a child have to hang on it some earth from a shrine, since otherwise it would become ill or die; but this charm loses its efficacy if a bat flies over the child, or a person or animal steps over it (Tangier).

THE STORK.—It is called in Arabic *bellârĕj* (plur. the same); and in Berber *aswŭ*, plur. *isŭa* (Iglíwa), *bellârj*, plur. *idbellärj* (Amanūz), *berrârj*, plur. *iberrârjn* (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), *bellêrj*, plur. *ibĕllérjĕn* (Ṯemsâmän).

The stork was once a judge who married and after the consummation of the marriage made his ablution with buttermilk; and he committed another sin also. He smeared the threshold of his office with soap so that the people who entered it slipped and fell down. He only laughed and laughed; but an angel of God said to him, "O stork, why did you do wrong to Moslems?" At the same moment he was transformed into a stork; and he has still a black cloak and a white cloak, he has the henna of the bridegroom on his feet, his eyes are black with antimony, and he is going on laughing as before (Ait Waráin; a similar though less detailed story was told me by a man from the Ḥiáina). According to another account the stork was a wealthy man who once when there was a famine sold corn to the people and smeared the staircase of his house with soap, so that the customers should fall when they walked down with their corn, and he only laughed at it (Iglíwa).[1] Or the stork was once an *agurram*, or saint, who was changed into a stork because he had sexual intercourse with his daughter (Aglu). Old writers on Morocco tell the story that a company of Arabs who plundered people going on a pilgrimage to

[1] *Cf.* Saïd Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain* (Paris, 1908), p. 252 *sq.* (Demnat).

Mecca were at the request of the Prophet transformed into storks by God.[1] According to Ali Bey the Moors believe " that the storks are men from some distant islands, who at certain seasons of the year take the shape of birds to come here ; that they return again at a certain time to their country, where they resume their human form till the next season ".[2]

Nobody is allowed to kill a stork ; to do so (Ait Waráin) or to take an egg or a young bird from a stork's nest (Ḥiáina) would cause fever. According to an old writer storks are reckoned to be " an Enchanted People, that have a peculiar Dialect to themselves : And so infatuated is the King himself, that if the best Moor in his Dominions should Kill one of them, he would infallibly take away his Life for it ".[3] Chénier suggests that this repugnance to killing storks may be due to " the regularity with which these birds utter their cries, and the motion they make with their bodies, which, in some sort, resembles that of the Mahometans when at prayer ".[4] Among the Ait Waráin it is the custom to bury a stork which is found dead, and to make a small *ḥauš* on the grave, and this is afterwards visited by persons suffering from fever, as though it were a *sîyîd*. Ali Bey states that a great part of the funds to maintain the hospital used for the treatment of lunatics at Fez " has been bequeathed by the wills of various charitable testators for the express purpose of assisting and nursing sick cranes and storks, and of burying them when dead ".[5]

In Andjra there are women who, before they begin to make butter, burn some powder made of dried stork's eggs and fumigate the churn with the smoke. But the stork may also be the cause of evil events. If it builds its nest on the

[1] St. Olon, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1695), p. 30 ; Höst, *op. cit.* p. 276.

[2] Ali Bey, *Travels in Morocco*, &c., i. (London, 1816), p. 74.

[3] *An Account of South-West Barbary*, edited by Ockley (London, 1713), p. 66.

[4] de Chénier, *op. cit.* i. 289.

[5] Ali Bey, *op. cit.* i. 74. *Cf.* Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors* (London, 1901), p. 70 *sq.* ; van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 239, quoting a communication of W. Marçais.

roof of a house the house will become empty, either because its inhabitants will abandon it or because they will die ; yet this will not happen if the bird is driven away in time. So also, if a stork sits down on the roof of a house or in the yard outside, the place will become empty. If it builds its nest in a fruit tree, the tree will wither away. If the storks are white and clean when they arrive there will be much sunshine and heat and the year will be bad, whereas if they are gray and dirty there will be enough rain and the year will be good (Ḥiáina).

THE RAVEN.—It is called in Arabic *ġrāb*, plur. *ġōrāb*, fem. *ġrâba* ; and in Berber *ageiwar*, plur. *igeiwárn*, fem. *tageiwart*, plur. *tigeiwárin* (Amanūz), *aḥaqqai*, plur. *iḥaqqain*, fem. *taḥaqqait*, plur. *tiḥaqqáyin* (Iglíwa), *a'áqqar*, plur. *i'aqqárn* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *baqqar*, plur. *ibaqqárn* (Ait Waráin), *ḏbaġra*, plur. *ḏibaġríwin* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *ṯbaġra*, plur. *ṯibaġríwin* (Ṯemsâmän).

The raven was also formerly a man who committed a sin : he was intrusted with something belonging to another person and, when it was claimed back, denied that he had got it ; in consequence of which he was transformed into the black bird he is at present (Ḥiáina). I have also heard that the raven was once a blacksmith ; and this may be the reason why it is so difficult to shoot a raven—it sees the bullet and flies away (Aglu). To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Mṣáuwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer. In Andjra I heard of a man who became mad because he killed a raven.

If a woman is losing her hair, a raven is killed and charred and her head is smeared with the powder mixed with honey (Andjra) or with water or oil (Ait Waráin) ; this will give her a good growth of black hair, like the feathers of the bird. But the pipkin in which she roasts it must never have been used before (Andjra). If a person suffers from fever, the feathers of a raven are burned and the patient is fumigated with the smoke (Ṯemsâmän). A childless woman who is desirous of offspring tries to get hold of a raven to kill and

drink its blood, warm as it flows from the body (Aglu). The raven is eaten as a cure for syphilis (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aiṯ Nḍēr, Iglíwa); this is particularly the case with its liver (Dukkâla), but the bird must have been caught and killed "in the name of God" (Aglu). The gall is used for various purposes. A woman who for some reason or other wants to induce a man to divorce his wife procures some hairs from her head, a piece of her chemîse, and some earth from her footprint, and mixes these things with the gall of a raven. Some of the mixture she gives to the man in his food, another portion she burns so that he inhales the smoke, and a third portion she puts underneath his bed. Then his wife will appear to him black like a raven, and her speech will be as bitter as gall, and he will send her away in consequence (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). The Aiṯ Sádděn drink the gall, still warm, as a safeguard against bullets, and also to remove *aṯqqaf* (*ṯ'qāf*) caused by witchcraft; but they say that the gall of a raven is difficult to procure, because when the bird is shot it generally drinks its own gall before it dies so as to prevent people from getting hold of it—a belief which I have also found elsewhere (Ṯemsâmän). If possible to procure, the gall is also drunk as a remedy for fever (*ibid.*). Among the Amanūz it is, mixed with honey or sugar, given as medicine to a child who has become ill by sucking his pregnant mother. In the Ḥiáina it is used as medicine for leucoma (*lĕ-biáḍ fi l-'ain*), the eye being painted with it just as when women paint their eyes with antimony; but it is necessary that the gall should have been removed from the bird immediately after its death. The Aiṯ Sádděn paint an eye suffering from the same disease, which they call *ṯímĕlli*, with a mixture of the dried and pounded brain of a raven and saffron. The neb of a raven is hung round the neck of a little child as a protection against the evil eye, and for the same purpose a raven's foot is tied to the churn (Ait Waráin). Charms are written with the blood of a raven (Ḥiáina).

If there are many ravens gathered together and crowing, they are calling for rain (Ait Waráin), or even a deluge of it (Aiṯ Sádděn). If one raven is heard crowing in the yard of a house, somebody in the house or in the village will soon

die (Ait Waráin).[1] If when setting out on a journey in the morning you see a single raven, it is a bad omen and you should go back (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Ait Waráin, Ṯemsâmän, Iglíwa); [2] but if another raven turns up (Ṯemsâmän) or if you see two ravens together [3] (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḏēr) or even separately (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) it is a good omen, or at any rate you may go on if you wait for an hour or two (Ait Waráin). The Arabs of the Ḥiáina say, *Jūj ġrébbāṇ u dīb ḥárbāṇ u ḥneš zérbān* —meaning that it is good *fäl* to see two ravens or a jackal or snake which takes to flight. If you see more than two ravens, some people say that you may go on (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr); but others maintain that three or any odd number [4] of ravens are a bad omen, though four or any even number of those birds are a good one, and that in the latter case it is not necessary that the even number of them, if more than two, should be seen together (Ḥiáina). The Aiṭ Wäryâġer believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

The Owl.—It is called in Arabic *můka*, *yůka*, or sometimes *sarsâra*; and in Berber *auwōk* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), plur *iwôka* (Iglíwa), fem. *tauwōkt*, plur. *tiwôkin* (Amanūz; also used as plur. for *auwōk*) or *tiwôka* (Iglíwa), *ṯwūšṯ*, plur. *ṯiwůšin* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏġůiṭ*, plur. *ḏiġůyin* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *můkka* (Aiṭ Sádděn).

The following story is told about the owl. Sîdna Suleiṃan's wife once said to her husband, "If I am dear to you, you will make for me a bed of the feathers of birds". He then sent for all the birds, and they came, every one except the owl. He ordered the eagle to fetch the owl, and so he did. Sîdna Suleiṃan asked the owl why he did not come at once. The owl said, "I was thinking of three things".

[1] *Cf.* Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 203.

[2] For similar beliefs *cf.* Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* (Alger, 1888), p. 225; Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 107 (Metāwile); Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 311 (Arabia Petraea); Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 51.

[3] *Cf.* Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 311 (Arabia Petraea).

[4] *Cf.* Villot, *op. cit.* p. 225 (Algeria).

—"What were they?"—"I was thinking which is longer, the day or the night, and I found that the day is the longer, because the moonlight night belongs to the day".—"And the next thing?"—"I was thinking who are more numerous, the men or the women, and found that there are more women than men".—"How?"—"Because a man who does what women say is himself one of them". There was yet a third question to be answered; and Sîdna Suleiman approved of the answers so highly that he sent away the birds without depriving them of their feathers, all except the bat, who had been in a hurry to ask him to take his feathers and therefore has none on his wings (Iglíwa).

The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep. He ties it round his right arm (Ḥiáina), or fastens it to his head (Iglíwa), or eats it boiled (Ait Waráin, Ṯemsâmän), and a shepherd boy has it hung round his neck (Ait Waráin). Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Aiṯ Nḏēr), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). Another method of keeping awake is to paint one's eyes with powder made of the eyes of an owl (Andjra). At Demnat an eye of this bird, attached to a string, is worn by a child round the neck as a charm against the evil eye. It is said that a gun which has killed an owl will never be hurt by envious looks (Aiṯ Nḏēr). At Aglu, if a child has sucked its mother while she is pregnant she procures a young owl, cooks it with salt and cummin, and eats of this dish—which should be kept on a looking-glass—and gives it to the child to eat of for seven days; this is supposed to save the life of the child.

We have seen in earlier chapters that owls, like bats, may be dangerous to little children.[1] For an illness caused by an owl flying over the head of a child there is the following cure: the mother places a brass bowl (*ṭas*) on the top of the child's head and makes water in it, saying, *Šaršâra ġálbeṯ sarsâra*, "*Šaršâra* (an onomatopoetic expression referring

[1] *Supra*, i. 166, 401.

to the splashing and used for the sake of the rhyme) conquered the owl ".

In Morocco, as elsewhere,[1] the hooting of an owl is regarded as a death portent. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz believe that if an owl hoots on the roof of a tent or house the life of its owner is in danger. He then tries to turn the danger of death upon the owl itself by saying, *Fâlăk fi qrâbăk*, " Your *fāl* be in your bag " ; but some people prevent owls from coming to the tent by tying to its roof a stake with a piece of black tent-cloth attached to it. The belief that the hooting of an owl on the roof of a house at night forebodes the death of its owner is also found among the Iglíwa. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina have the idea that if an owl is heard hooting at a house in the evening or at daybreak somebody in the house will die, unless it is driven away or shot, as in such a case the *bạs*, or evil, will go away with it; when it is heard the people say, *Mûka fâlăk 'ála râsăk*, " Owl, your *fāl* be on your own head ". The Aiṭ Wäryâger maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun. The Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Wárain say that if an owl is heard at night in a village somebody there will die before long, and they try to shoot the bird so that it shall not be heard another night. If a person has died and been buried and the owl is still hooting, the whole place will become empty—not through the death of all the inhabitants, but because they will have to abandon it for some reason or other. Among the Ait Temsâmän an owl which is heard hooting at night is driven away with stones, lest some person or animal in the village should die or some other evil should befall its inhabitants.

[1] Villot, *op. cit.* p. 225 (Algeria) ; Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 51 (Palestine) ; Felkin, ' Notes on the For Tribe of Central Africa ', in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xiii. (1886), p. 230 (the Fors are Muhammadan negroes) ; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1900), §§ 165, 274, pp. 124, 202 (Germany) ; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895), p. 91 *sq.* (generally). In Syria it is believed that a house on which an owl is heard hooting will soon be destroyed (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 87).

It is a bad foreboding to see an owl in the morning (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). If a person who is starting on a journey hears an owl hooting he should turn back at once,[1] whereas it is a good omen to hear an owl producing a quick and trilling sound (Aglu).

In the Ḥiáina the right eye of an eagle-owl (*ḫāl mûka*), after being dipped into pounded harmel, is worn by a person who wants to keep awake. It is also used for the purpose of finding out the secrets of women: if a man puts it into the right hand of his wife or daughter while she is asleep, she will begin to talk and tell what she has done during the day.

The Vulture.—It is called *isġi* by the Rifians of Ṯemsâmän.

They char and pound its body and use the powder, mixed with water, as medicine for persons who have eaten poison. In order to attract and catch one of these birds they throw the carcass of an animal in a desert place. The powder made of the charred body is also offered for sale.

The Partridge.—It is called in Arabic *ḥâjla*, plur. coll. *ḥjel* or *ḥjūl*; and in Berber *taskkurt*, plur. *tiskkŭrin* (Amanūz) or *tiskurin* (Iglíwa; there is also the masc. form *askkur*, plur. *iskuran* [the Amanūz use the fem. plur. *tiskkŭrin*] for the male bird), *täskkurt*, plur. *tiskkurin* (Ait Waráin), *ṯäskkurṯ*, plur. *iṯḫŭrān* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *ṯäskkʸuaṯ*, plur. *ṯisšĕrin* (Ṯemsâmän).

If a partridge takes flight close to a person in the morning it is a good omen (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina)—it is then called *rbāḥ*, "bringer of profit"; but at the same time it causes misfortune to the hare because it wakes up the sleepy grayhounds (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). If a woman finds a nest of partridge eggs when she is out gathering fuel, she removes her belt, lays it down over the eggs, and puts it on again; and she then takes the eggs and eats them when she comes home again. It is believed that if she does not do this she will be divorced by her husband; for her finding the eggs means that some other man is desirous of having her, and by putting the belt over them she drives away the *baṣ* (Ḥiáina). A person who is troubled with watery

[1] *Cf.* Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 311 (Arabia Petraea).

eyes (*dém'a*) paints them with the gall of a partridge (*ibid.*).

THE PIGEON.—The wild-dove is called in Arabic *limâma*, plur. coll. *līmām*; and in Berber *timilla*, plur. *timällíwin* (Amanūz), *tmälla*, plur. *timälliwin* (Ait Waráin), *ṯmädja*, plur. *ṯimädjíwin* (Ṯemsâmän), *ṯälimämt*, plur. *ṯälimâmin* (Aiṯ Sádděn). The tame pigeon is called in Arabic *ḥmâma*, plur. coll. *ḥmām*; and in Berber *atbir*, plur. *itbīrn* (Amanūz, Iglíwa, Ait Waráin), *aḏbir*, plur. *iḏbiān* (Ṯemsâmän), *ṯälḥmämt*, plur. *ṯälḥmâmin* (Aiṯ Sádděn).

The wild-dove is holy—a shereef (Ḥiáina) or shereefa (Ait Waráin) or *fqēr* (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). It is the herald of the reaping season—*Ila jāt^s limâma jâbet' l-ménjel fi l-ḥzâmha*, "When the wild-dove comes it brings the sickle in its belt" (Ḥiáina). A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species. Yet there are people who seem to have no scruple against killing this bird, for example the Aiṯ Sádděn. The tame pigeon is frequently killed and eaten. But the Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi refrain from killing any pigeon, whether wild or tame; if a person shoots such a bird his gun may burst because it may be a saint (Aglu), and if any one sees somebody else shooting a pigeon he covers his eyes and says, *Ddnubn̄nĕk f íḥfĕnnĭk*, "Your sins be on your head" (Iglíwa). The Ait Temsâmän believe that if a person sees a single tame pigeon and shoots it he will become ill, because it may be a *jẹnn*[1] or a saint, but that if he sees many such birds together there is no danger in shooting them. The Aiṯ Wäryâger consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn a charm written with the blood of a white

[1] *Cf.* a tradition mentioned by van Vloten, 'Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern', in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. (1893), p. 240.

tame pigeon is worn as a cure for illness caused by *insĕlmĕn* (*jnūn*), and the patient may besides be made to eat the bird, boiled without salt, and to drink the gravy. In the Ḥiáina, also, charms are written with the blood of pigeons.

It is believed that if a wild-dove lays three eggs one of them will become a turtle-dove. This bird has, from its cooing, got the name *dukrû-llah* (*ḏukrû-llah* ; in the dialect of the Aiṭ Sádděn *ḏkōr-lláh*), which means " praise God ". It is a scribe among birds, who says his prayers at the regular hours. If kept in a house it gives blessing to it, though only on condition that it is well looked after—he who does not feed his turtle-dove contracts much sin ; but I have also heard the opinion that there will be little prosperity in a house in which a turtle-dove is kept. All agree, however, that it is good to take such a bird to a shrine as a present to the saint, and this is frequently done. It is forbidden to kill a turtle-dove ; but magic is sometimes practised with its feathers. In Aglu, if a girl is anxious to get married, she gets hold of some feathers of this bird, lays them underneath a she-camel which has never given birth to young ones, and lets them remain there until the camel has made water on them ; she then puts them into a piece of cloth, which she ties round her right arm, and hopes to get a husband soon.

The Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*).—It is called in Arabic *hädhud* or *bel hädhud* ; and in Berber *ḏbuibaḫṭ* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *ṯbuibaḫṭ*, plur. *ibūibûġĕn* (Ṯemsâmän), *hudhud*, plur. *idhudhud* (Amanūz), *lhädhūd* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *lhäthut* (Ait Waráin).

The hoopoe is rich in magic and medicinal virtue.[1] After its entrails have been removed it is dried, and then worn as a charm ; it makes him who wears it feared by others, it protects him against witchcraft and the evil eye, it neutralises any spell which has been cast on him. It is also hung up in a shop as a safeguard against theft and evil looks and as a charm for good luck (Tangier). Among the Ait Waráin the dried head of a hoopoe, enclosed in a small case of leather or brass, makes people friendly to him who wears it ;

[1] *Cf.* Höst, *op. cit.* p. 278 (Morocco) ; Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 707 (Algeria).

he will have nothing to fear even though his sheikh sends for him with a view to arresting him, because the charm will cause the sheikh to change his mind. We have seen that the hoopoe is used for protecting milk and butter from witchcraft or increasing the quantity of the butter,[1] as also for preventing the *jnūn* from haunting buried money and from striking the person who subsequently digs it up.[2] The Aiṭ Sádděn believe that the right eye of a hoopoe, tied between the eyes of a person, enables him to see buried treasures and other things under the ground. This belief is founded on the idea, also prevalent among the Ait Waráin, that the bird itself can see those things ; hence it says *hut hut hut*, meaning " there, there, there ! " from which it has got its name. At Fez the eye of a hoopoe, attached to a string, is hung round the neck of a child as a charm against the evil eye ; while a man hangs it on himself in order to increase his sexual capacity.

The blood of this bird, mixed with water and sugar, is given as medicine to a child who has sucked his pregnant mother (Amanūz). In many parts of the country the heart of it is eaten by scribes and schoolboys to strengthen their memory (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin). Thus among the Iglíwa and at Aglu the heart of a hoopoe which has been caught alive and then killed is boiled and given to a boy to eat, with the result that he " will learn by heart anything he sees ". At Aglu the heart of a hoopoe which has been caught alive is also used for another purpose. It is removed from the live bird, its blood is squeezed out and mixed with saffron and Moorish ink, and a love charm is written with the mixture, to be used by a man who wants a certain girl to fall in love with him. He buries the charm at the threshold of the house in which she is living, and hopes that the girl by walking over it will be induced to love him. But the charm may be deprived of its efficacy by a counter-charm made of a crested lark.

The Crested Lark (*Galerita cristata*).—It is called in Arabic *msîsi de l-ḥart*ˢ or, in the dialect of the Ḥiáina, *mussîsi* ; and in Shelḥa *tamkrăzt* (Aglu).

[1] *Supra*, i. 248, ii. 298. [2] *Supra*, i. 311.

If a woman suspects that a man is charming her to love him in the manner which has been just described, she may frustrate him in his endeavour by roasting alive a crested lark until it is charred, pounding it and mixing the powder with salt butter, and partaking of the mixture for seven days in succession. In the Ḥiáina the charred and pounded body of a crested lark, mixed with honey, is eaten on seven consecutive mornings before breakfast as a remedy for dysury.

The Swallow.—It is called in Arabic *ḫoṭṭáifa*, plur. coll. *ḫoṭṭaif*; and in Berber *aflillis*, plur. *iflillîsn*, fem. *taflillist*, plur. *tiflillîsin* (Iglíwa), *tiflillst*, plur. *tiflíllsin* (Ait Waráin), *ḏifriddest*, plur. *ḏifriddas* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *ṯifri^{dd}jïsṯ*, plur. *ṯifri^{dd}jäs* (Ṯemsâmän), *ṯalilwaṭṭ*, plur. *ililwáḍĕn* (Aiṯ Sáddĕn).

There is *baraka* in the swallow; it is said to be a shereefa, and swallows are called *ḫoṭṭaif n-nbi*, "the swallows of the Prophet". They bring good luck to the house in which they nest. Nobody must kill a swallow; to do so would cause fever (Ait Waráin). And if a person takes hold of a swallow his hand will tremble ever after (Tangier).[1]

I am told, however, that the prohibition of killing swallows is sometimes transgressed by jugglers from Sūs. Seven young birds are charred and pounded, and the powder is mixed with *rās l-ḫänš* (literally, "snake's head", an incense which I cannot identify), the fat of a black he-goat, and human excrements. This mixture is put into a jug, which, covered up, is buried in a dunghill and left there for twelve days. It is then kept out-of-doors for twelve nights in starlight and for six days in sunshine so that its contents shall get dry. The stuff is pounded, and when the juggler puts a little of the powder in his mouth he will be able to transform one thing into another simply by spitting. He can do so with the assistance of the *jnūn*.

Swallows are also caught to be used for medicinal purposes. The neb of a swallow is put into the mouth of a little child in order that it shall soon begin to speak (Ṯemsâmän). A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by

[1] In Syria it is believed that a person who takes hold of a swallow incurs the risk of getting fever (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 95).

touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). The Ait Waráin have the following cure for jaundice (*bûṣffeṛ*). The young swallows in a nest are, during the absence of their mother, painted with saffron diluted in water. When the mother, on her return to the nest, finds her young ones yellow, she thinks that they suffer from jaundice, and brings a small stone to cure them with. This stone is removed from the nest, and the patient eats a little gravel taken from it as a remedy for his illness. The remaining part of the stone is preserved for future occasions or is sold as medicine for jaundice. When the young swallows are painted yellow it is necessary to use a feather, lest their mother should feel the smell of a human hand and, in consequence, desert her young ones instead of bringing a stone to cure them.

The Sparrow.—It is called in Arabic *bûrṭāl*, plur. *brâṭăl*; and in Berber *tizikk^{w}i*, plur. *izakkiun* (Amanūz), *azukki*, plur. *izukkin* (Demnat), *ajjáuj*, plur. *ajjáujn* (Iglíwa), *zōki*, plur. *izōkíyĕn* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), plur. coll. *jjauš* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin) or *bûṭqabbûzin* (Ṭemsâmän).

The sparrow is used as an aphrodisiac. In Andjra a man chars and pounds the bodies of some eight or ten sparrows and mixes the powder with *lă-'sél ḍe l-mṓṭrūn*, that is, honey which has been sucked from the strawberry-tree and is noted for its lack of sweetness. Into this mixture he puts forty quite small scraps of paper, and takes the mixture on an empty stomach on forty successive mornings; his sexual capacity will then become as great as that of a sparrow. A sparrow's nest, as said above, is used for the purpose of increasing the quantity of the butter.[1]

The Night-Heron (*Nycticorax griseus*), in Arabic called *ṭair l-mūt*.

It is an ominous bird. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz believe that if it flies towards the east people will die, and that if it flies towards the west domestic animals will die. It is on the move at night.[2]

[1] *Supra*, ii. 298.

[2] *Cf.* Irby, *The Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar* (London, 1875), p. 187.

THE TORTOISE.—It is called in Arabic *fĕkrūn* or *afker*, plur. *fkårĕn*; and in Berber *butĕgra* (Amanūz), *lfkron*, plur. *lĕfkârn* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *afkrûn*, plur. *ifkraṇ* (Ait Waráin), *iḫfär*, plur. *iḫfårĕn* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *išfā*, plur. *išfăraun* (Ṯemsâmän).

A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be *jnūn*; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.[1] Even when the water in which they live is not associated with a saint they may act as doctors. At Aglu there is a haunted pond, called *tamda Uglu*, "the pond of Aglu", which is visited by persons who have an obstinate wound on the foot; the patient dips the foot into the water, and some of the tortoises living there which are looked upon as *lĕmluk*, or *jnūn*, come and remove the affected part of the flesh.

At Fez land-tortoises are kept on the roofs of houses as charms against the evil eye.[2] Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people. In several tribes the flesh of a tortoise boiled with butter or oil and spices is given to a suckling who has become ill because its mother is with child (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin); but it may be necessary for the efficacy of the cure that the tortoise shall be killed by a boy or man whose name is Můḥámmed (Ṯemsâmän). The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz give such flesh boiled with salt butter and onions, together with the gravy, to a child which has been sucking its mother while pregnant with a male child, as also to the foal of a horse or a young mule or donkey which has become sick from a similar cause. The flesh and eggs of a female tortoise, boiled with butter, are given to a boy who is weakly (Aglu) and are also eaten by a woman who is desirous of offspring; she eats of it while in bed, well covered up, so as to induce a perspiration (Ait Waráin). The shell of a tortoise is

[1] *Supra*, i. 85 *sqq*. See also *supra*, i. 292.
[2] *Supra*, i. 464.

burned and the smoke inhaled by a person who has become the victim of witchcraft (Tangier). On the other hand, a piece of a tortoise-shell is also used by a married woman for the purpose of taming a rowdy and quarrelsome husband: she throws it into the fire without his knowledge, and when it begins to crack he becomes quiet (*ibid.*). We have previously noticed a sorcerous rite in which a married woman makes use of a tortoise to prevent her husband from taking another wife.[1]

A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf. The Aiṭ Nḏēr believe that if a tortoise enters the place where they keep their sheep and goats, the female animals will have diseased udders and produce only a small quantity of milk. But there is a cure for it. The whole flock is taken to a shrine and a cut is made into the ear of one of the lambs or kids, or a small piece of its ear is cut off, and at the same time a promise is made to the saint to give him the animal when it has grown bigger. Moreover, some earth from the shrine, enveloped in a piece of calico, is hung round the neck of the ram or buck-goat which is the propagator of the flock, or, if there are several such propagators, round the neck of one of them Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, if a sheep or goat is deficient in milk and the cause of it is supposed to be that a tortoise has come near it, an unmarried girl removes the kerchief from her head and wipes with it the udders of the animal. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz believe that if a tortoise enters a tent and remains there, the milk in the churn will only give a very small quantity of butter. Contact with the blood or urine of a land-tortoise is said to cause warts (*ttûläl*; Aiṭ Sádděn).

Frogs and Toads.—A frog or toad is called in Arabic *grâna*, plur. *grâin*, or *jrâna*, plur. *jrâin*; and in Berber *alfsa*, plur. *ilfsiun* (Demnat), *agru*, plur. *igŭra* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *ag^{y}ru*, plur. *ig^{y}ra* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *ajru*, plur. *ijra* (Ait

[1] *Supra*, i. 575.

Waráin) or *ijāwan* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏärfsiuṯ*, plur. *iqarqríwĕn* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer).

There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Iglíwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, &c.).[1] At Tangier I heard of a boy who died because he had killed a frog; and many persons are said to have died or become ill because they have caused the death of a frog by treading on it, or their children have died or become ill in consequence (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). Frogs and toads are frequently supposed to be *jnūn*, or haunted by *jnūn*; but I have also been told that the frog is a *fqêra*, or female saint (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). It is constantly repeating the phrase, "There is no God but Allāh" (Aglu, Iglíwa). When a frog is found inside a house or tent it is politely asked to go away or is gently removed with a slipper or otherwise. Some people say, when they see a frog, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and among the Ait Waráin the person who sees a frog also shuts his mouth and covers it with his hand so as to prevent his teeth from getting bad and falling out. At Fez, if a person sees a frog or a toad sitting and looking at him, he spits towards it and says, *A'mît'ek qbel t'a'mîni*, "I made you blind before you make me blind"; he thinks that it is a *jĕnn*. In the same town there is a belief that if a frog is found in the water inside the house it is a bad omen: the house will become empty because its inhabitants will either die or abandon it.

My Berber secretary from the Aiṯ Sádděn told me that he had heard from an old woman who was a witch that if a person puts on the top of his head the skin of a green frog, he can go to the market and take from there anything he likes without being seen. The same man had been told by scribes from other tribes that if a person puts on his head the skin of a toad with something from the Koran written on it, he will be invisible as long as the skin remains there,

[1] In Syria a person who takes hold of a frog is supposed to incur the risk of getting fever (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 95).

and can consequently commit theft without being detected.[1] They had also told him that the fat of a toad prevents anything which is smeared with it—a person's hand, a piece of paper, calico, or anything else—from being affected by fire. A method of preventing a visitor from coming back to the house is to kill a frog and rub the threshold of the entrance-door with its body ; this will act as a *kirâha* [2] as soon as he has stepped over the threshold (Tangier). A woman who is losing hair may put a stop to it by sprinkling the hair with the powder of a charred toad mixed with henna (Aglu). A cure for an abscess on the hand or arm or foot is to split open a frog, apply it to the abscess, and leave it there for a day or a night (Aiṭ Nḍēr). In the Ġarbîya women kiss a kind of a small green frog called *jrînaṭˢ s-súlṭan* in order to be able to trill the *zġârīt* nicely. At Amzmiz I was told that if two partners want to divide the property they have in common but cannot agree as to the division of it, they make a frog the arbiter by putting it on the disputed border and making it jump by touching it. My scribe from Glawi doubted the accuracy of the statement, but at Demnat I heard that this practice is known to exist among some of the Great Atlas mountaineers.

The Chameleon.—It is called in Arabic *tˢâtˢa* or (in Dukkâla) *bûw̃a* ; and in Berber *tilkáḥḥa* (Shelḥa), *mmḥăbäiš*, plur. *immăḥbăišěn* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *täta* (Ait Waráin), *ṯäṯa*, plur. *ṯäṯiwin* (Ṯemsâmän).

The chameleon is used for many magical and medicinal practices.[3] It is a remedy for witchcraft.[4] Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz tents and persons are fumigated with the smoke of burned chameleons if there is a suspicion that witchcraft has been practised in the tent or an illness has been caused by it. Among the Ait Waráin, if a person has

[1] For witchcraft practised with the skin of a toad see *infra*, p. 555.

[2] See *supra*, i. 212.

[3] *Cf.* Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 710 (Algeria).

[4] According to Emily, Shareefa of Wazan (*My Life Story* [London, 1911], p. 307), the leg of a chameleon, seven needles, a piece of steel, some gum-ammoniac, a small piece of myrtle root, and seven leaves of the same plant, all sewn into a cloth bag, are worn as a cure for witchcraft.

been made ill by bewitched food, a chameleon which has been roasted and then boiled with butter is given to the patient to eat. A woman who has been made infertile by witchcraft burns a young female chameleon alive on a Friday at the hour of the mid-day prayer and fumigates her genitals with the smoke, and when it cracks the spell is broken. A piece of a chameleon is burned underneath the churn to prevent the butter from being affected by sorcery (a custom also practised by the Aiṯ Sádděn). If a suckling is injured by the milk of its mother because she is with child, she roasts a chameleon and then boils it in butter, and gives it to the infant to eat.[1] If a domestic animal has been bitten by a snake, a piece of a chameleon is burned and the wound is fumigated with the smoke.[2] These cures are supposed to be particularly effective if the chameleon has been born and caught in the month of the 'Âšūr; hence the Ait Waráin are in the habit of catching chameleons in that month and keep them dried to be used when occasion requires. Among the Ait Temsâmän a chameleon is caught on the *'āšûra* day and made to lick a young boy, who is then able to cure a burn in another person by licking it. In the Ḥiáina, when a horse or mule or donkey is supposed to have been injured by the evil eye, a dried chameleon which has been caught on the *'āšûra* day is burned underneath the animal's nostrils so that it inhales the smoke. At Tangier a live chameleon is put into a piece of bamboo, which is then sealed and kept in the house or worn by a person as a charm against the

[1] Höst says (*op. cit.* p. 280) that powder made of a dried and pounded chameleon is given to a child who has been affected by its mother's milk, that persons suffering from fever are made to eat the dried flesh of the same reptile and are besides fumigated with the smoke of its burned nails, and that women boil and eat chameleons in order to become stout. At Demnat, according to Saïd Boulifa (*op. cit.* p. 33), a woman when getting up after her delivery burns the head of a chameleon and fumigates herself with the smoke.

[2] According to Budgett Meakin (*The Land of the Moors* [London, 1901], p. 75), the dried body of a chameleon is used as an antidote to snake-bite and as an aphrodisiac. Leared states (*op. cit.* p. 305) that the chameleon is supposed to destroy snakes by dropping a portion of its glutinous saliva on the head of the sleeping reptile (*cf.* Höst, *op. cit.* p. 280; Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 102).

evil eye or witchcraft, and it is said to be a most effective charm; and in the same town powder made of a charred chameleon is used as a remedy for boils.[1]

The chameleon is also used for divination. Among the Ait Temsâmän, if a person is absent from home and a woman of his family is anxious to know how he fares, she takes two stones, one of which she calls good and the other bad, and holds a chameleon by the tail between the stones; if it seizes the good stone with its feet she is satisfied that her friend is all right, whereas the contrary is the case if it seizes the bad stone. A chameleon may also cause mischief.[2] Among the Aiṯ Sádděn a person who sees one shuts his mouth and covers it with his hand in order to prevent his teeth from falling out.

Lizards.—At Fez there is in summer-time in the houses a lizard (*wúzġa*) living on the rafters, which is said to eat food from the lower part of the room by means of an invisible thread of spittle; if anybody eats of the same dish he will have boils, and should anybody point at the lizard he would have to wash his finger. The Ait Waráin believe that if a person kills a lizard (*tazerməmmušt*, plur. *tizerməmmäi*) his hands will become as shaky as a lizard. Among the Ait Temsâmän a certain lizard (*ṯäzĕrmmûšṯ*) which has a reddish neck is used by women as a remedy for barrenness: it is killed and burned and the woman lets the smoke pass underneath her clothes, inhaling it as it comes through. At Tangier persons who think they have been bewitched fumigate themselves with the smoke of a dried and pounded lizard.[3]

Snakes.—A snake is called in Arabic *ḥáiya*, plur. *ḥăyâi*, or *ḥänš*, plur. *ḥănûš* or *ḥănâš*, fem. *ḥánša*; and in Berber *algŭmaḍ*, plur. *ilgŭmáḍn* (Amanūz), *abnĭkal*, plur. *ibnĭkaln* (Iglíwa), *ifiġr*, plur. *ifáġrn* (*ibid.*) or *ifiġraun* (Aiṯ Sádděn), *fiġar*, plur. *ifiġran* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏfiġra*, plur. *ifiġríwĕn* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *meġz*, plur. *imeġzéun* (Ait Waráin).

[1] According to Leared (*op. cit.* p. 277), a chameleon split open alive is applied to wounds and sores.

[2] *Cf.* Bertholon, 'Exploration anthropologique de l'île de Gerba (Tunisie)', in *L'Anthropologie*, viii. (Paris, 1897), p. 576.

[3] See also Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 310.

A snake may be a *jenn* or a saint. If found at a shrine it is taken to be the dead saint himself; a snake which once stayed for a considerable time on the grave of a certain saint in Dukkâla was kissed by the people, who thought it was the saint. In the village Bné Ḥlu in Andjra there is the ruined house which belonged to my friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam's grandfather, Sîdi l-Ḥósni l-Baqqâli, who is regarded as a saint; and among the ruins a snake as thick as a man's arm and with long hair on its head, quite different from all other snakes in the neighbourhood, is sometimes seen by the people, who say that it is the dead saint himself. A scribe from Glawi told me of a man who found a grave as long as a palm tree. He said, "This cannot be a grave"; and at the same moment a snake of the same length as the grave appeared, and he took it for a saint. In Dukkâla, if people are sitting together and a snake comes near them and looks at them, they believe that it is a saint or a *jenn*, because ordinary snakes generally run away from people when they see them. I was told of a scribe who every evening when he recited the Koran in his room saw a snake on the rafters. Once when he wanted to kill it the snake suddenly changed into a man, who said to him that he was listening to his recitation because he too was a scribe; the snake was a good *jenn*.

The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be *mūl lĕ-mkận*, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shlöḥ of Aglu call a snake found in their granary *bäb lmäkān*, the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâger *bäb umḥận*, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic *mūl lĕ-mkận*. The Iglíwa name a snake which they find in their granary *lbaraka n tgĭmmi*, "the *baraka* of the house", and they neither touch it nor speak about it to anybody. Among other Berbers, also, it is considered lucky if a snake comes into the granary or into the house or tent or if it is

found at the place where a tent is going to be pitched (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḍēr); and there may be more than a superstitious reason for such views, since the snake kills or keeps off mice and rats. At Fez, if people find a snake in their house, they say to it three times, *Ana bĕ lláh u š-šra' m'ak*, "I am protected from you by God and the religious law"; if it is a *jẹnn* it goes away, whereas if it is only a snake it remains and is killed. The same or very similar customs prevail in other parts of the country (Dukkâla, Ait Waráin, Aglu). The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz maintain that the snake may also be a saint and that, whether it be a *jẹnn* or a saint, it will leave the tent when the phrase *Ăḥna b lláh u š-šra' m'ak* is said to it three times. They refrain from killing a snake during a religious feast.

There are many stories of evils resulting from the killing of snakes. In Dukkâla a woman killed a snake which came to her tent, because she was afraid that it would eat her fowls; but she was severely punished for it—her tent was burned down at once. A man from Aglu told me that once when he and his wife were sitting together in their house a very big yellow snake entered and appeared threatening. He said to the snake, "If you come here to hurt us the fault be on your head; if not, go away now, good-bye!" The snake then crept along the wall into the neighbouring house and greatly frightened a girl, who cried out. Her father came and shot the snake; but at the same moment his arm was paralysed, and so were both the arm and the leg of the girl. At Salli I was told that many persons have died because they have killed snakes in their houses. A man informed Höst that his wife once killed a snake in his house with the assistance of a negro and a negress, and that the negro died on the same day and the negress on the following day, and that his wife had been ill for nearly eleven years from the day when the snake was killed.[1] Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight. People try to prevent snakes from entering a house by hanging some

[1] Höst, *op. cit.* p. 281.

šẹ̄ḥ (*Artemisia alba*) on the wall inside or by painting a cross with tar on the outside of the house (Fez), or simply by keeping in it a vessel containing tar (Tangier).

Jackson wrote :—" Every house in [the city of] Morocco has, or ought to have, a domestic serpent : I say ought to have, because those that have not one seek to have this inmate, by treating it hospitably whenever one appears ; they leave out food for it to eat during the night, which gradually domiciliates this reptile. These serpents are reported to be extremely sagacious, and very susceptible. The superstition of these people is extraordinary ; for rather than offend these serpents, they will suffer their women to be exposed during sleep to their performing the office of an infant. They are considered, in a house, emblematical of good, or prosperity, as their absence is ominous of evil. They are not often visible ; but I have seen them passing over the beams of the roof of the apartments ".[1] In various parts of the country, however, I have made inquiries as to the existence of snakes which are permanently kept and fed in houses without finding any evidence of it. At Demnat I was told that there are snakes which are supposed to be house-mates ; such a snake, which is called " the good luck of the house ", and is considered to be " the master of it ", is generally seen once a year, but no food is given to it. In Dukkâla I heard that if a snake comes to a tent, for instance in summer when the weather is hot, the people ask it why it has come and if it wants drink or food, and if it does not go away they give it some. The snake may afterwards come back again, and it is again fed, but there are no household snakes which are kept and fed regularly. I have heard stories of snakes, regarded as the spirits of houses, showing themselves once in three years on the rafters and sometimes sucking the breasts of women and drinking milk out of the mouths of children. Sîdi 'Abdsslam told me that

[1] 'Abd-es-Salâm Shabeeny, *An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa*, edited by Jackson (London, 1820), p. 213. See also Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 112. Leo Africanus says (*The History and Description of Africa*, ii. [London, 1896], p. 559) that in " the Ziz mountains " there are serpents so familiar with men " that at dinner-time they will come like dogs and cats and gather up the crumbs under the table ".

once when he was a baby his mother, to her surprise, found that a snake was sucking her breast when she believed that she was suckling her child.[1] When he grew older she told him that he would never have anything to fear from a snake, since there was a milk-tie between him and that reptile.

Beliefs and practices similar to those I have just described are found among other Muhammadan peoples in North Africa and farther east,[2] and also prevailed in ancient Arabia. Speaking of early Arab beliefs, Wellhausen observes, " In every snake there is a spirit embodied, sometimes a malevolent and sometimes a benevolent one ".[3] The Prophet ordered his followers to kill obnoxious snakes, but forbade them to kill those innocuous ones which were living in the houses, because they were not snakes but a kind of *jinn*.[4] He is also reported to have said, with reference to

[1] *Cf.* Höst, *op. cit.* p. 281.

[2] In Tunis an innocuous snake which is found in a house is neither hurt nor driven away, because it is regarded as the patron of the house and is believed to protect it and its inhabitants against the evil eye (Monchicourt, *loc. cit.* 12; *cf.* Vassel, *La littérature populaire des israélites tunisiens* [Paris, 1905–7], p. 164 *sq.*). In the same country there is a proverbial saying that " blessed is the habitation where the serpent dwells ". We are told that " neither hunger nor thirst is ever known to this member of a family. His food is prepared and his presence expected before the commencement of the daily meals. No one eats till the serpent has finished and has crept back satisfied to his hole " (Graham and Ashbee, *Travels in Tunisia* [London, 1887], p. 27 *sq.*). In Arabia, according to Niebuhr (*Travels through Arabia, and other Countries in the East*, ii. [Edinburgh, 1792], p. 278), harmless snakes " take refuge in the walls of houses and are esteemed agreeable guests by the inhabitants ". The Arabs of Palestine say, " Do not kill the serpents, they are the friends of our houses and of the neighbours ". Our informant adds :—" These ' faithful friends ' are rarely wanting in the old Arab houses at Jerusalem, where their presence is regarded as a good omen by the inhabitants. . . . Neither the women nor the babies fear them, and the older children even make pets of them. Mothers are not unfrequently awakened in the night by the reptiles, which have fastened on their breasts, and are sucking their milk. Sometimes also they find them in their infants' cradles, but instead of being alarmed at this, they treat it as quite an ordinary matter. . . . In fact, they appear thoroughly domesticated " (Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 47 *sq.*).

[3] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 153.

[4] *Mishkāt*, xviii. 3. 1 (English translation, vol. ii. 311).

snakes found in houses, that some of them are believers and some infidels. "Therefore when you see anything of those inhabitants turn them out; but do not hurry in killing them, but say, 'Do not incommode me, if you do I shall kill you'. Then if it goes away, so much the better; but if not, kill it, because it is an infidel *jinnī*".[1] According to another tradition the Prophet told his followers first to admonish the snake three times to depart, and if it did not move, to kill it because it was a devil.[2] All this, however, by no means proves that the regard for snakes among the Muhammadans of North Africa is merely an Islamic importation. On the contrary, its prevalence both among the Berbers and so many other African peoples,[3] ancient and modern, suggests a much earlier origin.

There are various kinds of medicinal and magical qualities in snakes. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a woman who is anxious to give birth to a son swallows the heart of a snake; the wife of my host, for this purpose, swallowed the hearts of three snakes one after the other. Among the Ait Waráin a person who has hangnails (*bunttäf*) rubs the nail against the stomach of a snake which has been killed. Persons who have watery eyes, or who want to prevent their eyes from becoming watery, rub them with the cast-off skin of a snake on account of the reptile's excellent eyes (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Sádděn), and some people do so seven times as a preventive (Aiṯ Nḏēr).[4] A certain charm used by hunters for attracting prey is fumigated with the smoke of the burned slough of a snake.[5] The head of a snake is used for murderous purposes. If it is dried in the sun and pounded and the powder is mixed

[1] *Mishkāt*, xviii. 3. 1 (vol. ii. 312).

[2] Nöldeke, 'Die Schlange nach arabischem Volksglauben', in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, i. (Berlin, 1860), p. 415 *sq.*

[3] MacCulloch, 'Serpent-worship (Introductory and Primitive)', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, xi. (Edinburgh, 1920), pp. 400, 402, 404; Tremearne, *op. cit.* p. 413 *sqq.* (North African Hausa).

[4] "The fellâhs of Upper Egypt believe that the slough of a serpent is good for sore eyes, and carefully preserve any they may find" (St. John, *Village Life in Egypt*, ii. [London, 1852], p. 112 *sq.*).

[5] *Supra*, i. 213. For witchcraft practised with the slough of a snake see *infra*, p. 555.

with the food a person eats, he will die ; hence when a snake is killed its head is cut off and buried so as to prevent people from making a bad use of it (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). If a person who sees two snakes copulating throws his cloak over them, he will, when he removes it, find gold instead of the snakes, which out of shame have " melted " into gold (*ibid.*) ; or if he throws over them a garment which he afterwards sells, and buys with the money a ewe or she-goat or hen, that animal or hen will become exceedingly fertile (Andjra) ; or God will in any case make him prosperous if he covers the snakes with some clothing (Fez). An ambulating musician told me that once when he, together with other musicians, set out on a tour from Marráksh, they saw a snake, which they killed on the advice of a scribe who was among them, and that in consequence they earned a lot of money ; the scribe cut off the tail of the snake and kept it, but my informant could not tell what he was going to do with it. If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—*Ṣábbaḥ 'ăl l-ḥáiya ḥájtʿû maqḍîya* (Ḥiáina ; Tangier, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Iglíwa). At Salli I heard the following curious story. Once when a woman was cooking and removed the cover from the pot, a snake slipped into the latter without her notice. When she offered the food to her husband he found the snake in it and said to his wife, " You have done this in order to kill me, and now you will yourself have to eat what you have given me ". He cut the snake into seven pieces, which the wife had to swallow. The result was that she gave birth to the seven holy men who are buried at Salli.

There are the highly venomous species *Naia haie* (*bũsĕkka*) and *Bitis arietans* (in Arabic *lăf'a*, plur. *lfā'* ; in Berber *tablíñka*, plur. *tiblañkíwin* [Amanūz], *tabnílka*, plur. *tibnälkiûin* [Iglíwa], *tälfsa*, plur. *tilfsíwin* [Ait Waráin], *ṯälfsa*, plur. *ṯilfsíwin* [Aiṯ Sádděn]), which are carried about by snake-charmers belonging to the order of the 'Ḍsáwa. They handle them with impunity, play with them, suffer them to twist round their bodies, and devour them alive.[1] They can do so without being hurt, because their *šēḫ*, Sîdi

[1] *Cf.* Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 110 n.*.

Mḥammed ben 'Êsa, rules over all venomous creatures; but I was told by a member of the order that they make the snakes harmless by giving them eggs to eat.[1] When a person has been bitten by a snake an 'Ḥsáwi is employed to cure him, which he does by making cuts in the skin round the bite and sucking the blood and the poison; but I was informed by one who had himself acted as a doctor that his teeth are liable to be hurt unless he smears them with honey, as also that the part of the patient's body which has been bitten by the snake is smeared with the same substance. An 'Ḥsáwi may also prevent a person from ever being poisoned by a snake by winding one round that person's neck.[2]

Scorpions.—A scorpion is called in Arabic *'áqrab*, plur. *'ăqârăb*; and in Berber *iġérḍĕm*, plur. *iġárḍmiun* (Iglíwa), *iġérdĕm*, plur. *iġardmiun* (Amanūz), *tġêrdämt*, plur. *teġérdmin* (Ait Waráin), *ṯiġêrḍänṯ*, plur. *ṯiġerḍmíwin* (Aiṯ Sáddĕn), *ṯġ*ᵛ*åḍent*, plur. *ṯiġ*ᵛ*ăḍmáwin* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏiġarḍănd* plur. *ḏiġárḍnin* (Aiṯ Wäryâger).

There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called *šûrfa*

[1] There can be little doubt that, before handling the snakes, they remove their poison-fangs, or at any rate make the snakes exhaust their poison by repeatedly biting cloth (see Robert-Houdin, *Confidences d'un prestidigitateur*, ii. [Paris, 1859], p. 331 *sq.*; Doutté, *Les Aïssâoua à Tlemcen* [Châlons-sur-Marne, 1900], p. 27) or onions (*cf.* Quedenfeldt, *loc. cit.* p. 129).

[2] Similar beliefs are ancient in North Africa. In classical antiquity the Psylli, like the Marsi and Ophiogenes (Pliny, *op. cit.* vii. 2, xxviii. 3; Celsus, *De medicina*, v. 27) were credited with a marvellous power of charming serpents and curing their bites (Pliny, *op. cit.* vii. 2, xi. 25; Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, li. 14; Callias, 'De rebus Agathoclis', 3, in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, edited by C. Müller, vol. ii. [Parisiis, 1848], p. 382; *Idem*, quoted by Aelian, *De natura animalium*, xvi. 28; Zonaras, *Annales*, x. 31). It was believed that the persons of the Psylli were in some mysterious way antipathetic to poisonous animals (Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, ix. 891 *sqq.*; Aelian, *op. cit.* i. 57, xvi. 27 *sq.*). Pliny wrote (*op. cit.* vii. 2), "In the bodies of these people there was by nature a certain kind of poison which was fatal to serpents, and the odour of which overpowered them with torpor". In this account, as Mr. Bates observes (*op. cit.* p. 180), Pliny narrated the Greek explanation of the pretended immunity of the Psylli. The same reputation for charming snakes and curing their bites is to-day enjoyed in Egypt by the Rifa'yah dervishes (*ibid.* p. 179).

t-Tᶜéida (among the Bni 'Ăroṣ), of Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Aiṯ Wäryâğer hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child. Boils in children are cured by being rubbed with powder made of a charred scorpion and mixed with oil (Ṯemsâmän).

As an 'Ḍsáwi is not hurt by a venomous snake, even if it bites him, so he is not hurt by a scorpion. I was told of one who filled his mouth with live scorpions, which were all dead when he blew them out; but my informant had not seen this himself. The 'Ḍsáwa also cure persons who have been stung by scorpions in the same manner as persons bitten by snakes;[1] but the poison of a scorpion is not so strong that they need smear their teeth with honey before sucking it out.[2] Another cure used by them is to remove the sting of the scorpion and put it into a dough made of bran, the white of an egg, and the milky juice of a fig tree, which is tied on the affected part of the patient's body and left there till he recovers. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the limb stung is well bound, so as to prevent the poison from spreading, and is covered with earth which is then heated with fire, the heat being supposed to extract the poison; but it is also considered important that the scorpion itself should be killed and rubbed upon the sting and left there for a while, which is said to make the poison "cool". In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin, Ṯemsâmän);[3] and in Andjra

[1] The Psylli were also employed as doctors to "charm" scorpion stings (Pliny, *op. cit.* xi. 25).

[2] See also *supra*, i. 303.

[3] *Cf.* Tremearne, *op. cit.* p. 180 (North African Hausa). Jackson states (*op. cit.* p. 108) that most families in Marráksh keep a bottle of scorpions infused in olive oil, which is used when a person is stung by a scorpion, this reptile carrying an antidote in itself; and according to Höst (*op. cit.* p. 282) such a bottle should have been left hanging in the sun for forty-eight days, after which time the oil has turned quite white. The latter writer also says that the lather of a horse is used as a remedy for a scorpion's sting, and that another cure is sexual intercourse.

the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water. It is considered good for a person who has been stung by a scorpion to drink a great quantity of sour buttermilk (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin).

People protect themselves against scorpions by hanging a written charm over the entrance inside the house (Iglíwa). At Demnat I was told that the first scorpion of the season which comes into the house is hung over the door in order to prevent others which will follow from doing harm to the inhabitants even if they sting them. There are said to be persons, besides the 'Ḍsáwa, who are never affected by the sting of a scorpion, because they are believed to have the poison in their bodies serving as an antidote; but if such a person bites or scratches another, the latter will be infected with the poison (Aglu).

SPIDERS, in Arabic called *rtˢäil*, sing. *rtˢîla*.

Black spiders are bad and should be killed; if one of them passes over the eye of a sleeping person it will make the eye swell (Tangier). On the other hand, white spiders must not be killed. For a white spider once saved the life of the Prophet by weaving a web across the mouth of a cave in which he was hiding from his enemies; when his persecutors came there in their search and saw the web, they thought that nobody could have recently entered the cave and so passed by, and the Prophet escaped.

There is a poisonous spider, smaller than the ordinary tarantula, called in Arabic *bū́ṣêḥa* or *bū́ṣâḥa*, and in the Berber dialect of the Aiṯ Sádděn *ṯákkälṯ*, plur. *ṯäkkâlin*. Its bite is compared with the evil eye: if a person is supposed to hurt another with his glance he may be told, *Katˢǎdráb bě l-'ain bḥal bū́ṣéḥa*, "You strike with the eye like a *bū́ṣéḥa*" (Tangier). At Rabat I was informed that if a person is hurt by this spider he is laid in a hole in the ground and covered with a mat, and on the mat is put some earth which is heated by the burning of straw or wood; after he has spent a night in the hole in a bath of perspiration he will be all right.[1] A

[1] *Cf.* Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, p. 76 n.*, quoting Kerr.

scribe from the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz told me that once when he had been bitten by a *bûṣâḥa* four men seized his arms and legs and held him over a fire turning his body round; he then spent the night in a hut where there were a lot of fleas, which, by biting him, removed the poison from his body. Another cure practised among the same tribe is to kill a goat and rub the bite with the dung found in its intestines. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin a person who has been bitten by a spider of this kind drinks as much sour buttermilk as he can.

Ants.—An ant is called in Arabic *némla*, plur. coll. *nmel*; and in Berber *auṭṭûf*, plur. *iúṭṭfan*, dim. *tauṭṭûft*, plur. *tiúṭṭfin* (Iglíwa), *tûḍfit*, plur. *tûḍfin* (small ant; Amanûz), *aḥṭṭof*, plur. *iŭḥḍfān* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *tašṭâft*, plur. *tištfin* (Ait Waráin), *ṭakʸttûft*, plur. *ṭikʸttúfin* (Ṭemsâmän), *ḍaḥăṭṭoft*, plur. *ḍiḥâḍfin* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). Red ants are called in Arabic *šemmām*.

The Ait Waráin say that the red ants are Christians, the big black ants Jews, and the small black ants Muhammadans and shereefas. If there are small black ants in the house or tent there is blessing and prosperity, though they must not be too numerous (Ait Waráin, Tangier). The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, on the other hand, maintain that the red ants have *baraka*, probably because they only appear in their granaries and are not common. We have previously noticed certain methods by which ants are driven away from, or prevented from coming to, houses, tents, threshing-floors, or the heaps of threshed corn.[1]

If a person sleeps too much live red ants are put into his food; it will give him the wakefulness of an ant (Tangier, Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). Another remedy for sleepiness is to eat earth from an ant-hill (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); while persons who want to keep awake eat ants mixed with honey or butter (Aiṭ Nḍēr) or the eggs of red ants (Ḥiáina). Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

[1] *Supra*, ii. 233.

In Andjra an animal or anything else which is to be offered for sale is sprinkled with earth from seven different ant-hills with a view to attracting buyers ;[1] and so is the heap of threshed corn on the threshing-floor in order that it may increase in quantity.[2] In the same district a thief protects himself from being caught by fastening to the string of his bag the little finger of a dead person and some earth from an ant-hill, wrapped in paper and sewn up in a piece of cloth. A method of causing enmity between friends (Ḥiáina) or quarrels between husband and wife (Ait Waráin) is to strew earth collected from seven ant-hills (in the Ḥiáina of red ants) in their beds or their rooms.

Snails.—A snail is called in Arabic *ġlâla*, plur. coll. *ġlāl*, or *bäbbûša*, plur. coll. *bäbbūš* ; and in Berber *aġŭlal*, plur. *iġŭlaln* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *aġlăl*, plur. *ibûġlälĕn* (Ait Waráin), *aġrär*, plur. *iġrārn* (Ṯemsâmän) or *iġrârĕn* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer).

Pounded snails are applied to corns (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), and mixed with oil (Aiṯ Sádděn) or saffron water (Tangier) to boils. A spoonful of snails of a small species found in profusion on trees, mixed with a spoonful of stinging nettle seed and some salt, is taken by a person troubled with cough ; and a certain snail which has no shell is, boiled in butter, given to a child suffering from the same complaint (Ait Waráin). Snails boiled with salt, pepper, and penny-royal or thyme are eaten on the evening of Midsummer day, being supposed to be good for the health (Mnáṣăra, Aiṯ Nḍēr). Sea-snails (*bäbbūš dyāl bḥar*) are used as medicine for typhoid fever.[3] Water in which snails have been boiled, mixed with menstruous blood or something else, is given by married women to their husbands to drink as a means of bewitching them. If a man is indifferent to the improper behaviour of his wife he is asked, *Klîtˢi sḥōr fĕ l-mraq dă ġlāl*, " Did you eat *sḥōr* in the gravy of snails ? " (Tangier).

Locusts.—They are called in Arabic *(d)jrād*, sing. *(d)jráda* ; and in Berber *tamorġi* (Amanūz), *tammorġi* (Iglíwa), *ṯmóġi* (Ṯemsâmän), *ṯimorġíwin*, sing. *ṯamorġi* (Aiṯ Sádděn).

The locust combines the qualities of many animals—it

[1] *Supra*, i. 593. [2] *Supra*, ii. 233. [3] *Supra*, i. 89 *sq.*

has legs like a camel's, a neck (or eyes [Tangier]) like an elephant's, a head like a bullock's, and so forth; and the female lays each time ninety-nine eggs. It contains three hundred and sixty-six medicines. The females, fried in salt butter after the head, legs, and wings have been removed, are good to eat: it is a kind of food which strengthens the body in general and increases the sexual capacity in a man (Fez). Dried and pounded locusts, mixed with cinnamon or cloves and honey, are eaten in the morning before breakfast as a remedy for cough or pain in the chest or heart (Tangier).

Moths and Flies.—On one evening when I was working with my Arabic secretary at Fez a moth came and fluttered round the candles; he said it was a good omen and called the moth *ṭwîyer j-jénna*, "the little bird of Paradise". A man from Andjra would have said to it, *Ḫair ḫair ḫair ḫair, yā rábbi u jíbna l-ḫair*, "Good good good good, O God, and bring us good"; then the moth (*bšîra*) would be a herald of luck, whereas otherwise it would be a bad omen.[1] Among the Aiṭ Wäryâğer a moth (*ḍabăššarṭ*) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you". There is a similar superstition in Tangier. My friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam tells me that a letter from me is generally heralded on the evening before he receives it by the fluttering of a moth about his candle.

If a horsefly (*debbânt' l-ḫail*) settles on a person he will soon have some new clothing, either given to him as a present or bought by himself (Tangier), but only if he lets it alone or gently envelops it in wool and puts it in a hole in the wall and leaves it there (Fez).[2] In Andjra and among the Ait Temsâmän, again, it is believed that a person who kills a horsefly (in Andjra called *šéḍa*, among the Ait Temsâmän

[1] Pliny says (*op. cit.* xxviii. 45) that "the moth which is seen fluttering about the flame of a lamp is generally reckoned in the number of the noxious substances".

[2] In Syria a horsefly settling on a person's shoulder is supposed to indicate that some honour will sooner or later be conferred on him (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 95).

izămbäb) which has settled on him will eat meat on the same day if he finds blood in it, but will have a beating if he only finds in it white juice.

LICE.—A louse is called in Arabic *qámla*, plur. coll. *qmūl*, or (in Dukkâla) *gĕmla*, plur. *gmel*; and in Berber *tilkit*, plur. *tilkin* (Amanūz, Iḥaḥan), *tillīt*, plur. *tillíyin* (Iglíwa), *tiššett*, plur. *tiššin* (Ait Waráin), *ṯiššīṯ*, plur. *ṯiššīn* (Ṯemsâmän), *ḏiššiṯ*, plur. *ḏiššin* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), *ṯaḫḫûiṯ*, plur. *iḫḫûin* (Aiṯ Sádděn).

Some people say that there is a little *baraka* in the louse. It is fond of holy persons; and to have lice is characteristic of the Moslems. There is a saying that he who has no lice has not the true faith.[1] Lice and fleas were given to the faithful that they should not sleep at the early hour of prayer but get up and do their duty (Ait Waráin). If Christians have no lice, that is because they cut a vein in the neck of their infant children, which will for ever keep away the vermin (*ibid.*, Aiṯ Sádděn). We have previously noticed various taboos relating to lice.[2] If you find a louse on your palm or in your eyebrow you should not kill it but throw it away, because it is a pilgrim (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). If you kill a louse on the nail of your finger and afterwards touch your nose with the nail, the blood of the insect will cause a pimple on your nose (*ibid.*, Ṯemsâmän). If you throw a louse on the road it will become a scorpion (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). If you see a louse on another person you should remove it; otherwise he will have to do so in the future life with his eyelash (*ibid.*), or you will contract sin (Ṯemsâmän). If you scratch your skin at a place where no louse can be seen and then one comes out of the flesh, you will go to Paradise after death (Ait Waráin).

It is generally considered bad to burn lice. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz hold the belief that if a louse is thrown into the fire there will be very little butter, or none at all, in the churn. It is also said to cause poverty (Aglu); *ḥrēq l-qmūl yeḍ'éu bĕ l-faqr* (Tangier). The Iglíwa maintain that the fumes of a burning louse will give you a headache. I have only heard of one case in which the louse is used as medicine: if a

[1] *Supra*, i. 105. [2] *Supra*, i. 238, 239, 258

person suffers from typhoid fever (*sâlma* or *mkéllfa*) seven lice are killed and given him to eat in food or milk (Tangier).

Killing and Eating of Animals.—An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.[1] In Muhammadan law animals, regarded as food, are either *ḥalāl*, "lawful", or *mubāḥ*, "indifferent", or *makrūh*, "abominable" (that is, condemned but yet lawful), or *ḥarām*, "unlawful".[2] As to what animals are lawful and what are not, there are certain differences of opinion. Thus, according to the Hidāyah, the well-known book on Sunnī law, all quadrupeds that seize their prey with their teeth and all birds which seize it with their talons are unlawful, the Prophet having prohibited man from eating them, "lest by eating of these animals their bad qualities might be communicated to him, and affect his disposition".[3] But although this is the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfah, the great Sunnī *imām* and jurisconsult and the founder of the Ḥanīfī sect, the founder of another of the four orthodox sects of Sunnīs, ash-Shāfi'ī, holds that hyenas and foxes are lawful; and he regards horseflesh as indifferent, whereas Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik say it is unlawful.[4] Yet unlawful animals, with the exception of hogs and men, though they cannot be eaten as ordinary food, may be made use of in medical compositions on condition that they have been killed according to the prescribed forms.[5] In Morocco, as we have seen, certain animals which are distinctly unlawful are nevertheless quite frequently eaten, not only for medicinal or magical purposes, but as food.

Not even clean animals, however, are generally lawful food unless they have been slain agreeably to the prescribed forms. The person who is going to slaughter an animal

[1] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 183 *sq.*; *Hidāyah*, xlvii. 2 (English translation by Charles Hamilton, vol. iv. [London, 1791], p. 187).

[2] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 58.

[3] *Hidāyah*, bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 74). See also *Mishkāt*, xviii. 1. 2 (English translation, vol. ii. 306).

[4] *Hidāyah*, bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 74).

[5] *Ibid.* bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 62).

for the food of man must say, " In the name of God, God is most great ", and then cut its throat at the part next the head, taking care to divide the windpipe, gullet, and carotid arteries ; [1] unless it be a camel, in which case he should, by preference, stab the throat at the part next the breast.[2] If a person is going to kill an animal by shooting he should, in order to make it eatable, repeat the same phrase at the time of discharging the arrow from the bow or the shot from the gun,[3] and if he hunts with a hound or falcon or hawk he should do so when he lets it slip ; [4] but if the animal has not been killed, only struck down, by the shot or the dog or taken by the falcon or hawk, it must be slain in the usual manner.[5] As it may be inconvenient to say the prescribed formula at the moment when the gun is discharged it is, in Morocco at least, usual to repeat it when the gun is loaded. In the Ḥiáina a hunter says, when he loads his gun, *Bismilláh ălláh ákbar, rabbḏ̣na t*ᵉ*aqábbel ménna ʿåla ṭ-ṭáira u n-nézla*, " In the name of God, God is most great ; our Lord, accept from us that which is flying and that which is on the ground ". And if hunters are going to take grayhounds with them they, before starting, stroke the head and back of each hound, repeating the same phrase as when they load their guns. Fish and locusts may be eaten by Moslems without having been slain.[6]

When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, " In the name of God ", or, " In the name of God, God is most great ". This may be said before the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of each egg (Aiṭ

[1] *Hidāyah*, bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 63 *sqq.*) ; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 109. In cases of necessity, however, when in danger of starving, a Muhammadan is allowed to eat any food which is unlawful in other circumstances (*Koran*, ii. 168, vi. 146, xvi. 116 ; Lane, *op. cit.* p. 109).

[2] *Hidāyah*, bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 72).

[3] *Ibid.* bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 66), xlvii. 2 (vol. iv. 181) ; *Mishkāt*, xviii. 1. 1 (vol. ii. 302 *sq.*).

[4] *Hidāyah*, bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 66), xlvii. 1 (vol. iv. 173) ; *Mishkāt*, xviii. 1. 1 (vol. ii. 302). *Cf. Koran*, v. 6.

[5] *Hidāyah*, xlvii. 1 (vol. iv. 175 *sq.*), xlvii. 2 (vol. iv. 181).

[6] *Ibid.* bk. xlii. (vol. iv. 62) ; *Mishkāt*, xviii. 3. 2 (vol. ii. 313).

Wäryâġer), or when the eggs are dipped into water to be cleaned (Ḥiáina); and in the last-mentioned case, also, the phrase may be repeated before the dipping of each egg in water (Aiṯ Sádděn).

In Morocco there are families who refrain from eating the flesh of one or another of the species of lawful animals for fear lest otherwise some member of the family should die. I have mentioned such cases in an earlier chapter together with other family taboos of various kinds, which entirely exclude the possibility of regarding them as survivals of ancient totemism.[1] More frequently the members of certain families are forbidden to eat some particular part or parts of any animal—the head, the tongue, the ears, the fat, and so forth. But there are also taboos of this kind which have reference, not to families, but to special classes of people. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn women were formerly prohibited from eating the tongue of an animal, although they nowadays eat it; there was perhaps some fear lest the eating of it would make them too talkative. I was told that among the Aiṯ Nḏēr a married woman does not eat an animal's tongue but gives it to her husband to eat, whereas girls and other women who have no husband are not bound by any such restriction. The same Berbers believe that if an unmarried man or a girl eats the spleen of an animal, he or she will have dark spots on the face. Among the Ulâd Bû'âzîz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse.[2] Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi it is an old custom held to be very obligatory

[1] *Supra*, ii. 37 *sqq*.

[2] Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr, on the other hand, women like to eat the throat, as they think that it will enable them to trill the *zġârīt* nicely.

that if a guest is entertained with that part of an animal's body which contains the kidneys, these must be served together with the flesh and the fat; if they were removed the host would have to pay a heavy fine, consisting perhaps of a horse or a gun. But the guest, on his part, must leave them uneaten in the dish; otherwise *he* would have to pay a fine to his host. The ideas underlying this custom are that if the host had removed the kidneys he would have deprived the dish of its *baraka*, and that if the guest had eaten them he would have deprived his host of the *baraka* due to him; as we have seen above, a guest must always leave behind some portion of the food offered him.[1]

In the Ḥiáina women never eat the heart of any animal. The reason given for this custom is that when the sultan Mûlăi Slîmạn once attacked the Ḥiáina some of the people ran away to a place called l-Qalb, "the Heart", in the mountains of the Tsūl, where many of them were afterwards killed by the Sultan's soldiers; since then the women of the tribe have mourned for the men who were killed by refraining from eating hearts, and a transgression of this rule would be fraught with evil consequences. At Aglu a man does not eat the chest of an animal—a custom for which I could find no reason,—and women must neither eat eggs nor the marrow inside the bones of animals in the presence of their husbands, although they may eat these things when they are alone; if there is a big marrow-bone in the food of which people partake together, it is considered to be the privilege of the bravest man in the company to eat it. Among the Iglíwa, when the head of an animal is eaten, the meat must be removed with the fingers, not with the teeth; the person who eats it will have toothache if his teeth come into contact with the teeth of the animal. At Aglu the bones are removed from the boiled head before the people begin to eat it.

A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children; and even if a party of hunters have agreed

[1] *Supra*, i. 197, 541.

to divide between themselves their prey, the heads and hearts are excepted (Aiṭ Nḍēr). There is a belief that a person can deprive another of his luck in hunting by drinking the blood of the animal killed by the latter (Iglíwa).

Hunting and Target-practice.—Various customs relating to hunting,[1] target-practice,[2] and guns[3] have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added. In Andjra a party of hunters, before starting, make *fâtᶜḥa*, praying that they may be successful and that there shall be no unlucky person—no ʿÊsa, as the hunters call him—among them; and when they start they are headed by some hunter who is regarded as a particularly good and honest man. If one of them uses bad language he is an ʿÊsa and is sent back; but if important members of the band quarrel and curse each other, the whole party may break up and its chief will curse the culprits. If a hunting excursion is not successful and there is in the band somebody who is not really a hunter, he is considered to be the cause of the ill-luck and will have to kill a goat or a sheep, according to his means, and give a feast to the other hunters as a compensation.

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz in Dukkâla, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called *gārt ṙ-rma*, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (*ḥaqq* or *d'ďira*), after which the hunters surround him and make *fâtḥa*. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkâla and elsewhere (Aiṭ Wäryâġer) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

In the Ḥiáina, when the party of hunters come back from the hunt, the chief examines their guns to see whether any of them is unloaded. If this is the case the owner of the gun has to pay a fine of one dollar; and all fines of this kind are spent in buying food, which is eaten by the whole

[1] See 'Index', *s.v.* Hunting. [2] See 'Index', *s.v.* Target-practice.
[3] See 'Index', *s.v.* Guns.

party for lunch on the following day in the mosque of the village. On their return from the hunt the game is divided equally between all the hunters, who then make *fåtˢḥa*. In the evening they have a common meal in the mosque, together with the *fqī* and all the important men of the village, and afterwards the other men and boys have a meal in the same place. The supper consists of game brought home by the hunters, as also of food contributed by the various households ; it is the custom for the men and boys of a village to have their suppers in common in the mosque together with the *fqī*. Among the Aiṯ Nḍēr, again, the hunters make an agreement as to the division of the spoil before they start. They may decide either that it shall be divided between them equally or that each one shall be allowed to keep for himself whatever animal or bird he may shoot or catch ; and in the latter case a hunter may even take and keep game which has been caught or killed by a grayhound belonging to another member of the band. The hunters have no meal in common on their return, but before starting they breakfast together in the tent of their *šēḫ* or their *mqáddem* or, in the absence of both of them, in the tent of one of the men who takes part in the hunt. Among the Aiṯ Nḍēr also any hunter who is found to come back with his gun unloaded has to pay a fine ; and the same is the case with a hunter who has been caught handling his flint-lock so carelessly that the gun could not go off.

The hunters of a district have their chief, who is called in Arabic *š-šēḫ dđ r-rma*, " the chief of the shooters ". In order to become a good shot a man must have a regard for his *šēḫ* : he must give him food if he is in need of it, assist him in building his house if asked to do so, and generally help him in every way required. He should respect him like a father. A man who respects his *šēḫ* from his heart can shoot an animal or bird without aiming at it ; even if it is behind him he may simply put his gun on his shoulder and hit it without turning round. On the other hand, if a man does not sincerely respect his *šēḫ* he will not see an animal though it passes him. So I was told by an old hunter from Andjra who was himself a *šēḫ*. He said that

the office is hereditary: his father had been a *šēḫ*, and so had his grandfather. If there is nobody in a *šēḫ*'s family to succeed him the vice-*šēḫ*, or *mqáddem*, may do so; but a *šēḫ* of the *ŕma* generally has sons, since the *ŕma* are constantly praying for his welfare. He must be a good and religious man; then he has much *baraka*, and the hunt will be successful, unless it is spoiled by somebody else, especially some hunter who is not clean. The *šēḫ* also writes charms for the *ŕma* to protect them against the evil eye; but if they wear them while they are not clean the charms will do them harm and may even drive them mad.

The following account was given me by an old Berber who was a *šššēḫ ná rrma*, living among the Aiṭ Nḍēr though born in the tribe of the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi. When a man wants to become a *rrâmi* he goes to the *šššēḫ ná rrma* in his own village or, if there is none, to a *šššēḫ* resident in some other village according to his choice; it is not necessary that all the *ŕrma* in a village should have the same *šššēḫ* if none is living there. He tells his wish to the *šššēḫ*, who says he is welcome and makes *fâṭḥa*, calling down blessings on him. The novice pays some money to the *šššēḫ*: he is henceforth regarded as his son and regards the *šššēḫ* as his father, although they do not address each other as such. A *šššēḫ* receives presents of money and other things from the *ŕrma* and from others as well; accompanied by two or three *ŕrma* he visits neighbouring villages and tribes, even though he has no "subjects" in them, and there also the people give him presents. He is considered to have much *baraka*, and is even more highly respected than a shereef. If a *rrâmi* has any complaint to make against another *rrâmi* he addresses himself to the *šššēḫ*, who examines the case and fixes the fine to be paid by the guilty person; and it is not only criminal offences which may be thus punished by the *šššēḫ*, but also transgressions of what may be called the code of honour, for example the breach of a promise. The fines paid do not become the property either of the *šššēḫ* or of the injured party, but are used for the common entertainment of the *ŕrma*. As already said, there is not a *šššēḫ ná rrma* in every village, but on the other hand there may also be

more than one in the same village, namely, if a *šš̄ēḫ* has come from another place and settled there. Such a *šš̄ēḫ* is also much respected; and it may be that if a *rrâmi* has a complaint to make to his own *šš̄ēḫ* the latter asks him to address himself to the other one, who is then expected to decide the case. When the office is vacant a new *šš̄ēḫ* is elected by the *ŕrma*, but a son generally succeeds his father if he is fit for the post. Besides the *šš̄ēḫ* there is a *lĕmqáddem*, or more than one; but there is not necessarily a *lĕmqáddem* in each village where there are *ŕrma*. The Berber *šš̄ēḫ* who told me all this said that if any *rrâmi* knew of it he would have to pay a very heavy fine, having betrayed such secrets to an infidel, and would no longer receive any presents. The great *šēḫ* of all the *ŕma* in Morocco is Sîdi 'Ăli ben Nâṣăr, but above him is Sîdna Sa'îd ben Wâqqāṣ, whose grave is in Syria.

Baraka is ascribed not only to the *šēḫ* of the *ŕma* but, in some degree, to all of them. Their blessings are highly valued. In the Ḥiáina a person who has some unfulfilled wish—who, for example, wants to buy a horse or a gun or take a wife or make a pilgrimage to Mecca or be cured of an illness—promises the *ŕma* a sheep or some other handsome present in case his wish be realised; and the *ŕma* then make *fâṯḥa* calling down blessings on him. They are thus treated almost as saints, the promised gift being a sort of *wá'da*.[1] We have noticed above that oaths are made in the presence of a band of *ŕma* or even by *ŕma* who are not present,[2] and that *'ār* is made on them as being particularly effective.[3]

The *ŕma* of a place assemble not only for hunting but also for target-practice. Everybody who takes part in the latter asks the people who are present to give him their blessings by some phrase like these:—*Sellmû li* (or *sellmú nna*) *mséllmīn* (Jbâla), or *As'áina lâkum t-tslīm a siádna* (Ḥiáina). The answer is, *Ălláh ij'ál mḗnna fḗha*, "May God let [the bullet go] from us into it (that is, the target)" (Jbâla); or, *Ălláh ijḗ'lek mḗnha lḗha*, "May God let you [fire the bullet] from it (that is, the rifle) to it (that is, the

[1] *Supra*, i. 173. [2] *Supra*, i. 500 *sq.* [3] *Supra*, i. 522.

target)" (Ḥiáina). In Andjra the rifleman first invokes Sîdi Wâqqāṣ. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, the assembled *ŕma* address themselves to the saints of the district by the phrase, *Ăḥna ḍüṭạ̈n lláh ů ḍüfạ̈nkum ā rijål lĕ-blâd*, "We are the guests of God and your guests, O men of the country"; and each *râmi* says to the people round him, *Dda'áu m'áya a syạ̈di*, "Pray with me O my lords", and the people answer, *Llah iġạ̈llbăk a'lêha*, "May God give you victory over it" (that is, the target). It is everywhere forbidden to shoot at targets in the direction of the East—some people even maintain that nobody should shoot at an animal in that direction. It is bad to shoot at targets over water: he who does so will miss the mark (Andjra), or he may be struck by *jnūn* (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). In Dukkâla it is believed that target-practice in the direction of the sea will not be successful; but a Rifian told me that it is just the reverse, because the land of the Christians lies in that direction. Target-practice is held to be very beneficial: it makes people strong and skilful; there is merit in it. It is considered particularly excellent when performed at a religious feast or on a Friday after the mid-day prayer; but as to the latter there is also a different opinion.

In Jbel Ḥbīb I was told that if a person asks another to put up a target for him and misses the mark, he must give a good meal both to the person who put up the target and to the people looking on. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if one of the *ŕrma* has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

CHAPTER XIX

RITES CONNECTED WITH CHILDBIRTH AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

A widespread rite is that the husband of the parturient woman washes his right foot (Ṯemsâmän) or its big toe (Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Yúsi, Ait Waráin [1]) with water and then gives her the water to drink. I was told that it makes the delivery easier because the father's *baraka* is in the water, and I presume that the washing of the foot or the toe is suggested by the fact that the foot is an organ of locomotion.[2] Among the Ait Temsâmän the father may also for a similar purpose step over the woman, and in Andjra he does so three times in succession. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi, immediately before

[1] See also Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 339 (Raḥámna). M. de Segonzac states (*Au cœur de l'Atlas. Mission au Maroc 1904–1905* [Paris, 1910], p. 274) that among some Berbers a parturient woman for the same purpose drinks water with which her husband's feet have been washed.

[2] In Syria a parturient woman whose delivery is difficult drinks water from her husband's shoe (Eijūb Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. [Leipzig, 1884], p. 89); and if such a woman suffers pain in consequence of her childbirth, her husband's shoe is without her knowledge put underneath her pillow (*ibid.* p. 96 *sq.*). Among the Bogos of North-Eastern Africa, if the delivery is difficult, the husband pulls off his sandals, beats the outside of the house with the flat of his sword, and walks round the house (Munzinger, *Über die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos* [Winterthur, 1859], p. 36).

a child is born, the midwife (*ṯamqábĕlṯ*) warms an egg in the ashes of the fire-place and pours its contents into the mouth of the woman in order to expedite the delivery and relieve her pain ; and if this does not prove effective she fumigates the region between the woman's legs with Sudanese pepper (*ṯifĕlfĕlṯ ssuḏâni*). At Tangier, if the delivery is delayed, an egg is put on the woman's *izār* (a rectangular seamless piece of material worn at Tangier by brides and lying-in women) and children walk about with it from house to house, singing, *Hād n-nfêsa ḍaq bêha n-nfās, yā rābbi a'ṭêha l-ḫlaṣ*, " This lying-in woman is in throes of childbirth, O God give her delivery ". The people put eggs on the garment or pour water over it. I was told that the object of the eggs is to make the woman bear as easily as a hen lays an egg,[1] while the pouring of water was explained by reference to the popular saying, *L-mā ạmān*, " Water is safety ". My informant denied that there is any attempt to break the egg, as is said to be the case in similar rites recorded by others.[2]

The Aiṭ Yúsi also have the following methods of producing an easy childbirth. The kerchief (*aḫĕnbuš*) of a woman who is known to bear easily is placed on the head of the expectant mother. Or a person who once killed a snake just as it was in the act of swallowing a frog fills his mouth three times with water which he has poured into a vessel and spits it back again ; the woman drinks of the water and the child will then leave her just as the frog left the mouth of the snake when the latter was killed. Or the midwife puts some barley three times underneath the woman's clothes at the neck and lets it slip down, and the barley is then placed

[1] For the same purpose some Russian Jews set a raw egg before a bride (Andree, *Zur Volkskunde der Juden* [Bielefeld & Leipzig, 1881], p. 145). Addison says (*The Present State of the Jews* [London, 1676], p. 52) that among the Jews of Morocco the bridegroom on the marriage-day " takes a raw Egg, which he casts at the Bride ; intimating thereby his desire that she may have both an easie and joyful Child-birth ".

[2] Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie, et de ses Corsaires* (Paris, 1649), p. 286 *sq.* (Algiers) ; Trenga, ' Contribution à l'étude des coutumes berbères ', in *Les archives berbères*, ii. (Paris, 1917), p. 221 (Fez) ; Biarnay, quoted by Laoust, ' Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas ', in *Hespéris*, i. (Paris, 1921), p. 55 (Tangier).

on the roof of the house or tent, where it is left until the child is born. When the delivery is about to take place the parturient woman seizes a rope tied to the pole supporting the roof or to a nail in the wall, another woman grasps her shoulders from behind, and the midwife helps her to be delivered of the child invoking the aid of Mûläi 'Abdsslam and other saints. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the midwife on the same occasion invokes the assistance of Mûläi 'Abdlqâder. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr, when a woman feels that her delivery is at hand, she puts a tray or bowl filled with wheat or barley on the roof of the tent as an offering to the same great saint with a view to making the delivery easy; and the corn is after the birth of the child given in charity to some poor person. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, before a woman gives birth to a child, the *fqī* of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery. At Fez an expectant mother whose delivery is delayed gives her *izār* to a group of schoolboys, who carry it to the mosque of Mûläi Idrīs, the Qarwîyin, the *záwia* of Mûläi 'Abdlqâder, and Sîdi Frạj, sprinkle it with water at all these holy places, and make *fât*ˢ*ḥa*; and when they return they will find that the woman has been delivered of her child. Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ the woman's belt is hung at the minaret of a mosque, and the people who see it say, *Ălláh isåhhäl 'ălêha*, "May God make it easy for her".[1]

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the midwife cuts off the navel-string (*ṭimeṭṭ*) so that four fingers' breadth of it remains on the child. Later on, when this portion of it gets dry and drops off or is cut off, it is preserved and, when occasion occurs, boiled in salt butter, which is then used as an ointment for diseased eyes. The other portion of the navel-string is thrown into a river or buried underneath the pole supporting the roof, together with the after-birth (*ṭimåttin*), seven grains of barley, a piece of rock-salt, and a little henna. The blood of the mother must not be left exposed because,

[1] Some other practices are mentioned by Dr. Mauchamp in his posthumous book *La sorcellerie au Maroc* (Paris, *s.d.*), p. 116 *sq.* See also *supra*, i. 69.

if a woman who has only given birth to girls treads on it, as she may do out of enmity or jealousy, the result will be very sad : should the mother of the new-born child in the future give birth to as many as five children they would all be girls if the woman trod on her blood with five toes, and should she give birth to ten children the whole lot of them would be girls if the woman trod on the blood with ten toes. The knife with which the navel-string was cut is put under the head of the child as a protection against *jnūn* ; but on the seventh day it is taken away by the mother, who uses it for cutting up the meat of the animal sacrificed on that day. It is then given back to its owner, who, according to one account, may use it as he likes ; but according to another account, the knife with which the navel-string is cut is never afterwards used for any other purpose.

In the Ḥiáina also the midwife is careful to remove all blood, and the after-birth and the navel-string are thrown into a river or buried in the ground ; nothing of it must fall into the hands of an enemy, who might practise magic with it. The Ait Waráin say that if food mixed with the blood of a parturient woman is given to her husband to eat, he will no longer care for his wife ; or if a charm is written with such blood and water poured over it and this water is given to the woman herself to drink, she will lose her hair. Among the same tribe the navel-string (*tmeṭṭ*), when dry, is fastened to the string with which the swaddle-clothes are tied up and is subsequently buried in the ground ; while the knife with which it was cut is put inside the pillow of the child but later on buried together with the navel-string, as it must never again be used. At Fez the navel-string (*súrra*) is tied up by the midwife (*qâbla*) and is allowed to remain till it comes off, when it is put inside the pillow under the baby's head. In Andjra the midwife (*qabbâḍla*) sprinkles it with ashes and henna and ties round it a silk string, and then buries it in the *ḥarm* of a saint together with the after-birth (*sélwa*, in Arabic generally called *slā*). Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the after-birth (*aḍān*) and navel-string (*ḍmīṭ*) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

At Tangier the women in the house, or one of them, trill the *zġārīt*^{s} seven times when a boy is born, and three times on the birth of a girl. Elsewhere it is done three times in the case of a boy and twice (Fez, Andjra, Ait Waráin) or not at all (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Yúsi, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Nḍēr) in the case of a girl; and among country people the arrival of a boy is also frequently accompanied with gun-fire. These ceremonies may be something more than mere announcements: the *zġārīt* and the firing off of guns may at the same time—as they do at weddings[1]—serve the object of frightening away evil spirits.[2] It is, however, commonly said that the birth of a girl is a greater blessing than that of a boy. A man from the Rīf explained this belief by arguing that men are so frequently killed. The Bni 'Ăroṣ say that a girl is "the key of the house"—*mőft*^{s}*aḥ ḍ-ḍār*—because she looks after the house and her parents. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz maintain that a year during which the women of the village give birth to daughters only will be a prosperous year. There is also a saying among them that "if a person has no daughters the people will not know when he is dead"—*Li ma 'áddů bnāt ma i'árfůh n-nās ímta māt*; it is a person's daughters, not his sons, who express grief at his death, and hence, if he has sons only, people cannot know whether he is dead or alive. On the other hand, they also say of persons who only have daughters that "their house is empty", because daughters leave the house as soon as they marry. The people of Fez have a similar saying:—*Dyōr b-bnāt*^{s} *fi l-ḥīn ḥályāt*^{s}, "Houses of girls will soon be empty". The Iglíwa express their feelings on the birth of a girl by the phrase, "The kitchen fell down upon So-and-so" (mentioning the name of the father)—*Flạ̄n îděr fellâs únwāl*. There can be no doubt that a boy

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 322.

[2] Among the Muhammadans of India the birth of a son is announced by a discharge of artillery or, in the lower grades of the people, by musketry; and "the women say the object in firing at the moment the child is born, is to prevent his being startled at sounds by giving him so early an introduction to the report of muskets" (Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, ii. [London, 1832], p. 3).

is generally much more welcome than a girl. I was told that among the Ait Waráin the father even declines the congratulations offered him on the birth of a daughter, and among the Aiṭ Sádděn his disappointment may be so great that he scratches his face, somewhat in the fashion of women on the occasion of a death; this is said to occur among those of them who live in the neighbourhood of the Ait Waráin and, therefore, are in great need of fighting men. If the child is a boy there are, among the Aiṭ Sádděn, many visitors—also relatives and friends from other villages—for some days after his birth. They congratulate the parents, saying, *Mbārk měs'ŏud á'zri*, " May the bachelor be blessed and lucky ". The son is called *á'zri*, " bachelor ", instead of *l'īl*, " boy ", in order that he shall in time become a grown-up man. The parents answer, *L'óqba ġorš águḍ šigg* (or, if said to a woman, *L'óqba ġorm águḍ šimm*), " May you also have the same ". If the child is a girl, the visitors are much less numerous and only a few of them congratulate the parents, saying, *Mbārk měs'ŏud ṯámṭůṭ*, " May the woman be blessed and lucky "; nobody conversant with the proper custom would on this occasion call the child *ṯarbätt*, " girl ". In the same tribe, if a boy is born, the schoolboys of the village ask the father to get a holiday for them by paying a small sum of money to the schoolmaster; and should he refuse to do so they would take revenge by making a " reversed *fâṭḥa* " in order to kill the baby. So highly is a boy valued that if his father died before he was born, the mother has no longer to continue her mourning, but dresses herself up as she would otherwise do on the birth of a child.

In country places it is the custom that at the moment of delivery the women, or the married women, of the village assemble in the room or tent of the parturient woman. They encourage her with their good wishes, and some of them help the midwife; and after the delivery they bless the child:—*Ăbbârăk l-'ázri* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) or *D ánbarḥ ḍ á'rrim* (Aiṭ Yúsi), " May the bachelor be blessed "; or, if the child is a girl, *Ăbbârăk l-'ázba* (Ulâd Bu'ăzîz) or *D ánbarḥ ṭ ṭá'rrimṭ* (Aiṭ Yúsi), " May the maiden be blessed ", or *Ăbbârăk*

l-ḥaṭṭâba, "May the heweress of wood be blessed" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Similar congratulations are subsequently offered to the father of the child both by the women and the men. The parents or the mother reply:—*Llah ibârĕk fi ḥasnâtĕk*, "May God bless your goodness" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); or (if said to a woman), *Llah ibârĭḥ fiḥem, l'óqba ġêrem*, "May God bless you, may you have the same" (Aiṭ Yúsi). The presence of the women is supposed not only to benefit the mother and the child on account of their blessings, but also to be beneficial to the women themselves owing to the *baraka* of the lying-in woman, which will help them to become mothers in their turn. And they participate in it also in another way than through words and good wishes, namely, by eating.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the women have in advance prepared a considerable quantity of *binssis*, that is, powdered roast durra and wheat with salt butter or oil, and on the birth of the child some of it is given to the lying-in woman (*ṭamzûrṭ* or *ṭanfisṭ*) to eat as a kind of medicine,[1] and then all others who are present partake of it to get the benefit of the mother's *baraka*. If the mother is a poor woman who has not got the necessary ingredients for this dish, they are brought there by other women, an act which is considered to confer religious merit on them. There is a similar custom elsewhere (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Ḥiáina); and a scribe from the Ḥiáina pointed out to me that the dish in question, called *bsîsa*, is permeated with the *baraka* of the new-born child. The Aiṭ Yúsi call it *ugʷnû*. The mother and the midwife eat together the first portion of it, into which have been put some dates or red raisins to make it sweet and lucky. Then it is partaken of by everybody else who is present, and by any other women who may come in afterwards; and a portion is also sent to the mosque of the village to be eaten by the *fqī* and the other men, or, if there is no mosque, to the tent where the bachelors are assembled. All the men who have a share of it send to the mother some money in return, except the *fqī*, who writes a charm for the child instead. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the mother is

[1] The same dish is also given to persons who have been wounded.

immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (*ḍaḥăbbiṭ*), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the new-born child if there is one,[1] otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the father does not see the child at once, but generally only on the following morning or, if it was born at an early hour, later on the same day. When he sees it he kisses it between the eyes, saying, *Llah ijâ'lĕk ăbbârăk ms'ŏûd*, "May God make you blessed and lucky". So also among the Aiṭ Sádděn the father is not present when the child is born; it would be shameful for him to see his wife then and the women who are with her. On the following day he sees the child and, if it is a boy, kisses it on its forehead between the eyes, saying, *Răbbi akíg^{y} ḍ ánbarḥ ġêfnaḥ*, "May God make you a blessing to us". Among the Aiṭ Yúsi even seven days may pass before the father sees his child; and should his father or mother live with him in the same house or tent he, out of shyness, never enters it while they are there and takes his meals somewhere else. There may, however, be a reason other than shyness which keeps the father away from his new-born child. Klunzinger states that in Upper Egypt a father in many cases does not dare to look upon his own child till the seventh day, "since he might possibly, and quite against his will, do some harm to his tender offspring by a glance of his eye".[1] A similar explanation has never been given me of the corresponding custom in Morocco; but, as we have seen, it is a general belief there that certain persons can kill their fellow-creatures unawares by a cast of the eye, and I was told of a man whose eyes were so terrible that he killed all his children as soon as they were born by looking at them.[2] At the same time

[1] Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 186.
[2] *Supra*, i. 417.

sexual bashfulness is also a strongly developed feeling among the Moors. Among the Ait Waráin a man out of shyness never holds his child in his arms in the presence of his father.[1]

Among the same tribe, if the new-born child is a boy, the father is compelled by custom to pay a small sum of money to the first person who comes and congratulates him; if he refuses to do so, the person in question deprives him of his slippers when he is sitting outside his house, and does not give them back until he has paid his due. In Andjra, on the birth of a boy, the father touches the child's forehead with two of his fingers and says into both its ears the *múdden's* call to prayer, so that the boy shall become a scribe. This, however, is evidently a local interpretation of an ancient custom, founded upon the example of the Prophet, according to which, on the birth of a child, some man should pronounce the *aḏān*, or call to prayer, in its right ear and the *iqāmah*—which is the *aḏān* with the addition of the words, "The time for prayer is come"—in its left ear.[2] Lane says that the object of each of these ceremonies is to preserve the infant from the influence of the *jinn*.[3] Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (*ḏaḥaḏmiṯ*) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the *jnūn*. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn, if the child is a boy, the midwife immediately on his birth puts into his hand a twig of the lotus tree (*ázŭggar*), as I was told, in order that he shall become dangerous like the lotus tree with its thorns; but thorns are also used as charms against the evil eye.

[1] In Morocco a young man is very shy of his parents in all sexual matters, even such relating to his marriage. I have dealt with this subject in *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914, p. 313 *sqq.*) and *The History of Human Marriage* (vol. i. [London, 1921], p. 434 *sq.*); *cf.* also Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London, 1896), p. 184.

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 186.

[3] *Idem*, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 67.

It is a widespread custom that on the birth of a child the father kills a fowl. I have found this rite not only among country people—the Arabs of Dukkâla and the Ḥiâina, the Brâber in the neighbourhood of Fez, and the Jbâla of Andjra and the Bni 'Ăroṣ—but at Fez and Tangier as well; and there and elsewhere a hen is killed if the child is a boy and a cock if it is a girl,[1] in order that the boy or girl shall marry when they reach the proper age, the hen representing a wife and the cock a husband. Among the Ait Waráin the fowl which is killed on the day when the child is born should be white, so as to bring good luck; on the following day the father kills a hen, whether the child be a boy or a girl, and on the third day a cock if it is a boy and a hen if it is a girl. The fowl is boiled and the gravy is partaken of by the mother of the child. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the vessel from which she has drunk the gravy, and also the spoon with which she has just before eaten some *ug^{y}nû*, are at once sent to the father that he may make a similar use of them. This is looked upon as strictly compulsory on his part, and the women would insist on his doing it in case he should refuse, for example, out of disappointment that the child was a girl. When I asked why so much importance was attached to this custom, I could get no other answer than that it was really the father who was the author of the child and that without him there would have been no child at all. It is only on the first day, however, that he is obliged to eat of the *ug^{y}nû*, whereas the mother partakes of it for seven days. If he can afford it he also kills a sheep or goat at the birth of the child so that his wife shall have strong and good food; but he may buy the meat from the market. As for the custom of killing a fowl on the birth of a child, I was told that its object is to preserve the life of the child by removing its *baṣ* (Tangier).[2]

At Tangier a knife and some salt are put underneath

[1] M. Michaux-Bellaire also mentions this custom in his book *Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt* (Paris, 1911), p. 135.

[2] In Mesopotamia a black cock is secretly killed immediately on the birth of a child (Tfinkdji, 'Au pays d'Abraham', in *Anthropos*, vii. [Wien, 1912], p. 570).

the head of the child to serve as a protection against *jnūn*.[1] In the same town and elsewhere there are families whose custom it is to fetch a little earth from a shrine and hang it, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, round the neck of the child, as it is believed that otherwise the child would become ill or die; but this prophylactic would lose its efficacy if a person or an animal should walk over the earth or a bat fly over it. When it is brought from the shrine a fowl has to be killed there, a cock if the child is a boy and a hen if it is a girl. There are other families who for the same purpose have to procure a live scorpion from some shereef belonging to the *šûrfa t-Tˢéida* of Mûlâi 'Abdsslam's family and to hang it, likewise enclosed in a piece of bamboo, round the neck of the child.[2] Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ the bed of the expectant mother is sprinkled with salt before her delivery, and both then and when the child is born the room is fumigated with benzoin, gum-ammoniac, and gum-lemon. Moreover, a charm is written in a bowl, water is poured on it, and the breasts of the mother are wetted with the water for the benefit of the suckling. In Andjra and among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the *jnūn* but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there. Among the Ait Temsâmän the infant is protected against the *jnūn* by a piece of bread[3] or some salt or a knife, which is put underneath its head.

[1] Salt is also frequently used in the birth customs of other Muhammadan countries (Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine illustrating the Manners of the Ancient Hebrews* [Cambridge, 1864], p. 191); Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iv. [Leipzig, 1881], p. 63; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* [London, 1905], p. 106; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 89; Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. [Wien, 1908], p. 215; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 510; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, p. 186; Falls, *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* (London, 1913, p. 319 [Menas]). *Cf. Ezekiel*, xvi. 4.

[2] See *supra*, ii. 354 *sq.*

[3] In the city of Menas, in the Libyan desert, salt and bread are for the first three days placed beside the infant as a protection against the devil and evil spirits (Falls, *op. cit.* p. 319). Bread is also used as a prophylactic in Scandinavian birth customs (Burjam, *Den skandinaviska*

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the midwife (*gâbla*) ties round the right wrist of the child a string to which she has attached a small piece of calico containing earth from a shrine to protect it from the evil eye, as also a silver coin to make the child good, and a date to make it " sweet " and pleasant in its speech. This is done on the day after its birth ; and on the same day the men and women of the village who come to the tent of the lying-in woman give her some silver money and the women chicken and eggs besides, a present which is called *z-zrûra*. The coins are perforated and threaded on a string together with some shells and corals, and this so-called *mgéllĕd* is then slung over the right shoulder of the child as a charm against the evil eye, and is worn by it as long as it remains a suckling or until the mother gives birth to another child. To protect the infant against *jnūn*, alum, harmel, and coriander seed are in the afternoon or evening burned in the tent, and the child is held over the smoke. At Casablanca and Rabat the midwife burns the same kinds of incense, as also black benzoin, in which the *jnūn* delight, and she sprinkles salt in the room, no doubt in order to keep them at a distance. The alum, harmel, and coriander seed were said to ward off the evil eye ; and to catch it and take it away the midwife calls in a dog and puts a piece of the burned alum into its ear. She also paints with tar five vertical lines on two of the walls of the room which are opposite one another, and between these figures she draws with the same material a horizontal line along the walls round the place where the mother has her bed ; the two figures, consisting of five lines each, are meant as charms against the evil eye, and the tar serves as a protection against *jnūn*. In the Ḥiáina harmel and rock-salt are for the latter purpose tied to the swaddling-clothes of the infant and to the belt of the mother, while alum and a few shells are tied to the swaddles to safeguard the child against the evil eye ; and for both purposes a looking-glass is put underneath its head and left there until the child gets old enough to eat ordinary food.

folktron om barnet under dess ömtålighetstillstånd i synnerhet före dopet [Helsingfors, 1917], p. 164 *sq.*).

Among the Aiṯ Yúsi a looking-glass is likewise, together with some salt and the knife with which the navel-string was cut, placed underneath the head of the infant. The looking-glass, which is left there for forty days, was said to protect it from the evil eye, and the other things were represented as charms against *jnūn*, particularly a certain *ṯajĕnnīṯ* (*jennîya*) who appears in the shape of a bird but with breasts like those of a goat and is a great danger to new-born babes. We have in an earlier chapter noticed other precautions taken against this dreadful enemy,[1] such as the placing of a vessel filled with water close to the head of the child every night during the first week.[2] Some salt, harmel, dry gum-sandarach, and a piece of charcoal, are tied up in a little bag and, together with a silver coin, a shell (*ṯaġûlelṯ*), and a red coral (*aḥórri*), are fastened with a blue string to the right ankle of the mother; there they are left for forty days, after which period the mother goes to a river and removes them, not with her hands but with her left foot. Similar charms are tied round the wrist of the child's right hand and are likewise allowed to remain there for forty days. Then they are removed, but the silver coin, coral, and shell are tied to the lock of hair which is left on the child's head when it is shaved on the fortieth day; or if it is shaved later, as is the case in certain families, they are attached to a string and worn by the child over its shoulder until it is shaved and then tied to the lock. In some parts of the tribe harmel, a shell, and a silver coin, or something else of silver, are tied to the child's swaddling-clothes (*ṯaṣûnnt*). All these charms are supposed to serve as a protection either against *jnūn* or the evil eye or against both of these enemies, so closely connected in Moorish beliefs. If the baby cries, and is supposed therefore to have been hurt by the evil eye, it is fumigated with alum and gum-sandarach, the latter of which is also thought to excite fear in the *jnūn*.

[1] *Supra*, i. 314, 401.

[2] In Egypt, during the night before the seventh day, a water-bottle full of water, with an embroidered handkerchief tied round the neck, is placed at the child's head while it sleeps (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 510 *sq.*).

Among the Ait Waráin the midwife protects the child against the evil eye by drawing with soot on its forehead five vertical lines, which are left there until it is named. It is wrapped up in swaddling-clothes (*agĕmmaṭ*) which have been collected from several different houses, so that it shall not look too tidy and thereby fall a victim to the evil eye. To protect it both against this danger and against *jnūn*, various charms are fastened to the string with which the swaddles are tied up, over the chest : a silver coin, a piece of rue, a shell, a coral, a piece of rock-salt, and some harmel. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn harmel and rock-salt and frequently also a few glass beads, a shell or two, and a silver coin are tied on a string just above the left ankle of the mother to guard her against *jnūn* and the evil eye ; and similar charms are fastened round the right wrist of the child and tied to the string of the swaddles (*agĕmmăṭṭ*) over the chest. The room or tent in which the child is born is fumigated with benzoin or gum-lemon.

Henna, antimony, and walnut root or bark are applied both to the lying-in woman and to the child ; and on this, as on other occasions, they are undoubtedly used as means of protection against supernatural dangers, although they may also serve other purposes. At Fez, on the day after the birth of the child and on the two following days as well, the midwife rubs its body with a mixture of henna, sugar, alum, marjoram (*märdäddūš*), mint (*ná'na'*), mastic (*méska*), water, and a small quantity of oil, " in order to strengthen its skin ". In the Ḥiáina the mother has her hands and feet painted with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her lips with walnut root ; a little henna mixed with butter is put on the navel of the child, and its head and body are every evening smeared with salt butter. Among the Ait Waráin the lying-in woman is even before her delivery painted with henna, antimony, and walnut root in the same manner, " so that she may enter Paradise as a bride if she dies in childbirth " ; such a woman is said to become a Houri (*iḥōrît*) after death. The body of the baby is rubbed with oil or, in default of it, with fresh butter, and is painted with henna all over, " to prevent its catching cold ". Before

this is done a green candle or, if no such candle can be procured, the twig of a fir (*tăida*) is lighted close to the child; the candle should be green, which is an auspicious colour, to make the child good, and it is lighted by a jolly girl, who should laugh when lighting it, to make the child jolly. When the baby has been painted, the midwife extinguishes the light and keeps the candle for herself. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the mother's hands and feet are repeatedly smeared with henna during the first seven days, and every day during this period her eyes are painted with antimony and her lips with walnut root. If the weather is hot the body of the child is rubbed with butter or oil, and some powdered henna is sprinkled in its armpits, on its navel, and between its legs to prevent perspiration and consequent chill. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the mother is painted with henna, antimony, and walnut root on the third day after her delivery; and if the child is a boy, a roll of white wool with seven spots of henna on it is on the same day tied round the crown of her head. This is allowed to remain there for four months, after which it is tied above the knee of the right foreleg of a camel, so that the child shall become strong; it is a common expression to say of a strong person that he is like a camel. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong". To smear antimony above the eyes of the child and along the edges of the eyelids is a widespread practice (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin; among the Aiṭ Sádděn antimony is smeared above the eyes); at Fez it is done every day for a week. It is usually said that the object of this practice is to cause the child's eyebrows and eyelashes to grow black and beautiful;[1] and the Ait Waráin believe that if a horizontal black line is also painted above its nose it will have united eyebrows. At the same time I have also heard that the antimony is

[1] Among the Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan antimony is applied to the head of the new-born and round his eyes, "in order to encourage the growth of strong black hair" (Thorburn, *Bannú; or our Afghán Frontier* [London, 1876], p. 145).

intended to protect the child against *jnūn*. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi artificial eyebrows are made with the first excrements of the child, which are black ; they are probably looked upon as a kind of manure.

Among the Ait Waráin a lying-in woman often has round her finger an iron ring made on the *'āšûra* eve, which is supposed to protect her against witchcraft. For fear of witchcraft nobody but the midwife is allowed to carry her to her bed after she has been delivered of her child ; and as soon as she has been placed on the bed the midwife hangs a curtain in front of it to prevent her being seen. So also at Fez and in the Ḥiáina a curtain is made, behind which mother and child remain for seven days, and during this time a candle is kept burning or at least is lighted every evening before sunset, probably as a safeguard against *jnūn*. In Andjra it is said that the candle which is burned for a whole week in the room where the mother is with her child causes the angels to remain there, whereas *jnūn* would take their place if it were dark. On the delivery neither mother nor child must be washed, presumably for fear of those spirits ;[1] I was told in Andjra that if they were they would die. Among the Ait Waráin the child is washed for the first time on the seventh day, when it is named ; but then only the middle and lower parts of its body are washed, with warm water, whereas no water is allowed to touch its face until it is big enough to eat bread—it is said that the angels wash its face till then.[2] Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ the

[1] For the custom of refraining from washing new-born children in Morocco see also Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story* (London, 1911), p. 310 ; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'El-Qçar el-Kebir', in *Archives marocaines*, vol. ii. no. ii. (Paris, 1904), p. 74 ; *Idem*, 'Les tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs', *ibid.* vi. (1906), p. 233 ; de Segonzac, *Au Cœur de l'Atlas*, p. 274 ; and among the Muhammadans of other countries, see Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, p. 185 ; Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 63 (peasants of Palestine) ; Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 144 (Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan).

[2] At Tunis, where a new-born child is bathed on the seventh day, but neither before nor after, "le préjugé veut que les lavages, surtout de la tête, atrophient le cerveau de l'enfant" (Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* [Lyon, 1913],

child remains unwashed for a month or longer. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi it is on the seventh day smeared with some gravy of the slaughtered animal before salt is added to it, mixed with henna and the milk of its mother, and subsequently, from time to time, with a mixture of such milk and henna; it would be bad for the little child to be washed with water. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn it is never washed until it is able to walk and talk, and may in fact remain unwashed for years till it washes itself with its own hands. At Tangier children under a year and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ even a little older children are not allowed to drink water, lest they should be hurt by *jnūn*. Among the latter the room must not be swept for seven days after a birth, while at Tangier, during the same period, the sweepings must not be taken out of the room.[1] Several tribes have the rule that if a woman has given birth to a child no fire must be given from her dwelling to another house or tent for seven days; if this rule is transgressed the baby will die (Ait Waráin) or its eyes will become diseased (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi).[2] The people of Fez maintain that if a widow who is in mourning should enter the house of a lying-in woman (*nfîsa*) while she is still behind the curtain, either the mother or the child would die. At Tangier it is believed that the same will happen if a funeral procession passes a house in which there is a woman in childbed.[3]

In most cases the child is named on the seventh or, especially if it was born in the afternoon, the eighth day; and the person who mentions its name at the same time

p. 574). In Palestine, when water is poured over the head of a child, a certain verse of the *Koran* is often recited as a protection against evil spirits (Lydia Einszler, 'Der Name Gottes und die bösen Geister im Aberglauben der Araber Palästina's', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, x. [Leipzig, 1887], p. 177 *sq.*).

[1] See *supra*, i. 594 n. 1.

[2] In Syria the parents of a new-born child do not allow their neighbours to fetch fire from their house until the navel has completely healed, for fear lest otherwise some misfortune should happen to the child (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 100).

[3] For a similar belief in Palestine see Baldensperger, 'Birth, Marriage, and Death among the Fellahin of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1894* (London), p. 143.

slaughters an animal—a sheep, a goat, or, though very rarely, an ox. With his knife drawn to kill the animal he says some words like these :—*Bismillâh allâhŭ ákbar, 'ăla* . . . (the name of the child) *ben* (son) or *bent*^{s} (daughter) . . . (of So-and-so) ; or, as I heard at Fez, *Bismillâh 'la ḍhîyĕt*^{s} . . . (the name of the child, the son or daughter of So-and-so). In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Amanūz and other people of Sūs), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother (Fez, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Sádděn) ; but the Aiṯ Yusi mention the names of both its father and mother, in order—I was told—that the child, if it dies young, may be able to find its parents in the other world. A feast is made in connection with this ceremony ; and various minor rites are observed which often differ in details.

At Fez the mother gets up on the seventh day, when the curtain is removed. She must have slippers on her feet and cover up her head, only leaving the eyes, nose, and mouth uncovered ; otherwise, it is believed, she would become ill. On this and on the following day she abstains from work, although she directs what is to be done in the house. On the eighth day, called *s-sâba'* or *nhār s-sâba'*, there is the feast of the *'aqêqa*, comprising the sacrifice of a ram and the naming of the child. On the morning of this day the male relatives and friends of the parents come to the house by invitation and are entertained with tea and food. A censer with burning agal-wood is carried around among the guests, who inhale the smoke and fumigate their clothes with it ; and they are also sprinkled with rose-water. In the middle of the house " the ram of the name-giving " (*l-ḥáuli dĕ s-smîya*) is slaughtered by the father of the child or, if he does not know how to do it, by his father or some person who has *baraka*—a shereef or a *fqī*. The women who are watching this ceremony from the upper floor of the house trill the *zġârīt*^{s} while it is performed. When the animal is slaughtered a female slave or servant or some old woman puts salt into the wound as a safeguard against *jnūn*. The head of the animal is skinned because the hair on it must not be scorched

off, as is usually done ; if it were, the infant would die. If the child is a boy the shoulder-blades of the animal must be left unbroken in order that he shall become vigorous and active ; of a man who is lethargic and lazy it is said that his " ram of the name-giving " had its shoulder-blade broken. But if the child is a girl no such rule is observed.

After the male guests have left, the child is washed by the midwife and dressed in clothes sent by its mother's father if it is a first-born child, or otherwise in clothes procured by its father. The water used for the washing of the child must not be poured into the drains, which are haunted by *jnūn*, but is thrown into the garden or on the plants cultivated on the roof. After the baby has been bathed it is not again smeared with the mixture of henna and other things, but its eyes are still painted with antimony.

In the evening there is a feast for female relatives and friends. They are entertained in the same way as the men. The midwife carries the baby round, and they all kiss it on the cheek and put silver coins on its forehead ; this money is called *bšâra*, and is looked upon as the midwife's fee. The women stay over night and depart in the morning after breakfast. At both feasts music is performed by a band of musicians, consisting of men in the morning and of women in the evening. If the child is a first-born the meals are largely composed of the meat of sheep and other food sent by the mother's father, and the sacrificed animal is also one of those sheep. When friends come to these feasts or, otherwise, when they meet the parents for the first time after the birth of the child, they congratulate them, whether it be a boy or a girl, with the words, *Mbârăk mes'ûd*, " Be blessed and lucky " ; to which the reply is, *Alláh ibârěk fīk*, " May God bless you ".

In the Ḥiáina a ram, which must be entirely white, is killed by the *fqī* of the village or a shereef or some highly respected man, to whom the father hands a knife, telling him the name of the child and its mother's name. No other man is present at this ceremony, but there are a few women who trill the *zġârīt'* and sing, *St'aḥramnâ lěk yâ llah b sîdna A'mar, îji zéinu zein l-qmar yâ llah*, " We took refuge

with you O God through our lord A'mar (that is, 'Umar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭāb, whose daughter the Prophet took as his third wife), O God; his (that is, the baby's) beauty will become like the beauty of the moonlight, O God". The infant is held in the arms of the mother or some other near female relative. This ceremony, which takes place at mid-day, is called *s-sḍba'* and the sacrifice itself is called *dbēḥtˢ s-smîya*, "the sacrifice of the name-giving"; the word *'aqêqa* is not used in the Ḥiáina. The liver, heart, and other internal parts of the animal must be cooked with the meat and not prepared separately; I was told of a case in which its liver was given to a shereef of the Wazzan family, who had it roasted as *bûlfäf*, with the result that the person at whose name-giving the animal had been killed was shot dead at night while still a lad. The stomach and other internal parts, except the liver and the heart, as well as the head, feet, and skin of the ram are given to the midwife; but from the skin some wool is first plucked out to be made into a rope which is tied round the swaddling-clothes (*l-gmāṭ*) of the child. On the same day a feast is given with music and powder play.

In Andjra, on the eve of *nhār s-sḍba' ḏe n-nfîsa*, "the seventh day of the lying-in woman",[1] the mother sends her husband to the mosque with bread, eggs, and fowls for all the villagers. On the following morning the midwife comes and removes her from the bed where she has been lying since the birth of the child, and puts her on the ground. She washes her, dresses her in clean clothes, and paints her hands and feet with henna. She also smears henna on the head, neck, navel, feet, and finger-nails of the baby, and in its armpits and between its legs. I was told that this painting with henna, like all other henna ceremonies, is intended as a safeguard against *jnūn* and the evil eye; and in order to keep away those spirits she also burns benzoin in the room. The father comes with a sheep or goat, which must be at least a year old, and kills it in the yard of the house. This sacrifice is called *l-gézra ḏe t-tˢesmîya*, "the slaughter of the name-giving". It is made whether the child be a

[1] In Andjra a woman in childbed is also called *mûlûḏa*.

boy or a girl, and should it be omitted the child would be said to be a *jẹnn*, a Christian, or a Jew. The skin of the animal must on no account be inflated; if it were, the child would also later on become inflated. It is dried and then put underneath the baby in its bed. It is kept for some three or four years, and may then be thrown away but must never be sold; if it were, the child would die. The liver of the animal is eaten by the parents of the child. Its meat is cut up and distributed among the villagers. Its shoulders are given to the midwife and its feet and head to some poor people.

About mid-day the schoolboys of the village come to the father and ask him to procure them a holiday. He goes with them to the *fqī* and pays him some money to comply with the wishes of the boys.[1] The *fqī* writes a charm for him and puts the paper into a small piece of bamboo, which he seals with wax. This charm is tied to a silk string, together with some blue, a shell, a silver coin, the jaw of a hedgehog, and a piece of the larynx of the sacrificed animal; and the string is hung round the baby's neck, where it is allowed to remain for three years, after which time it is deposited at a *sîyĭd*. It serves as a charm against the evil eye, *jnūn*, and all kinds of misfortune.

The women of the village with their little boys visit the mother, bless her with the words *Nbârăk měs'ŏûḏ*, "Be blessed and lucky", and give her a small sum of money. The midwife places a bowl containing water, henna, and a boiled egg on a sieve (*ġárbäl*),[2] and puts the child over it, whilst the other little children who are present are seated round the sieve with eight wax-candles in their hands. The sieve is probably looked upon as an instrument of purification.[3]

[1] We have noticed the revenge taken by the boys if the father refuses to pay the money to the *fqī* (*supra*, i. 601).

[2] In Egypt, on the seventh day, "the child is put into a sieve and shaken, it being supposed that this operation is beneficial to its stomach" (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 510). According to another account, the child, by being shaken in the sieve, is believed "to lose fear for the rest of its life" (Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 186).

[3] In Upper Egypt the new-born child is immediately laid upon a corn sieve (Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 185).

The midwife paints the hands and feet of the baby with the henna-mixture in the bowl. The egg is given to the baby's brother to eat so that they shall become great friends ; but if the child has no brother it is put aside in a clean place, nobody being allowed to eat it. Should anybody else than the brother eat the egg the child would no longer care for the milk of its mother, and, when grown older, it would become very fond of the person who ate the egg and at the same time have no affection for its mother. *Kŭsksŭ* with meat is given to the guests to eat.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (*räḥzạm*) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a goat with the assistance of his wife ; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the *fqī* of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the *fqī* to give them a holiday.[1] On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

Among the Ait Waráin, on the morning of *ass n ssbó'ŏ*, " the seventh day ", which may also be the eighth, the child is named and a sheep slaughtered by the *fqī* of the village outside the door of the parents' house. The sacrifice is made in the presence of the male members and friends of the family

[1] For their revenge, in case she refuses to give them money, see *supra*, i. 601.

and some shereef, while the women inside the house are trilling the *zġârīt* (*tililau*). But before the animal is slaughtered the men, including the *fqī*, are served with a meal; and they all put some money in the empty dish as a present for the mother, or, if they know her well, give it to her directly. This present, like that of the women offered on the third day, is called *imġri*.

At the feast which is given in the evening the meat of the sacrificed animal, with *ssěksū*, is served to the men; while the head, lungs, heart, liver, and other internal parts suitable for food, which have been boiled together, are eaten by the women with bread. The liver must on no account be cut into pieces and fried into *bûlfâf*; if it were, the result would be that when the child has grown up and married and become the parent of a child, that child would die. The head is skinned, as the hair must not be singed off; the penalty for transgressing this rule would be that no hair would grow on the head of the child. The throat and the right shoulder-piece are not boiled till the following morning, when they are eaten by the parents; but they must take care not to break the gristle of the larynx or the shoulder-blade. If the former were broken the child would have a distorted neck, while the latter must be left unbroken in order that the child may in the future have a numerous progeny; they are in consequence put among the corn which is kept in the house, or are hung on the rafters, so that no dog or cat can get hold of them. There is *baraka* in them, and the gristle of the larynx is used as a charm against the evil eye. The other bones and those entrails which are not good for food are thrown into a river or buried in the ground; for should a cat eat them, the child would become like a cat and scratch people when they speak to it, and should a dog eat them, the child would become very disagreeable and quarrelsome. The skin of the animal is often given to the midwife, but it may also be used as a praying-mat or as bedding. If it is given to the midwife, she receives in addition half a dollar for her services; otherwise her fee is one dollar.

Among the Aiṯ Sádděn the ceremony of *asěmma*, or name-giving, takes place in the forenoon of *ass n ssíbă'*.

The *fqī* of the village slaughters a sheep or a goat in front of the house or tent of the family, in the presence of the father and male relatives and others who care to come, but the mother is not among them. As soon as the sacrifice is performed, a member of the family fires off a gun, which is a signal for a few of the women to trill the *zġârīt* (*asġûrṯ*) once. The liver, heart, and entrails of the animal are partaken of by the father, the *fqī*, and other men who are there. In the afternoon or evening the meat, together with *sĕksû*, is served in the yard at a feast to which persons of both sexes with their children have been invited as guests. After the meal the mother comes out, carrying her baby, well dressed and painted with henna, antimony, and walnut root. She sits down in the yard, with lighted candles near her if it is dark, and all the people present her with silver coins, which they put into her lap; but if the child is a girl the contributions are generally few. One of the coins given on this occasion is tied to the string of the swaddling-clothes of the baby, and subsequently to the lock of hair left on its head, when it is shaved for the first time on the fortieth day after its birth. In the evening the house or tent, and also the mother and child, are fumigated with various kinds of incense bought (generally at Fez) on the *'āšûra* day; and if any of the guests has such incense, which is looked upon as particularly effective against *jnūn* and witchcraft, he presents it to the mother, this being considered a meritorious act. The skin of the sacrificed animal, and often some internal part of it as well, are given to the midwife, besides some money. Very frequently, however, the sacrifice of an animal is omitted when a child is named; indeed, in the case of a girl such a sacrifice is quite an exception, and there is no fear that the child will die in consequence. On the name-day the midwife draws blood from the child by making cuts on its chest with a razor, as it is thought that otherwise the first blood of the child would make it ill, and henna is put into the wounds.[1]

[1] Among the Arabs of Upper Egypt "young infants are scored with a razor longitudinally down the back and abdomen, to improve their constitutions" (Baker, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia* [London, 1871], p. 186).

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the mother is confined to her bed till the morning of the seventh day (*ssibă'*), when she gets up and has a bath. A sacrifice (*ṭṭḥeiṭ*) of a sheep or goat is made in connection with the naming of the child, and among them also the animal is slaughtered by the *fqī* of the village or, if there is none, by the chieftain of a band of huntsmen (*šše*ḫ *n ărrma*, or *lmqáddĕm n ărrma*) in the presence of the parents only. After the dead animal has been removed, the mother, with the child on her back, walks three times round the place where it was slaughtered, holding one of her breasts and squeezing milk over the blood. While doing it she says some words like these :—*Hâṭin šššärġ iḏun bûsĕb'a āy iḏămmna*, "Look here, I shared with you the breast (literally, 'that which has seven' [holes]), O this blood"; or, instead of *āy iḏămmna*, she may say, *āy äiṭ wänsą́ya*, "O people of this place", or, *āy äiṭ răbbi*, 'O people of God'". Henceforth the *jnūn* of the place, to whom this invocation is addressed, will be on friendly terms with the child and its mother, treating the former as a brother or sister and the latter as a mother. After this the mother, still carrying the baby on her back, goes to her tent and walks three times round it, in a like manner squeezing some milk on the tent-cloth; and if she lives in a house, she squeezes it on the door-post, without walking round the house; but in neither case does she repeat her invocation. If the tents of the village are removed to another place within forty days of the birth of the child, the mother repeats the same ceremony after her tent has been pitched anew.

On the name-day a feast with invited guests is given on the meat of the sacrificed animal. Its throat, lungs, liver, and other internal parts are boiled together. The mother and midwife first eat the throat, and then the other women eat the rest together with *sĕksû*. Care must be taken that the gristle of the throat is not broken, lest the child should get a distorted neck, and in order to prevent animals from getting hold of it, it is hung up; nor must the shoulder-blade be broken. The heart is eaten by the mother, so that the next child shall be a boy, and the fat of the stomach is likewise eaten by her alone. One of the legs, with *sĕksû*, is

given to the midwife, as also the skin and head of the animal ; and in addition the father gives her some money or perhaps a live sheep. Before the guests leave they put some money in the empty dish or on the tea-tray, as a present to the mother. A small sum of money is also given to her by people meeting her within forty days of the birth of the child, even though they be strangers, who recognise her motherhood by the charms she wears round her ankle ; there is religious merit in such a gift, and she rewards it with her blessing. The money given to her is called *ṯäzrurṯ*. Her women friends bring her small presents, such as henna, a kerchief, or a shirt for the baby.

At Aglu, in Sūs, a sheep or a goat is, as usual, killed when the child is named, on the eighth day. The meat is eaten by the family and friends, who give to the mother some money, which becomes the child's property. Some of the silver coins presented on this occasion are pierced and threaded on a string, together with a small piece of bamboo into which has been inserted one of two charms which a scribe has been asked to write on the birth of the child ; the other one has been hung round the mother's neck or round the upper part of her arm. The string with its charms is hung round the neck of the child and is allowed to remain there till it is shaved for the first time ; then the coins, or some of them, are tied to the lock left on its head to protect the child against the evil eye, and the written charm is hung at a shrine. The right foreleg of the sacrificed animal, and also some *sĕksŭ*, are given to the midwife to take home with her ; and she regularly receives the right foreleg of the sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast. After the sacrifice has been made, some gum-ammoniac, harmel, and benzoin are burned on the threshold of the room in which the mother is with the baby ; and she has to walk over it with the child in her arms in order to expel evil spirits.

Among the Iglíwa of the Great Atlas the child is likewise named on the eighth day, by its father ; and, in the case of a boy, a sheep or, if the parents are well-to-do, even an ox is slaughtered on this occasion The head, entrails, and skin of the animal are given to the midwife, and some portion of

it is also presented to the *fqī* of the mosque. In the evening all the people of the village are entertained with the meat of the sacrificed animal and other food. Before leaving the house the women guests give some money to the mother saying, *Mubârk ámḥăḍār*, " May the schoolboy be blessed ". In the case of a girl no animal is killed, nor is any feast connected with the naming of her. At Demnat, also, the head, skin, heart, lungs, stomach, and other internal parts of the sacrificed sheep or goat are given to the midwife. In the evening the father's friends are invited to partake of the meat. When the male guests have gone away the mother goes out of the house, carrying the child and accompanied by the other women of the family, who are singing and beating drums ; and when they return they burn benzoin, harmel, and coriander seed on the threshold of the house, which is said to make the child bring luck to the family

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, contrary to the usual custom, the child is named as early as the third day after its birth, without any special ceremony. The mother, however, remains in bed till the seventh day, during which time her husband goes to the market and buys for her eatables and henna, and also presents her with money. Of everything he gives her she must give a portion to the midwife. On the seventh day she gets up, has a hot bath in an enclosure inside the tent, paints her teeth and lower lip with walnut root, her cheeks with ochre, making a spot on either cheek, her eyelashes with antimony, her eyebrows with *ḥárgūs* (a pigment prepared from wood ashes, tar, and spices), and her hands and feet with henna, and dishevels her hair and smears it with a mixture of coriander seed and rose-water. In other words, she gives herself the appearance of a bride ; and it is believed that should she not do so her child, if a son, would not be fond of his bride when he marries. The midwife makes cuts all over the body of the child to prevent its blood from killing it, and puts henna and soap-stone (*ġasûl*) into the wounds ; so deep are these cuts that I saw scars due to them on the arm of a middle-aged man. On this day the father of the child kills a sheep, if

he has any; and if he has a sufficient number of sheep of both sexes, he kills a ewe if the child is a boy, and a ram if it is a girl. The skin and a portion of the meat are given to the midwife. Among the Beni Ăḥsen also the child is named on the third day, but a sheep is killed at the same time. A ring or some other object of silver is placed close to the sheep, so that some of its blood shall drop on it—a custom for which no explanation was given me.

The naming of the child and the performance of a sacrifice on the seventh day are enjoined by the Muhammadan traditions.[1] The victim should be a ram or a goat; or two such animals should be sacrificed for a son, and one for a daughter.[2] The person performing the sacrifice should say, "O God, verily this *'aqīqah* is a ransom for my son such a one; its blood for his blood, and its flesh for his flesh, and its bone for his bone, and its skin for his skin, and its hair for his hair; O God, make it a ransom for my son from hell-fire".[3] From this it appears that the sacrifice is looked upon as a kind of life insurance, the sacrificed animal being a substitute for the child; and the same is suggested by the idea, mentioned above, that if no animal were slaughtered the child would die.[4] The sacrifice is held obligatory by Ibn Ḥanbal, but the founders of the three other orthodox schools regard it as less important, in spite of Muḥammad's

[1] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 50 *sq.*

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 191; *Mishkāt*, xviii. 4. 2 (English translation by Matthews, vol. ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 316).

[3] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 191; see also Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India* (Madras, 1863), p. 20. *Cf. Job*, ii. 4.

[4] In their book *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles* (vol. ii. [Paris, 1873], p. 210 *sq.*), Messrs. Hanoteau and Letourneux write:—"Le sang des victimes est répandu en l'honneur de l'enfant, et l'on en fait couler quelques gouttes sur son visage. Cette lustration doit écarter les mauvaises influences et assurer à l'enfant un avenir prospère". The nomad of Palestine, when suffering from some illness, "thinks that the death of his camel or a goat from his flock, if its blood is poured out for him, will be accepted for his own life, and that he will be restored to health" (Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* [London, 1909], p. 179). *Cf. supra*, i. 607.

example and the tradition prescribing the *'aqīqah*.[1] In Morocco it is very generally observed ; but the case is different in many other parts of the Muhammadan world.[2]

For forty days the mother is regarded as unclean, and is consequently not allowed to pray nor to observe the fast of Ramaḍān. She is considered to be in a delicate state, very liable to catch cold and much exposed to the evil eye ; I was told that for forty days " her grave is open ". In some places she has her first bath only on the expiration of this period, whereas in other places, as we have seen,[3] she bathes on the day of sacrifice. At Fez she goes to the hot bath about a week after the ceremony of name-giving, accompanied by some women friends, who on entering the bath light a wax-candle and trill the *zġârīt*^{s}. After washing the mother, they all have a meal of eggs and bread which they have brought with them. But forty days after the birth of the child she has another bath ; and only then is the husband allowed to sleep with her. That matrimonial intercourse should be suspended for forty days is a generally recognised rule, but in many places this rule is by no means strictly observed. In the Ḥiáina husband and wife frequently sleep together from the night of the seventh day onwards, and among the Aiṭ Yúsi it is the regular custom for them to do so. In Andjra I was told that if the husband sleeps with his wife on the evening of the day when the child is named, he may also sleep with her every night afterwards ; whereas if he refrains from matrimonial intercourse on that night he must also do so till the forty days have passed. But before they have intercourse he must put under her one of his own garments ; otherwise the children borne by her will suffer from ringworm on their heads. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, also, the husband may have intercourse with his wife on the evening of the day of the name-giving if he puts his cloak underneath her head.

For forty days, if not longer, the child is kept in its swaddling-clothes ; and it must never be left alone, lest

[1] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 191.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 190.
[3] This is also the case in the Shāwîa.

some *ǧennîya* should come and exchange it for her own child[1] (Aglu, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sáddĕn). At Fez, if a little child is left alone in a room, a copy of the Koran is put close to its head to prevent *jnūn* from exchanging it for another babe. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz alum, harmel, and coriander seed are for forty days burned in the tent in the afternoon and evening, and the child is held over the smoke; and the same is also done afterwards when it cries. No witch is allowed to see it, and the mother must refrain from practising witchcraft for a still longer period. If she is a prostitute she is not allowed to prostitute herself for a year or a year and a half; if she did, the child would become ill or die. Among the Ait Waráin nobody must for forty days take a pair of *ärkăsn*, or sandals made of cowhide, into the room where the child is lying, since the holes for the laces would give it smallpox. At Tangier, if a young mother meets another young mother before the children are forty days old, it is bad both for the mother and the child.[2] At Fez, when the child is forty days old, it is carried to Mûläi Idrīs' sanctuary by a woman, who takes with her a wax-candle to leave there as a present for the saint. On the fortieth day there are frequently other ceremonies, which will be described later on.

There are still some beliefs and practices which may be mentioned in the present connection. Persons who are born on a Friday,[3] in Ramaḍān, or during one of the Muhammadan feasts are regarded as particularly fortunate. At Tangier it is held lucky to be born in the month of the Âšūr or on a Monday, because the Prophet was born on that day, but unlucky to be born on a Tuesday, Wednesday, or Saturday.

[1] For similar beliefs in the East see Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 84 (Syria), and Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 323 (Arabia Petraea); and in Scandinavia, see Burjam, *op. cit.* p. 12 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 308. In Syria, if two young mothers meet before forty days have passed, they must not speak to each other, lest the child of the woman who speaks first should die (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 88). In Andjra I was told that if two pregnant women meet and speak to each other, one of them will die in childbed.

[3] *Cf.*, however, *supra*, i. 133, 225 (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).

At Fez, on the other hand, I was told that it is lucky to be born on a Wednesday, but unlucky to be born on a Tuesday or Saturday. Elsewhere also Saturday is held to be an ominous day in this respect, although some people say that it is a lucky day ;[1] and at Marráksh I heard that a child born on a Tuesday about *'áṣar* is sure to die. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, if a child is born on a Friday, the mother will ever after abstain from work between *'áṣar* on Thursday and Saturday morning, lest some evil should happen either to her or to the child ; it is said that " she shares blood with Friday ". Otherwise their women work through the whole of Thursday and on Friday after *'áṣar*.

The Iglíwa think that if a boy is born feet foremost he will become a smart fellow, whereas if he is born head foremost the opposite will be the case. It is considered lucky for a child to be born with a *st'er*, or caul (Tangier, Andjra), pieces of which may be used as charms both for the child and its father.[2] The women of Tangier believe that if a candle gutters when a woman is in labour, a girl may be expected, whereas a steady light presages the advent of a boy.[3]

When a woman has given birth to a child her first milk is squeezed out, as it would be very injurious for the child to suck. In Andjra it is gathered in a new bowl, in which a scribe has written something from the Koran with ink made of the charred horn of a sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast. It is left there till the eighth, or sometimes the third day, and is then given to the infant to drink. The writing of the scribe has imparted *baraka* to it.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, if the mother has not sufficient milk to feed her child, she eats roasted seeds of hemp and wheat mixed with melted butter and saffron. If her breast pains her she hangs over it the foot of a porcupine, by preference one of its right feet ; and if both breasts pain her she hangs it between them. It is left there for three days, and when it is removed it is smeared with a mixture of henna and water, so as to retain its curing power until the next time

[1] *Supra*, ii. 46.

[2] *Supra*, i. 209.

[3] See also Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 309.

it is needed. Among the Ait Waráin, if the young mother is deficient in milk, she eats roasted beans, chick-peas, and wheat, and only bread which is made without yeast; and *sĕksŭ* and other hot foods are also considered good for her. If she has a sore breast, she procures the right forepaw of a porcupine, passes it seven times over the breast, puts it into henna and lets it remain there until it becomes quite red, passes it again seven times over the breast, hangs it round her neck so that it comes in contact with the breast, and wears it thus for seven days. If she has borrowed it from another woman she must put it into henna again before she returns it, lest she should once more be affected with the disease.

It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called *lă̊-ġyel* (*l-ġyel*)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman",—from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). Various remedies for this illness have been mentioned above.[1] The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz maintain that if a pregnant woman suckles a boy he will die; if she suckles a girl in similar circumstances, the danger is much less; but if the child in her womb is a girl, the sucking child will not suffer at all. A woman therefore ceases to suckle her child as soon as she feels that she is pregnant.[2] I was told, however, that the evil consequences otherwise resulting from sucking a woman who has a boy in her womb are averted if the child who sucked his mother partakes of the first meal which she eats after his brother is born.

Among the same tribe, when a woman whose last child has died shortly after it was born, again feels that she is with child, she goes to a shrine, taking with her a sheep or some other present for a descendant of the saint living close to

[1] *Supra*, ii. 288, 319, 320, 325, 327, 332, 334, 339, 342, 346.

[2] The Kabâbîsh, an Arab tribe of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, believe that if a woman becomes pregnant while nursing, the child at her breast will sicken if the unborn child is of the opposite sex, but not otherwise; in any event the child would be weaned (C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, 'The Kabâbîsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, ii [Cambridge, 1918], p. 147).

the shrine. He rewards her by writing a charm, which she hangs over her stomach or round her neck. On the fortieth day after the birth of the child she visits the shrine again, accompanied by her husband and some other members of the family. They present the descendant of the saint with a sheep, a cloak, a shirt, a turban, a pair of slippers, and some candles, sugar, and other little things, and he entertains them with food and gives to the mother an *izār* and to the child a shirt (*tšāmīr* or *qmůjja*). He shaves the head of the child in his house, in accordance with the custom which requires that children shall be shaved for the first time when they are forty days old. Among the Mnáṣăra a woman who has lost her previous babes by death asks each bachelor in the village to give her a *můzůna*; she then changes the coins into silver and has an earring made of it for the new-born child. At Aglu a company of Gnáwa are called in when the child is seven days old; they dance round it and their *mqáddem* makes in its right ear a hole, in which a silver ring is inserted as soon as the wound has healed. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a woman in similar circumstances asks another woman, whose children have remained alive, to provide her with swaddling-clothes for her babe in order to preserve its life. At Tangier a sieve is for the same purpose shaken over the head of the child, if it is a boy; but if a sieve were shaken over the head of a girl she would never marry. In a previous chapter we have noticed various other methods of preventing the death of an infant, which is generally supposed to be caused by the T^{s}ab'a.[1]

Twins are very welcome if they are boys. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi it is in such a case the custom for the woman who announces their birth to trill the *zġârīt*^{s} six times instead of three, as is usual when one boy is born; but the birth of two boys may also be concealed by one of them being reported to be a girl. At Tangier, on the birth of twins, the *zgârīt*^{s} is trilled the same number of times as for a boy in order to safeguard them from the evil eye; and elsewhere also the birth of twins is kept secret for the same purpose, nobody outside the family being allowed to see them until the

[1] *Supra*, i. 400 *sqq.*

seventh day (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Aiṭ Sádděn). On that day two animals are generally sacrificed in the case of twins; but I was told that this is not the custom at Aglu.

The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz say that if one of the twins becomes ill, the other one will also become ill; but a man from the Rîf told me that one of them as a rule dies in childhood. In the Ḥiáina and among the Ait Waráin (who call twins *išniūn* if both are boys, *tišníwin* if they are girls, and *išn tišntt* if one is a boy and the other one a girl) there is the belief that if both twins remain alive either the father or the mother will die, whereas the death of one of them will save the life of the parent. At Fez it is the custom for those who visit a mother of twins (*tᶜwām*) while lying-in to kiss her hand and address her as *lálla* ("my lady"), an epithet generally given to holy women; and nobody is allowed to go on the roof of the house in which she is lying, just as it is forbidden to go on the roof of a saint's shrine. A mother of twins, as has been said above,[1] is generally considered to have *baraka*. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz she cures persons who are ill by putting her right heel on the affected part of the patient's body; and this power of curing illnesses is possessed by her not only shortly after the birth of the twins, but for the rest of her life. The Aiṭ Sádděn believe that a woman who has given birth to twins (*iḫniun* or, if both are girls, *ṯiḫníwin*) will ever after be able to heal the illness called *lbāb*. If this illness affects the wrist or ankle, causing a painful swelling with stiffness, she treads on the affected part three times in the morning before she and the patient have had their breakfast. In doing so she asks the sufferer, "When did this *lbāb* break out in you?" The answer is, "On the day when you gave birth to twins". Then the mother of twins says, "I never gave birth to twins"; to which the patient replies, "Nor did *lbāb* ever break out in me". Another form of *lbāb*, called *aqraṣ uḫsum*, which is caused by a strained muscle giving the patient pain and preventing his walking erect, is likewise healed by a mother of twins, who in the morning before breakfast slightly bites the injured part of the body three times, putting similar questions and receiving

[1] *Supra*, i. 47.

similar answers.[1] Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector. In Andjra, for instance, if a woman for this purpose visits Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's grave the son will be called 'Abdsslam, and if she visits the shrine of Sîdi Nbârăḳ outside Ceuta, which is especially frequented by women desirous of offspring, he will be called Nbârăḳ; and if she appeals to a band of 'Ḍsáwa [2] he will be called Mḥámmed, after Sîdi Mḥámmed ben Êsa, the founder of their order. The first-born son is very frequently called Mûḥámmed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, however, if the father is a holy man (*fqēr*), he may give his own name, whatever it be, to his first-born son, to impart to him *baraka*. In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Mûḥámmed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Mûḥámmed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Wäryâġer).[3] The people of Fez say of such a case, *L-weld*

[1] These cures may also be practised by a woman who once suffered from ringworm but got rid of her complaint. A third person who may cure either kind of *lbāb* is one who has killed another with a dagger; he feigns stabbing the affected part of the patient's body three times, without touching it, with that same dagger, and this, too, should be done in the early morning on an empty stomach.

[2] See *supra*, i. 203.

[3] A very similar belief prevails in some parts of Italy (Placucci, *Usi*

*iḥébb bâbäh imût*ˢ, " The son wants his father to die ". The *baraka* of the name Mûḥámmed, however, will remove the danger ; but among the Ait Waráin there are cases in which even a father bearing that name is afraid of calling his son after himself and calls him Belqâsĕm instead. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn the first son, unless born after his father's death or with the assistance of a saint, is given the name of his paternal grandfather if he is dead, and, if he is alive, the name of his maternal grandfather, provided that *he* is dead ; and if the grandfather dies after the birth of the first son, his name is given to the next son born. Among the Ait Waráin, again, the second son is named after his paternal grandfather ; while among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and in Andjra he is called Ăḥmed. In the Ḥiáina it is the custom that if a child dies its name is given to one born afterwards ; and at Fez and among the Aiṯ Sádděn, if a person having the name Mûḥámmed dies, this name is given to a boy who is subsequently born in the same household. Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr a man may give the name Mûḥámmed to two of his sons if there are several sons between ; and among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Mûḥámmed.

As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fāṭimah, the wife of 'Alī and the mother of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Faṭûma, Fâṭma, Fáṭma, Fâṭna, or (by some Berbers) Fáḍma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided ; but among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the daughter is in such a case called Fáṭṭoš, and among the Ait Waráin sometimes Zzáhra—the Arabic *z-zuhrā*, an epithet commonly given to the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah, " the beautiful ". Among the Aiṯ Sádděn the first daughter is named after her paternal

e pregiudizj dei contadini della Romagna [Palermo, 1885], p. 23) and Sweden (Hyltén-Cavallius, *Wärend och Wirdarne*, i. [Stockholm, 1863], p. 375 ; ii. [1868], p. 278). *Cf.* Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. (London, 1912), p. 460.

grandmother or, if she is still alive, after her maternal grandmother, provided that *she* is dead; and if the grandmother dies after the birth of the first daughter, her name is given to the next daughter born. Among the Ait Waráin the second daughter is named after the paternal grandmother.

In many places children who are born at the *mûlūd* or the *'īd l-kbīr* are named after the feast, no doubt because the name is supposed to partake of its *ḅaraka*. Thus a boy born on the former occasion is often called Méilūd or Meilûdi, and one born on the latter occasion Kabbôr, l-Kbīr, or 'Ăiyăd; while a girl is called Meilûda or Meilūdîya, l-Kbîra, or 'Ăiyâda respectively. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn a girl born at the *'īd ṣ-ṣġēr* or the *'īd l-kbīr* is called 'Ăiyâḍa (though no boy is called 'Ăiyăḍ). Among the Ait Waráin a boy born during the first night of Ramaḍān is named Bûrămḍān, and a boy or girl born on the *'āšûra* day, 'Ašûr and 'Ašûra respectively. At Fez twins are called, if both are boys, l-Ḥâsan and l-Ḥûsīn; if both are girls, Fâṭma (or by a name derived from it) and l-Ḥusnîya, or Ḥúsna and l-Ḥusnîya; and if one of them is a boy and the other one a girl, l-Ḥâsan and l-Ḥusnîya or Ḥúsna. Among the Ait Waráin they are called, respectively, Lâḥsĕn and Lḥôsin, Fáṭma and Zzáhra, and Lâḥsĕn and Fáṭma or Lḥôsin and Fáṭma. In the Ḥiáina twin boys are named lă-Ḥsen and l-Ḥûsein, and twin girls, Fáṭma and Ḥásna. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz call twin boys—to whom they give the epithet *ulâd n-nbi*, "the sons of the Prophet"—lą̆-Ḥsĕn and l-Ḥausein; the Aiṭ Sádděn Lă̆ḥsĕn and Lḥ̄sain. Among the Ait Waráin, if several children in a family die, the following ones are often called by names commonly given to slaves, such as Mbārk, Faráji, Maḥmud, Mbárka, Jóhra.[1]

At Fez, when parents cannot decide upon the name to be given to their child, they go to the gate of the house, and the first name for a person of the sex of the child which they happen to hear is given to it. At Aglu a common method of finding a name for the child is to take some three or four small sticks and give a name to each of them, and then to ask the first person who appears to draw one of the sticks,

[1] *Cf.* Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 147 (Kabābīsh).

the name of which is given to the child. Among the Ulâd Bû'äzîz, if the father and mother disagree as to the name of the child, they take two small pieces of wood, give to one of them the name suggested by the father and to the other one the name suggested by the mother, and then ask a little boy to draw one of the sticks; the stick he draws determines the name of the child. I was told that in the case of a similar disagreement between the parents among the Aiṭ Sádděn the mother's choice is decisive.

In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation.[1] Mûḥámmed is changed into Mûḥáṇḍ (Aiṭ Yúsi), Moḥáṇḍ (Aiṭ Sádděn), Mōḥánd (Aiṭ Wäryâġer, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Mómöḥ (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), Máḥḥa (Aiṭ Sádděn), Móḥa (*ibid.*), or Mōḥ (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). Mḥámmed is changed into Ḥámmû (Ait Waráin), and Ḥmed into Ḥáddû (*ibid.*) or Ḥämîduš (Aiṭ Sádděn). Among the Ait Waráin 'Ali becomes 'Alläl or Bû'åli, 'Abdllah 'Alla, 'Abdrráḥman 'Abděrräḥím, l-Ḥášmi Ḥáššûm, lâ-Ḥsen Ḥássi, Belqâsem Qássû, Sa'îd Bá'ddi. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn 'Abdsslam becomes Séllaṃ, 'Abdlqâder Qáddur or 'Aqa, 'Abdrráḥman Ráḥḥû, Jilåli Jíllul, Fáṭma Yíṭṭo, Máryem Mérrû or Bérri, Ḥlîma Ḥallûma, Mäḥjûba Ḥájjû or Ijjû, Yámna Mîna or Minnâna, Ḥádda Ḥádhum or Ḥadâda, Zîneb Zinnûba, Meinûna Mûna, Rqéya Rqqoš or Rqqôša, 'Aiša 'Äbêša, Ḫaddūj Ḫäḏêja or Ḫåddjû. But there are also Berber names which have no equivalents in Arabic, such as Báššû, which is a common name for men both among the Ait Waráin and the Aiṭ Sádděn; and Tûda (Ait Waráin) or Ṯûḍa (Aiṭ Sádděn), Tšfa (Ait Waráin) or Tïḫfa (Aiṭ Sádděn), and Tllû (Ait Waráin) or Ṯéllû (Aiṭ Sádděn), which are names for women.

According to the Muhammadan traditions the child should have its head shaved on the seventh day after its birth,[2] when it is named and a sacrifice is made. Indeed,

[1] *Cf.* de Segonzac, *op. cit.* p. 97.

[2] von Tornauw, *Das moslemische Recht aus den Quellen dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1855), p. 85.

most authors define *'aqīqah* to be the hair of the new-born infant, although the term has become applicable to the sacrifice connected with the cutting of it.[1] It is also prescribed that the father of the child should give in alms to the poor the weight of the hair in silver or gold.[2] In Morocco these rules are rarely followed. At Tangier the first hair-cutting occasionally takes place on *nhār s-sâba'*—though usually forty days after the birth of the child or later—and M. Doutté was told that the same occurs in the neighbourhood of Mogador;[3] but these cases are certainly exceptional. Very frequently the child is shaved for the first time on the fortieth day (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin, Demnat, Iglíwa), and in many cases at a somewhat later age. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi the time when it is shaved depends on the traditional custom of the family: many families have their children shaved on the fortieth day, but others only after the child has completed its first year. At Aglu the shaving is performed within four months of the birth of the child, among the Amanūz hardly before it is six months old. At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never. In Andjra the top of the head is left untouched until the child is one or even three years old, though the hair on the lower part is clipped before. The rite we are discussing may consist either in shaving the head of the child with a razor or in cutting off the hair close to the skin.

At Fez it is the custom that on the day when the shaving (*lă-ḥsâna*) of a boy takes place for the first time the family give a feast in their house. The boy is seated on a cushion or a chair, well dressed, with a towel round his neck. Before he is shaved one guest after the other fixes with saliva a silver coin on his forehead; this money, which is called *ġrâma*, is taken by the barber (*l-ḥájjâm*) as his fee, but it is not

[1] Matthews, in his translation of the *Mishkāt*, ii. 315 n.*; Houdas and Marçais, in their translation of al-Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. iii. (Paris, 1908), p. 681 n. 1.

[2] *Mishkāt*, xviii. 4. 2 (English translation, vol. ii. 316); Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 191. *Cf.* 2 *Samuel* xiv. 26.

[3] Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 348.

necessary that every guest should give a coin. The hair which is shaved off is handed by the barber to the boy's mother, who puts it into the pillow used by her child when sleeping. Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an *'orf*, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a *garn*, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a *garn* on the left side as well. When the boy becomes seven years old the head is shaved all over, but he may previously have lost the *'orf* and the left *garn*, or the left *garn* alone, or the two *grōn* (plur. of *garn*), whereas the two *grōn* are never left if the *'orf* is shaved. The son of an 'Ḍsáwi is shaved for the first time when he is seven years old, and then a patch, called *geṭṭâya*, is left on the top of the head and is allowed to remain there, although it may be trimmed from time to time. The son of a Ḥamdûši has on the same occasion a smaller patch (*gṭêṭya*) left, and this is never allowed to grow long. When a girl is shaved for the first time no feast is given, nor are any silver coins fixed to her forehead. The hair on the front part of the head is shaved off; the hair left behind is called *gůṣṣa* and subsequently, when it grows longer and is made into a plait, *geṭṭâya* or *gṭêṭya*. When the girl becomes seven years of age she is no longer shaved, and the hair left in front now takes the name *gůṣṣa*. At Tangier, on the other hand, no hair is left on the head of the child, except among 'Ḍsáwa, Ḥmádša, and the families of Rifian or other immigrants; and the same is generally the case in Andjra and also in other districts inhabited by Jbâla.

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz some person who is regarded as *ms'ŏûd*, or "lucky", is asked to come and shave it, or, if he lives far away, the child is taken to his tent; but in either case he shaves it with his own razor. Before the operation begins the mother presses some milk from her breast on the child's head, to be used instead of water. In some families a *gůṭṭâya* is left on the top of the head, in other families an *'orf* (also called *gṭůb*) and two *grōn*, one on either side, are left. Boys and girls are shaved in the same manner The

man who shaved the child is entertained with a meal and is always given some bread and dates, which he partly distributes among the people present and partly eats himself; he then makes *fâṭḥa*, invoking God's blessings upon the child, and the others join in the ceremony. He also receives some money as *zrûra*, but must himself give to the child a silver coin, which is taken by the mother and threaded on the string with charms worn by the child. Besides the newborn child, the preceding one, whether boy or girl, is shaved on this occasion, after its hair has been allowed to grow for forty days. If it is a boy, the *gŭṭṭâya* or the *'orf* and the left *garn* are now shaved off, but on the right side of its head a *garn* is left, even though the boy had none before. If the child is a girl, the *gŭṭṭâya* or the *'orf* is likewise shaved, but two *grōn* are left and a fringe (*gŭṣṣa*) over the forehead as well. The shaved-off hair of the two children is deposited at a shrine.

In the Ḥiáina the child is shaved by the *fqī* of the village or some other respected man, either in the house of the family or in his own house. Here also the hair is wetted, not with water, but with the milk of the mother. On the head of a boy an *'orf* is left, as also a *garn* on the right side or, if previous sons have died, on the left side; and in the latter case it becomes an hereditary custom for sons in the family to have the *garn* on that side. When the boy becomes about ten or eleven years old, the *'orf* is shaved, and when he arrives at the age of puberty the right *garn*; but a *garn* on the left side must never be shaved. Girls have an *'orf*, two *grōn*, and a *gŭṣṣa* in front, and from the age of about eight years they are not shaved at all, but when the hair grows long enough it is made into three or four plaits on either side. In Qáṣba Ulâḍ 'Aiyaḍ, in the Ḥiáina, the boys have only a *gŭṭṭâya*, which is left throughout life, and the girls have a similar patch called *gŭṭba*. As regards the shaved-off hair, I was told that the father of the child may tie a portion of it to his shirt or turban as a charm against bullets.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the shaving (*azzär*) is done by the *fqī* of the village in the home of the family, or by a shereef

of the Wazzan family, or at the sanctuary of Mûläi Idrīs at Fez ; or also by a person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, or by some old man who is in the habit of praying. In these latter cases, however, he must, before commencing the shaving, give to the mother of the child a small silver coin, " as a compensation for not being a *fqī* or a shereef " ; it is said to impart *baraka* to him. The shaver is paid with a silver coin or, if the family have no such coin, with some eggs, and this present also is supposed to be auspicious. On the head of a boy a *garn* (*ţajţţûiţ*) and an *'orf* (*l'arf*) are left. The *garn* is regularly on the right side, but if one or two of the boy's brothers have died shortly after being shaved, it is made on the left side for the following boys and their future male descendants. If the left *garn* also proves fatal, a *geţţâya* (*ţagûţţaiţ*) is made on the crown. The *'orf* is shaved on the day when the boy is going to be circumcised, but the *garn* is as a rule preserved for ever, although there are scribes who shave it, because they maintain that the *garn*, but not the *geţţâya*, is *ḥărâm*, " forbidden ". When a girl is shaved for the first time two *grōn* (*ţijţţûyin*) and a *gûṣṣa* (*ţaúnza*) are left. After a few years she is no longer shaved, and when the hair grows somewhat it is made into two plaits (*iḍuläl*, sing. *aḍläl*), one on each side, which are tied together behind ; and the crown of the head is now always kept covered with a cotton kerchief (*älḥtän* or, if small, *ţälḥtänţ*). The shaved-off hair is buried in the ground ; it is believed that if anybody should walk over it, the child would fall ill. On the day when the child is shaved a ring (*ţiwînĕsţ*) is often inserted in the ear on the same side where the *garn* is made ; but this may also be done at a later date or altogether omitted. The small ring is subsequently exchanged for a larger one ; but if the child is a boy this ring is removed when he becomes grown-up, unless he becomes a professional flute-player, in which case the ring is worn for ever. Girls have rings (*ţiwînaṣ*) in both ears, at least on festive occasions. These rings, unlike those of boys, which are always made of silver, may also be made of brass, and they are worn by women of all ages.

Among the Ait Waráin the child should be shaved by

a *fqī* who is nice and jolly. For the shaving (*tamqqrant*) hot water is used, but the head is then smeared with oil or with the milk of the mother, which is considered to make the hair grow soft. In the case of a boy a *garn* (*tagĕṭṭašt*) is left on the right side of the head, but no *'orf*, and in the case of a girl two *grōn* (*tigĕṭṭáyin*) and a *gŭṣṣa* (*taúnza*) are left. In the former case the *garn* is preserved there throughout life; I saw a man from this tribe who had become an 'Eṣáwi and consequently had a *geṭṭáya* (also called *tagĕṭṭašt*), but there was, nevertheless, a small *garn* united with it. A girl is shaved only for some years. When her hair has grown somewhat it is made into one plait on each side of the head, while the *taúnza* is trimmed; but unmarried girls also plait both sides of the *taúnza*, and these plaits are united with the longer plaits of the *grōn*. When the child is shaved a small ewe or a she-goat is taken to the place, and this animal and all its future offspring will become the property of the child. Two or three months after its being shaved the child ceases to be swaddled. When the swaddling-clothes are removed a nice and jolly girl is asked to carry it on her back for a while, so that the child also shall become nice and cheerful.

At Demnat two *grōn* (*tˢukuyaḍ*, sing. *tˢakiyŭṭṭ*) are ordinarily left whether the child is a boy or a girl, and besides an *'orf* (*azig*) in the case of a boy and a *taúnza* in the case of a girl. But here, as elsewhere, the custom differs in different families and in different religious orders. The governor's little son had an *'orf* and two *grōn*, one of which consisted merely of a patch of hair and the other one of a fairly long plait; this was in accordance with the custom of the Ulâd Mūl lă-Qṣōr. I also saw at Demnat a little girl with a small round patch over the forehead; the Arabic name of it is *ġŭḍḍâba*, and I was told that it has no name in Shelḥa, because it is used among Arabic-speaking people only. On the day when the child is shaved for the first time a cock is killed, but only in the case of a boy.

Among the Iglíwa there is no sacrifice when the child is shaved. The shaving is generally performed by the father, but even if done by a stranger it must be gratuitous. At Arg n Sîdi 'Ăli Mûsa, in the section (*iḫs*) Táfga, it is done

at the sanctuary of Sîdi ʿĂli Mûsa, just outside the village, a *garn* (*takiyûṭṭ*; a large one is called *akiyûḍ*) being left on the head of a boy and a *garn* and a *taúnza* on the head of a girl. Subsequently, when the *garn* of the boy is shaved, it is hung on a cork tree growing close to the *sîyĭd*; the *garn* and the *taúnza* of the girl, on the other hand, are never shaved. There are families among the Iglíwa who leave no hair at all on the heads of their infants, and others who leave one or two *grōn* (*tikuyaḍ*) and an *ʿorf* (*azig*), but the latter is not common among these Berbers. Among the Amanūz in Sūs the *garn* (*takyûṭ*) of a boy, which is left on the right side of his head, is preserved there until he becomes old enough to observe the Ramaḍān fast; while the *garn* of a girl, worn on the top of the head, and her *taúnza* are never shaved. An *ʿorf* (*azag*) is only left on the children of negroes and mulattoes.

Among the Rifians of the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a *garn* (*ḍämzörṯ*) is likewise left on the right side of the head of a boy, and it should not be shaved before the death of his parents. The shaven hair is put in a place where nobody can walk over it; should anybody do so the boy is supposed to lose his hair—a belief which I also found in Andjra.

The first shaving of the child has a purificatory character; according to one of the Muhammadan traditions it expressly serves the object of cleansing the child from the impurities of the mother.[1] Robertson Smith suggests that the ceremony of *ʿaqīqah*, which among the Arabs in the time of Muḥammad implied a sacrifice and the shaving of the infant and was designed to "avert evil from the child",[2] was originally a ceremony of initiation into manhood, and that the transference of the rite to infancy was a later innovation;[3] but this suggestion is not sufficiently substantiated. At the same time it is easy to see why the child is not shaved until the most critical period of its existence has

[1] Quoted by Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 348 *sq.*

[2] Al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxxi. 2. 2 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. iii. 682).

[3] Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 328 *sqq.*

passed. The operation is not free from danger.[1] Even adults may have to abstain from it when in a more or less perilous state.[2] If a person is ill his head must not be shaved nor his nails cut, lest he should get worse. A pilgrim must not cut or dress his hair ; and there are holy men who never do it.[3] That the shaving of the head is not looked upon with indifference also appears from the widespread fear of being shaved on a Wednesday.[4] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulâd Bû'âzîz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). There are persons who not only say the usual *bismillāh* when they are shaved, but recite something from the Koran holding the shaved-off hair in the hand, which is supposed to protect them against headache for the future (Andjra). So also the *baraka* of the holy man or *fqī* who is chosen to shave the head of the new-born child serves as a prophylactic. The *'aqīqah* sacrifice which was originally connected with this act was no doubt supposed to have a similar effect, the head of the child being daubed with the blood of the victim. Burdayah said, "We used in times of ignorance, when children were born to us, to slay goats and rub their heads with the blood; then, when the religion of Islām came, we slew a goat on the seventh day, and shaved the child's head, and rubbed saffron upon it".[5]

The custom of shaving one part of a child's head and leaving another unshaven was forbidden by the Prophet.[6]

[1] Many peoples believe that the hair is the special seat of strength (Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, ii. [London, 1919], p. 483 *sqq.*). Robertson Smith suggested (*op. cit.* p. 324 n. 2) that the strength and vigour of the body was believed to be located in the hair, and also to less extent in the nails and teeth, because they grew more visibly and quickly than the body and continued to do so after it had attained to maturity.

[2] *Cf.* Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911), p. 261.

[3] For many instances of this in other countries see *ibid.* p. 258 *sqq.*

[4] *Supra*, ii. 43 *sq.*

[5] *Mishkāt*, xviii. 4. 3 (English translation, vol. ii. 316).

[6] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 574; Burton, in his translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. (London, 1894), p. 284 n. 2. *Cf.* Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 197 n. 4.

Yet it is extremely prevalent in the Muhammadan world ;[1] in Morocco it is certainly the rule, the contrary custom being restricted to certain localities or certain families only. It was undoubtedly a measure taken to lessen the danger which was supposed to attend the operation.[2] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a *garn* on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Waráin and the Aiṭ Sádděn maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the *garn* left on his head is ever shaved. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die. At Demnat I was told that the child will become ill if the *garn* is shaved too soon. The place on the head where hair is left is also considered to be of importance ; it is believed that if the custom of the family were not followed in this respect the child would die (Fez, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Iglíwa). In the Ḥiáina and among the Aiṭ Sádděn, as we have seen, the place on which hair is left is changed in the case of a boy whose elder brothers have died ;[3] and a scribe from the Ḥiáina told me that if any descendant of a man who for this reason had a tuft of hair preserved on the left side of the head instead of the right were shaved in a different manner,

[1] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 69 ; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 313 ; Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 517 ; Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 139 (Palestine) ; Conder, *Heth and Moab* (London, 1885), p. 341 ; Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia, and other Countries in the East*, i. (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 114 ; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. (Cambridge, 1888), p. 237 *sq.* ; Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 146 (Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan) ; Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs* (Edinburgh & London, 1896), p. 210. For other instances see *infra*, p. 416 n. 1. According to Herodotus (iii. 8), the ancient Arabians cut their hair in a circular form, shearing it round the temples.

[2] For measures taken to lessen that danger in various countries see Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 263 *sqq.*

[3] Of the Kabābīsh, an Arab tribe of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Professor and Mrs. Seligman write (*loc. cit.* p. 147), " Little boys were seen with the hair of the head shaved, leaving a number of tufts, and we were told this was done because their elder brothers had died young ". *Cf.* Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 188 *sq.*

he would die in consequence. During my stay at Mazagan I had a neighbour whose wife was said to have given birth to three or four sons with one of the eyes blind. She was then advised by a *nāṣêri*, that is, a descendant of Sîdi Ḥmed ben Nâṣăr, to leave on the head of the next boy two *nwâḍḍăr* (sing. *nâḍḍar*), or tufts, one at each temple, such as are worn by the descendants of that saint. So she did, and not only that boy but all the following ones were born with normal eyes.

I have heard different explanations of the custom of leaving a *garn* on the head of the boy and of preserving it also when he grows up. Sometimes it is said to protect him against the evil eye, sometimes to be useful after the person's death by offering a hold when his body is washed and thereby saving him from being hurt. According to the accounts of some early travellers, the Moors let a lock grow on the crown of the head because they expect that the Prophet will pull them up to Paradise by it ;[1] and the same story has been repeated to me by European residents in the country. I need hardly say that similar explanations are of no value in tracing the origin of the custom.

The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly. M. Doutté states that in Dukkâla boys are as a rule circum-

[1] Dan, *op. cit.* p. 280 ; *An Account of South-West Barbary*, edited by Ockley (London, 1713), p. 43 ; Braithwaite, *The History of the Revolutions in the Empire of Morocco, upon the Death of the late Emperor Muley Ishmael* (London, 1729), p. 368 ; Ali Bey, *Travels in Morocco, etc., between the Years 1803 and 1807*, ii. (London, 1816), p. 133. In other Muhammadan countries the tuft of hair is likewise said to be left as a handle by which the wearer is drawn into Paradise (Burton, in his translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. 284 n. 2), either by the Prophet (Chavanne, *Die Sahara* [Wien, Pest, & Leipzig, 1879], p. 396) or by angels (Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle* [Paris & Alger, 1884], p. 179 ; Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara* [Paris, 1864], p. 432 [Tuareg] ; Anderson, ' Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan ', in *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum* [London, 1908], p. 311 ; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 313). Certain other beliefs are mentioned by Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 517 (Palestine), and by Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, p. 210.

cised seven or eight days after birth ;[1] but among those tribes of that province with whose customs I am familiar they are generally circumcised at a much later age. According to M. de Segonzac, there are Shlöḥ who have their boys circumcised sometimes on the seventh, but most frequently on the fortieth day ;[2] but this is certainly not the case among the Shlöḥ of Aglu, Glawi, or Demnat, who have no fixed date for this operation.[3] Leo Africanus wrote that at Fez circumcision took place on the seventh day after birth ;[4] but at present the age varies between two and seven years, every family having its special custom in this respect. I was told that among the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco. In many parts of the country it is held desirable that the operation in question should be performed so late that the boy can remember it in the future. Mouëtte, who lived in Morocco as a captive in the latter part of the seventeenth century, says that boys were generally circumcised at the age of six or seven years, but sometimes only at the age of fourteen.[5] The operation

[1] Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 262.

[2] de Segonzac, *op. cit.* p. 275.

[3] For Demnat *cf.* Saïd Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain* (Paris, 1908), p. 35.

[4] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, ii. (London, 1896), p. 452.

[5] Mouëtte, *Travels in the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco during . . . Eleven Years' Captivity in those Parts* (London, 1710), p. 97. Statements as to the age when circumcision takes place in different parts of Morocco have been made by several writers, *e.g.* Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* (Kiøbenhavn, 1779), p. 196 (usually in the seventh year) ; Meakin, *op. cit.* p. 121 (in towns at a tender age, but in the country frequently at the age of twelve or thirteen) ; Salmon, 'Une tribu marocaine—Les Faḥçya', in *Archives marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1904), p. 212 (generally when the boy has attained the age of eight years) ; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'El-Qçar el-Kebir', *ibid.* vol. ii. no. ii. (1904), p. 74 (from three years upwards, sometimes not before the age of seven or eight) ; *Iidem*, 'Les tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs', *ibid.* vi. (1906), p. 235 ("dans les villes, la circoncision se pratique quand les enfants sont âgés de trois à sept ans ; chez les Arabes de la

is made with a pair of scissors or with a knife, and it is performed in some places at a shrine and in others in an ordinary house or tent. The customs connected with it vary in different places, but certain precautions are always or generally taken to protect the boy against supernatural dangers, particularly the evil eye, to which he is held to be much exposed on this occasion.

At Fez, on the day preceding his circumcision (*ṯhâra* or *ḫtˢâna*) the boy is shaved and bathed. In the evening his mother paints his hands and feet with henna, and fastens to his *garn* a *ḫámsa*, consisting of glass beads threaded on strings in such a manner as to resemble the five fingers of a hand, as a charm against the evil eye. On the following day the boy is dressed in fine clothes, and over his left shoulder is hung a so-called *tˢéhlīl*, either a silver case of varying size or a small gold-embroidered silk bag, containing a written charm against the same evil influence. He is lifted on to a mule and is taken by his father, accompanied by other members of his family and friends—but not his mother—either to Sîdi Bûġâleb's shrine or to the mosque of Mûlăi Idrīs. If the parents themselves are too poor to provide the boy with fine clothes, a *tˢéhlīl*, and a mule to ride on, they borrow them from other people; hence there is on this occasion little difference in appearance between a rich man's and a poor man's son. When paraded through the streets, the boy has the hood of his cloak (*jellâ̈ba*) pulled over his face, no doubt as a protection against evil influences, especially the evil eye. As soon as he has arrived at his destination his father or some other man

campagne, elle a lieu en général plus tard et il n'est pas rare de voir des enfants d'une douzaine d'années qui paissent les troupeaux et ne sont pas circoncis"); Michaux-Bellaire, 'Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt', *ibid.* xvii. (1911), p. 137 (between ten months and five years of age); Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. 'Exploration des Djebala (Maroc Septentrional)', p. 514 (between five and ten years); Doutté, *Merrâkech*, pp. 262, 263, 351 (in Dukkâla, though generally seven or eight days after birth, sometimes as late as twelve or thirteen years; in the Raḥámna, between two and five years; in the surroundings of Mogador, between two and four); *Idem*, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu* (Paris, 1914), p. 84 (Ait Wauzgit; four or five). Other statements relating to circumcision are found in the said books or essays.

of his family lifts him down from the mule. The *tˢéhlīl* and the clothes, with the exception of the shirt, are removed from him, and the operation is performed. The women trill the *zġârītˢ*.

When the boy has been circumcised he is not again dressed in the clothes which he wore before, but is wrapped up in an *izār*. Nor does he ride back but is carried by a man, who is paid for his trouble. Two *ṭabbâlīn* are playing on drums and two *ġaiyâṭīn* on oboes, as the procession is walking along the streets; and they continue to play after their arrival at the house of the boy's family, where they are paid by the people fixing silver coins on their foreheads. The women again trill the *zġârītˢ*; they made no such noise when walking in the streets. The relatives and friends who accompanied the boy are often entertained with a meal; and all of them present him with silver coins. A so-called *jdîdu*, that is, a string with various small objects attached to it, is now tied round the boy's right ankle to protect him against the evil eye, and is left there for seven days. A *jdîdu* which was shown to me contained one half of the lower jaw of some small animal, four pieces of cornelian, a *sûrra* or small silk bag containing a little harmel and alum, a thin silver plate shaped like a shell, two shells, and a tiny piece of mother of pearl (*ṣḍaf*). All these items were represented to me as charms against the evil eye, whereas certain objects attached to the same red silk thread—a piece of amber, some corals, and a few green stones—were said not to be charms for that purpose. In other cases the *jdîdu* contains stones, glass beads of different colours, or a *bḛ́lyūn* piece; it seems to be essential that there should always be some object of silver in it. The wound caused by the operation heals so quickly that the boy may be seen running about even on the same day; this is said to be due to the *baraka* of the saint in whose sanctuary he was circumcised. Nothing is put into the wound. The foreskin is buried in the ground outside the sanctuary.

Boys are circumcised at Sîdi Bū̆ġâleb's shrine in the autumn, when the saint has his *mûsem*. All the barbers of Fez are then assembled there, the *mûsem* being held on

a Wednesday, when the barbers' shops are closed.[1] The circumcisions in the mosque of Mûläi Idrīs likewise take place in the autumn, by preference at one of the great religious feasts, either at the *mûlūd* or the Little or the Great Feast, if any of them happens to be celebrated in that season. Autumn is considered the most suitable time for circumcision, because it is held to be dangerous for a boy to be circumcised when the weather is either hot or cold. At Sîdi Bůğâleb's shrine circumcision is free of cost, whereas at the mosque of Mûläi Idrīs the father of the boy or, generally, the person who took him there to be circumcised, pays a fee to the barber.

In many families at Fez it is the custom for the boys to be circumcised without the knowledge of their parents. This may be done in two different ways. A paternal or maternal uncle or some other near male relative may call upon the boy's parents and with their permission take him to his own house to spend the night there. The boy is shaved, taken to the hot bath, painted with henna, and in all other respects treated as is usual before a circumcision, but the expenses are paid by the person who took him to his house. On the following day he is circumcised and then carried to his home. Or the uncle or other relative may go there in the early morning and, without entering the house or being noticed by the parents, induce the boy to accompany him to his house. He dresses him up, hangs on him a *tˢéhlīl*, fastens a *ḥámsa* to his *garn*, takes him to the place where he is to be circumcised, and after the operation carries him back to his parents' house, where he ties a *jdîdu* round his ankle. It should be added that a maternal relative can take a boy to be circumcised only if he is not akin to the boy's father. A boy who is thus circumcised without the knowledge of his parents is called *mesrôq*, "kidnapped". Both at Fez and elsewhere it is considered a great merit to arrange the circumcision of an orphan (*îtˢīm*). At Fez no circumcisions take place on Tuesdays or Saturdays.

At Tangier many boys are circumcised at the shrine of its

[1] For days held suitable or unsuitable for circumcision in Morocco see also *supra*, ii. 41-43, 45 *sq.*

patron saint, Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, on the second day of his *mûsem*, that is, the 19th day of the month of the Mûlūd ; but circumcisions are also performed at the *záwia* of Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder and at the shrine of Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Báqqal at the *qásbah*, on the 12th day of the same month, " the day of the feast ". After the operation a piece of boiled meat from one of the bullocks which have been offered to the saint, a small loaf of bread, and sweetmeats made of honey are given to the boy as a present from the saint's family. The higher classes, however, do not generally avail themselves of these public occasions, when circumcision is performed free of cost, but have their boys circumcised within the precincts of their houses. This may be done at any time of the year, either on a Monday or a Saturday. The operation is in either case preceded by a feast in the house of the boy's family.

The boy who is to be circumcised has his head dressed up with silk kerchiefs after the fashion of a bride ; and for the purpose of protecting him against the evil eye some blue is smeared on the ridge of his nose and behind his ears, a *t'ehlîl* of silver is hung over his right shoulder, and a red silk string with one or two silver coins, a coral and a small bag containing blue, alum, harmel, and gum-ammoniac attached to it, is tied round his right ankle. He may be carried to the sanctuary in the arms of a man, but not by his father, who stays at home on this occasion ; or he may be taken there on horseback, with a relative or friend of the family sitting behind him and a man walking on each side of the horse driving away the flies with a silk kerchief. He is accompanied by a crowd of people, three or four flags are carried in front of the horse, and there may be powder play. In any case the boy is carried back after the operation. On his return home the wound is smeared with almond-oil. The foreskin is kept by the barber, who after finishing all the operations buries the foreskins in the cemetery attached to the shrine or *záwia*. A boy who is taken to the sanctuary on horseback has on the afternoon of the previous day been in a similar manner paraded in the streets—a ceremony called *t-t'edwêra*. The red string with the various charms

attached to it remains round the boy's ankle for forty days.

In Andjra, before a boy is circumcised, he is dressed well, and his hands and feet are painted with henna and his eyes with antimony, because there is *baraka* in these colouring matters. To protect him against the evil eye, a vertical line is drawn with blue over the ridge of his nose; and round his ankles, or one of them, are tied a silk ribbon with an old silver coin, a piece of blue, a piece of amber, and a piece of a hedgehog's jaw with its teeth intact. This ribbon is left there until the wound is healed. The boy is taken to a *sîyĭd* mounted on a mule and accompanied by men who from time to time fire off their guns, women who trill the *zġârīt*^{s}, and, if the parents can afford it, musicians—*ṭabbâla* and *ġaiyâḍa*—who play on their drums and oboes; and on each side of him walk some unmarried men carrying sticks with small flags attached to them. When the procession arrives at the *sîyĭd*, the boy is lifted down from the mule and carried into the sanctuary; although big enough to walk he is not allowed to do so, being possessed of *baraka* on this occasion. Outside the *sîyĭd* the men shoot at targets, and a band of 'Ḍsáwa dance before the circumcision takes place inside. When it has been performed, the boy's male relatives fire off their guns as "congratulation" (*hĕna* or *t*^{s}*ähnîya*). Some ashes of burned lentisk (*ḍrō*) and henna are put on the wound to stop the flowing of blood, and also, for the same purpose, on the foreskin, which is buried inside the sanctuary.

The boy is taken back to his home in the same manner as he came. On his return the men of the village come and congratulate him and put some money into his hand, saying, *Hnîya 'ălik u hnîya 'ăla wâlḍik*, "My congratulation to you and to your parents". They are then entertained with a meal. For the two following days the boy is not allowed to leave the house, as it is believed that if he were then hurt by the evil eye he would become very ill. A mixture of cream, lentisk oil, and pulverised palmetto leaves and other leaves, and also dry goat's dung, are put on the wound to make it heal sooner; and until it is healed the boy

is only allowed to eat fowls and bread made without yeast.

Among the Bni ʿĂroṣ boys are sometimes circumcised in their homes and sometimes at a *sîyĭd*, but the former is considered more meritorious. The week of the *mûlūd* is a particularly suitable time for the operation, though there is no objection at all to having it performed at other times of the year, on a Thursday, Friday, or Monday. It is celebrated with a feast in the house of the boy's parents. The wound is smeared with oil and then sprinkled with henna.

Among the Ulâd Bůʿăzîz circumcision, together with the feast connected with it, is called *l-ʿärs dyāl lă-ḥtâna* or *l-ʿärs dyāl ṭ-ṭhâra*, "the wedding of the circumcision". A boy is never circumcised alone, but two or more boys—brothers or boys from the same village—are circumcised together. The operation takes place in the tent of the father, or one of the fathers; whereas in the town of Mazagan it is performed at a *sîyĭd*, the shrine of Sîdi Mḥámmed ḍ-Ḍáwi. The boy, or one of the boys, whose father arranges the feast in his tent, is the chief figure in it and is therefore called *mûla l-ʿärs*. He is to be circumcised first, and it is to him that the following description mainly refers.

On the day previous to the operation the father kills a bullock or a sheep and gives a feast to which the friends of the family, both men and women, of the same village and of other villages are invited as guests. The men practise powder play on horseback; and in the evening a meal is served of the meat of the slaughtered animal together with *sĕksů*. After the supper the boy is painted with henna outside the tent, in the same way as a bridegroom or *ʿărîs*,[1] the epithet which is given to him. Dressed in a cloak (*sĕlhām*), with his eyes and face hidden behind its hood, he is placed on a saddle. The palm of his right hand is slowly smeared with henna by a woman of respectable character, who must not, however, be his own mother; and while this is going on, all the men present come one by one and drop a coin on the palmetto tray (*ṭaḥān*) in front of the boy. The

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 105.

people are sitting round him, and on each side of him there are two women singers (*mġánniāt*) and a crier (*bĕrrâḥ*), who with words of blessing calls out the names of the donors. The *ġrâma*, or money dropped on the tray, is taken by the father, but the donors also give a small coin to the criers and singers. Guests from other villages remain there over night; and on the following morning the powder play is repeated before the meal preceding the circumcision, and then again after the operation till the evening.

In the morning the boy is dressed in new clothes. The mother likewise puts on new clothes, and so do the other members of the family if they can afford it; but it is not so necessary for them to wear new clothes on this occasion as it is for the boy and the mother, however poor they be. The mother and sisters of the boy wear their hair loose, just as a bridegroom's mother and sisters do during the wedding.[1] The men and women of the village again assemble at the tent, and about ten o'clock the father brings there the barber who is going to perform the operation. He must be a good and pious man, who is honest in his life and diligently says his prayers. A meal is served to the women inside the tent, to the barber and a few other good men sitting with him behind a curtain, and to the other men outside the tent. It consists of a dish called *rfêsa*, which is prepared in the following manner: so-called *bůšiyār*, or cakes as thin as wafers, are torn into pieces, the gravy of boiled fowls and melted butter are poured over them, onions are added, and fowls are laid on the top. After the meal is finished every man puts a silver coin into the empty dish and every woman gives a similar coin to the boy's mother, and all the men make *fâṭḥa*. The dish is taken inside the enclosure; the men who are sitting there with the barber, but not the barber himself, also put their coins into it, and they all make *fâṭḥa* over the money, which is removed from the dish and handed over to the father.

The boy's mother ties round his neck a string with a small piece of black cloth, a shell, and a silver coin attached

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 291. *Cf. ibid.* p. 261.

to it, to protect him against the evil eye, and pulls up the backs of his slippers, as is necessary in the case of a bridegroom. She takes him inside the enclosure, pulls up the backs of her own slippers, and puts her right foot with the slipper on into the empty dish, which remained when the money was taken away from it. The boy kisses the head of the barber; the mother leaves him and joins the women who are sitting outside the enclosure. The barber first shaves the boy's head and then circumcises him over the empty dish, with the assistance of another man, who keeps hold of the boy. The women outside trill the *zġârīt* and clap their hands so that the mother shall not hear his cry. The barber puts into the wound some henna, sent by the mother. One of the men takes to her the foreskin, which she buries underneath the water jar (*gĕnbûra*) of the household, to cool the wound; and there it is left for ever. Subsequently the mother pounds some dry bark of a fig tree and puts it on the wound so that it may heal quicker, and for the same purpose the mutilated member is dipped into earth heated by the sun. When the other boy or boys have likewise been circumcised the father of the first one pays the barber some money and gives to him besides a cock which is alive and another cock which has been killed and boiled. The barber also gets the henna which is left after the circumcisions. He always addresses the person whom he has circumcised as "my son", and the latter, whenever he meets him, kisses his head. When the boy grows older he occasionally visits the barber and gives him presents of corn, clothes, or money. The barber is regarded as his *šēḫ*. When a boy is circumcised his father, if alive, must be present at the place, although he is not inside the enclosure where the operation is performed; if a boy were circumcised in the absence of his father, it would be just as if he had no father. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz circumcision regularly takes place in summer, a season which is not excessively hot owing to the neighbourhood of the sea; but poor persons sometimes have their sons circumcised at the Great Feast, when they have the meat of the sacrificed animal and thus can avoid extra expenses.

In the Ḥiáina, also, circumcision is often connected with a feast similar to a wedding, with banqueting, powder play practised by the men, music performed by women playing on tambourines (*bnâder* and *tᵉ'aârj*), and a ceremony of *ġrâma*, where the people put money on a palmetto tray (*meidúna*) covered with a silk kerchief (*sĕbnîya*) and a man acting as *bérraḥ* cries out, *Alláh m'a sîdi flān*, "May God be with my lord So-and-so", mentioning the name of the donor. The boy, however, is not present on this occasion. But a circumcision may also be celebrated simply with a meal, without *ġrâma*, music, and powder play.

Some rock-salt is put on the spot where the operation is going to take place. It is performed by some expert, who, when he comes to the village, circumcises several boys, one after the other. The wound is smeared with a mixture of henna and melted salt butter for about three days, after which pulverised sheep's dung is strewn on it. The foreskins are threaded on a string and preserved by the man who performed the operations, to serve as evidence in case any of the boys should die shortly after being circumcised. If the parents accuse the man of having caused the death of their son, he shows the string with the foreskins to the governor to prove that he has circumcised many boys, and that their son must have been killed by *jnūn* and did not die through any fault of his.

The Berbers of the Aiṯ Sádděn call circumcision either *aḫṯam* or *aziyẹn*. The latter word is looked upon as somewhat improper, and is therefore avoided in conversation with persons in whose presence the speaker is apt to feel shy; and should a father or mother use it in the presence of a son, the latter would at once get up and leave. All the boys of a village who are of suitable age are circumcised at the place of one of the principal men, never at a shrine. These circumcisions do not take place every year, and there may even be an interval of two or three years between them. They are mostly performed in autumn, but sometimes in spring. They are celebrated with feasting, powder play, and dancing, like weddings; but there is no giving of *ġrâma*. Every father must kill a sheep or goat and give a

feast when his son is circumcised. Both parents are present at the operation, which is performed by a barber.

The boy is dressed in new, or at least clean, clothes. His hands and feet are painted with henna, and some harmel and salt are tied round his right ankle. The women of the family also put on their best clothes and paint themselves with henna, antimony, and walnut root, as they do at a wedding. The foreskins are among the Aiṯ Sádděn, also, preserved by the barber, who would thereby be able to prove that he is a professional, should any of the boys circumcised by him die and he be accused of having caused his death. It is believed that the wound gets inflamed if an unclean person looks at it.

Among the Aiṯ Yúsi, again, the foreskin of the circumcised boy is taken by his mother, who fastens it to the little stick (*üzḏi*) supporting the spindle which she uses in spinning wool, puts it on her head, and dances with it in the presence of the people. She then suspends it to the *aḥămmar*, or ridge-pole, of the tent, and leaves it there for seven days, after which she throws it away. As the foreskin dries up, so will also the wound dry up. I suppose that the fastening of the foreskin to the *üzḏi* and the dancing with it are meant to purify the wound by purifying the foreskin; quick movements are frequently used as means of purification. Among the Ait Waráin it often happens that the boy's mother, immediately after the operation, swallows the foreskin with some water; they believe that if she does so her son will never be found out if he commits theft, adultery with another man's wife, or any other crime. But there are mothers who cannot persuade themselves to do this and, instead, hang up the foreskin on the rafters of the house. There it is left for seven days, after which it is buried. I was told that it is thus hung up to prevent any unclean person from walking on it, which would have an injurious effect upon the wound. So also, should an unclean person see the wound it would not heal.

Among the Ait Waráin every boy is operated upon alone, not together with other boys. The circumcision (*aziyẹn*) is generally performed in his father's house, but

there are families whose boys are stealthily taken by a maternal uncle or friend, who is not related to the father of the boy, and circumcised at his expense. This custom was explained as the result of previous experience in cases where two or three boys of the family have died shortly after being circumcised. Circumcisions take place on Wednesdays. Before the boy is subjected to the operation he is dressed up in clean clothes, his hands and feet are painted with henna, and a shell is tied with a wòollen string to his right ankle and another one to his right wrist as charms against the evil eye. On the day when the boy is going to be circumcised his father slaughters a sheep and gives in the evening a feast with banqueting, singing, and music.

Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr a boy is circumcised in his father's tent by a man of the tribe who knows how to do it or by an expert brought from Mequinez. When such a person comes to the village several boys are generally circumcised by him, and if there are two little brothers in a family they are circumcised together. The man who performs the operation is paid by the boy's father, who also entertains him with a meal. After the operation a raw egg with a hole in its shell is tied round the penis of the boy. When he wants to make water it is removed, but is then put back again and left there till the following morning. Another method of healing the wound is to sprinkle it with the floury stuff found inside the trunk of a worm-eaten fig tree.

Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu circumcision takes place in the house of the boy's father, when the weather is neither too cold nor too hot, generally in autumn, but the *mûlūd* and the Great Feast are also considered suitable occasions for it. The father kills a sheep or a small bullock and gives a feast for villagers and friends. A cord with a silver coin and some harmel and alum wrapped up in a piece of red or white cloth is tied round the right ankle of the boy to protect him from the evil eye. Among the Iglíwa and at Demnat [1] the boys are likewise circumcised at home on no fixed date, but among the former in autumn by preference.

[1] For the practice of circumcision at Demnat see also Saïd Boulifa, *op. cit.* p. 35 *sqq.*

The Iglíwa call circumcision *tazallit n ifărḥan*, " the prayer of boys ".

Among the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mûlud, " the day of the feast ", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house ; the Aiṭ Wäryâġer live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls ; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (*räḥzạm*) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (*aḥalḥal*) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some " clean " place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days. Among the Ait Temsâmän circumcisions are always performed in summer, because this season is considered to be most favourable for the healing of the wound.

According to Rohlfs, there are some Berber tribes with whom circumcision is not deemed an essential rite ; " these uncircumcised tribes ", he says, " inhabit the Rīf mountains and the slopes of the Northern Atlas ".[1] In spite of diligent inquiries I have found no confirmation of this statement. M. Mouliéras says of the Zkara (Aṭ Ziḫri) that the boys are

[1] Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco* (London, 1874), pp. 44, 45, 75.

circumcised when they are from ten to fifteen years old, but that " cette amputation n'est pas d'un usage absolument général ".[1]

The suggestion has been made that circumcision in North Africa is partly a survival of an ancient Libyan custom ;[2] but though it existed in Egypt, the Libyans do not seem to have been circumcised.[3] On the other hand, although circumcision is not once alluded to in the Koran—probably because the Prophet assumed it—Islam holds it to be *sunnah*, or founded upon the customs of the Prophet. We know that it was practised by the pagan Arabs, who thought it disgraceful for a man to be uncircumcised.[4] It has also been found among all other branches of the Semitic race, unless the Babylonians and Assyrians be an exception.[5] Herodotus informs us that it was practised by the ancient Phœnicians and Syrians,[6] and Philostorgius states that the Sabians observed it.[7] Professor Barton maintains that " a practice which is so nearly co-extensive with the Semitic world probably originated with the common stock from which the Semites are sprung ".[8] It seems to have been originally performed when the boy attained manhood, as is generally the case among peoples who practise circumcision.[9] The vicarious circumcision mentioned in Exodus may be a reminiscence of this : when Yahweh tried to kill Moses, who had not been circumcised, " Zipporah took a sharp stone,

[1] Mouliéras, *Une Tribu Zénète anti-musulmane au Maroc* (*les Zkara*) (Paris, 1905), p. 81.

[2] Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* p. 626 *sq.*

[3] Herodotus, ii. 36, 37, 104 ; Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 140.

[4] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 174.

[5] Barton, ' Circumcision (Semitic) ', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 679.

[6] Herodotus, ii. 104.

[7] Philostorgius, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, iii. 4 (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, Ser. Graeca, lxv. [Paris, 1858], col. 481 *sq.*). *Cf.*, however, en-Nedīm, *Fihrist* (book ix. ch. i.), i. 7 (Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, ii. [St. Petersburg, 1856], p. 10).

[8] Barton, *loc. cit.* p. 679.

[9] See Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i. (London, (1921), p. 561 *sq.*

and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet (that is, touched her husband's pudenda with it), and said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me ".[1] Josephus states that among the Arabs boys were circumcised after the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, was circumcised at that age ;[2] and according to al-Buḫārī a man was not circumcised among them until he was full-grown.[3] Doughty was told that among some existing Arabs " the male is not circumcised in childhood, but when he is of age to take a wife ; then his friends send for surgery and the young man is pilled from the pubis : the maiden also looking on, and if her lad shrink or cast a sigh, she will disdain him for an husband " ; but this story was told of a nation " always far off ".[4] The people of Mecca speak of tribes in the interior having a similar custom.[5] Mr. G. W. Murray was told that among some Arabs living about eighty miles south of Jidda circumcision takes place at the age of eighteen, and it seemed to him to be meant as a test of courage.[6] According to Wellsted, the Bedouins of Socotra, an island near the entrance of the Gulf of Aden, do not circumcise their children until they are past the age of puberty.[7] In the city of Menas, in the Libyan desert, boys are only circumcised at the age of fourteen or fifteen.[8] The general rule in the Muhammadan world is that they are circumcised at a younger, or even much younger age.[9] The

[1] *Exodus*, iv. 24 *sqq.*

[2] Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, i. 12. 2. Ishmael's circumcision at the age of thirteen is mentioned in *Genesis*, xvii. 25.

[3] Al-Buḫārī, quoted by Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 175.

[4] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 128 *sq.*

[5] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889), p. 141.

[6] Murray, ' Circumcision Festivals in Arabia and East Africa ', in *Man*, xxiv. (London, 1924), p. 48.

[7] Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, ii. (London, 1840), p. 317.

[8] Falls, *op. cit.* p. 319.

[9] Circumcision is said to take place in Algeria at the age of seven (Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* [Alger, 1888], p. 33), but also earlier or later (Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 207 *sq.*), and among the Kabyles at four (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 211) ; in Tunis about the age of six (Loir, ' La circoncision chez les indigènes musulmans de Tunis ', in *Revue tunisienne*,

Prophet is said to have followed the Jews in selecting the eighth (or, as the Moslems call it, the seventh—the day of birth not being included) day for the circumcision of his grandsons; and this day is recommended by many jurists, though there is some difficulty about the propriety of imitating the Jews.[1] Among some eastern Muhammadans a boy is said to be circumcised on that day.[2]

It was probably for humanitarian reasons, or in order to lessen the risk of the opèration, that circumcision came to be performed when the boy was younger. The original Semitic custom may thus be explained in the same way as circumcision among other peoples. The most satisfactory explanation which has been suggested for this practice is, in my opinion, that it at once makes the boy a man and gives him the appearance of sexual maturity,[3] or that it by giving

vi. [Tunis, 1899], p. 279); among the Tuareg from the age of five upwards (Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 5) or earlier, when the boy begins to walk (Bissuel, *Les Touareg de l'ouest* [Alger, 1888], p. 104); in Kordofan, between the fourth and sixth year (Pallme, *Travels in Kordofan* [London, 1844], p. 84); in Egypt at the age of about five or six (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 72) or from five to ten (Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 195); among the Bedawin of Palestine from five to seven (Robinson Lees, *Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 95) and among the farmers from five to twelve (*Idem*, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 111); among the Arabs of Moab, between one and the fourth or fifth year (Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 363); among the Bedouins of Northern Arabia at six or seven (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* [London, 1830], p. 50); among the Bedawin of the Ḥejāz usually between five and six, but among some classes ten years later (Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii. [London, 1898], p. 110 *sq.*); at Mecca between three and seven (Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 141); among the Muhammadans of India between seven and fourteen (Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 30; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali says [*op. cit.* ii. 12] at the age of seven); and among the Muhammadans of Tashkent and of Central Asia generally between seven and ten (Schuyler, *Turkistan*, i. [London, 1876], p. 141), though occasionally either earlier or later.

[1] Margoliouth, 'Circumcision (Muhammadan)', in Hastings, *op. cit.* iii. 678; Tornauw, *op. cit.* p. 85; Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 192.

[2] Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 190 (Palestine); v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien* (Braunschweig, 1873), p. 266 (Foḍliland).

[3] Ploss-Renz, *Das Kind im Brauch und Sitte der Völker*, ii. (Leipzig, 1912), p. 147; Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche.*

him such an appearance is supposed to make him a man capable of procreation.[1] At the same time circumcision is also regarded as "cleansing", which is indicated by the Arabic term *ṭuhr* and its cognates. "By it the boy becomes clean, and capable of performing religious exercises, of praying and entering the mosque"; [2] this view of its purpose is clearly taken by those authorities who hold that the operation should be performed just before a boy is of the age when he can be punished for neglecting his prayers.[3] The idea that uncircumcised boys are ceremonially unclean has also been found among some savage peoples; [4] and it is by no means improbable that this idea has been a contributory cause of circumcision.

Neue Folge (Stuttgart, 1889), p. 211 *sq.*; von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), p. 198 *sq.* See Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i. 563 *sq.*

[1] Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 182 (New Britain).

[2] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 195. *Cf.* Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 342, 391; Ploss-Renz, *op. cit.* ii. 167.

[3] Margoliouth, *loc. cit.* p. 677.

[4] Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i. 563.

CHAPTER XX

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse. Little children are removed to another house so as not to drive away the angels by improper behaviour (Tangier), or because infants are supposed to be able to hear the talk and crying of the dead (Fez, Ait Waráin).

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled friends is capable of performing this task. The recitation should be continued till the moment of death, but no longer, its object being to shorten the agony. The chapter considered most suitable for this occasion is the *sūratu 'r-ra'd*, which is called *s-sählîya* because it makes death easier. For a similar purpose a little honey is put into the mouth of the dying person, and at the last moment some water is dripped into it to moisten his throat. If his teeth are clenched, which is sometimes supposed to indicate that he has led a sinful life (Aiṯ Wäryâġer),[1] some cotton or

[1] To die with clenched fists, again, is looked upon as a sign of uncharitableness (Tangier, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Aiṯ Sáddĕn).

wool is soaked in water mixed with honey and then pressed against his teeth. I have also heard that the honey and water serve as a protection against Sîṭan, who at the moment of death sits astride the person, showing him all sorts of tempting things, such as beautiful women and food and drink, to induce him to follow him to hell (Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ); or that a little butter, honey, and water is put into his mouth in order that he shall not die hungry or thirsty, which would be bad for him (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). These explanations, however, are laughed at by the educated. The profession of the faith is recited in front of the face of the dying person, if he is unable to recite it himself, so as to save him from hell; and his face is turned in the direction of Mecca either at his last moment or immediately after. The women sometimes ask him to convey their greetings to their departed relatives.[1]

When life is extinct, or sometimes when a person is at the point of death, his eyes and mouth, if open, are closed. It is believed that if he dies with open eyes or, at all events, if they are left open, somebody else of his family or kin will die before long (Shāwîa, Tangier, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aiṭ Sádděn); and the same is supposed to happen should his eyes open again after being closed (Aglu). His big toes are frequently tied together to prevent the legs from remaining apart; the Aiṭ Sádděn say that an omission of this procedure would also cause another death in the household. His jaws are bound up, and his arms are straightened along the body. The near relatives kiss his forehead or face or mouth; the kiss of a parent, or of a son or daughter, implies or is supposed to result in a parental blessing, or that of the child is accompanied with a prayer for forgiveness. But no tears must fall on the face of the deceased, as they would cause him suffering in the grave (Tangier, Bni 'Ăroṣ). The closing of the eyes and the straightening of the arms, however, may also be postponed till he is washed, and the kissing of his forehead till he has been washed and dressed. He is lifted from his bed and placed on a mat on the floor with his face turned towards Mecca, and his face or his whole body

[1] See also Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 355.

is covered. The room is fumigated with incense, such as agal-wood and gum-lemon; at Fez I was told that this is done not merely to perfume the air, but also to drive away evil spirits or prevent their entering. In the same town, as also at Tangier, the mattresses are removed from the room. In many cases one or two candles are lighted even in the daytime, the dead person is left alone, and the door of the room is closed.

At Fez the women in the house lament and continue to do so as long as the body remains in the house, although they know that their tears will cause pain to the deceased. At Tangier their lamentations are restricted to the moments when the person dies and when his body is carried away. In Andjra and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ his family weep, but not loudly nor in the room where he is lying; if they did it there, he would go to hell. Grown-up people should really not weep at all when one of their friends dies; for death, like sickness, is "a visit (*ziâra*) of God". But in little children's tears there is blessing: they extinguish the fire of hell for the dead. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, also, the women of the family and those who come to condole only weep in another room. Among the Iglíwa the female relatives of the deceased weep until his body is removed, and his mother, wife, and sister make lamentations like these:—"O my son, with whom have you left me? Who will give me anything to-day? Whom shall I see amidst the people? I do not like to remain behind" (said by the mother). Or, "O my sons, you are left without a father. Who will make you happy on feast-days by giving you slippers and shirt? Who will provide you with food on feast-days, who will give soap for your clothes? Whom shall we look at on the day of powder play?" (said by the wife). Or, "Whom shall I now go and see? Who will ask for me, O my brother? If my husband is going to beat me, from whom shall I seek help?" (said by a married sister living in another village). But neither at Fez,[1] Tangier,

[1] In his old description of Fez, Leo Africanus (*The History and Description of Africa*, ii. [London, 1896], p. 453) states that the women on the death of a husband, father, or any other dear friend, "put on

and Marráksh, nor among any Shlöḥ [1] or Jbâla [2] with whose customs I am familiar, are there such violent demonstrations of grief as are found among most Arabs of the plains,[3] as also among the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Fez and Ujda.

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and in Dukkâla generally the women of the family cry and shriek, moving their bodies and arms like maniacs, rub their faces with ashes and earth mixed with water and fresh cow-dung, and scratch and tear their cheeks till they bleed. This performance may begin even before the sick person has breathed his last. There are also all sorts of conventional exclamations. For example, on the death of a son or a brother :—" O my son (or brother) ! He is fond of the guests. He is fond of the dish. He is fond of his comrades. His mouth is free from foulness. His face is beautiful. His eyes are black. You have gone from me. I shall never give birth to a son (or have a brother) like you ". Or, on the death of a daughter :—" O my daughter, where is your voice ? Who will fetch water for me ? Who will make bread ? " and so forth. Neighbours have meanwhile assembled in the tent, and the women join in the lamentations and rub or scratch their faces with their hands, though only lightly and without daubing them with ashes and cow-dung. In every village there are professional wailing-women (*ḥazzâṇāt*, sing. *ḥazzâṇa*), who on these occasions take the lead. They make declamations in praise of the deceased,

most vile sackcloth, and defile their faces with much durt : then call they certaine men clad in womens attire, bringing great fower-square drums with them, at the noise of which drums the women-mourners sing a funerall song, tending as much as may be, to the commendation of the partie deceased : and at the end of euery verse, the said women vtter most hideous shrikes and outcries, tearing their haire, and with much lamentation beating their cheekes and breasts, till they be all-imbrued with blood ". But he adds that this practice is only found among the baser people, whereas " the gentlemen and better sort behaue themselues more modestly ".

[1] See also Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 355 (Ḥâḥa ; *Idem*, *Missions au Maroc —En tribu* (Paris, 1914), p. 85 (Ait Wauzgit).

[2] See also Michaux-Bellaire, *Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt* (*Archives marocaines*, xvii. [Paris, 1911]), p. 140.

[3] *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 355.

though they are not supposed to say about him anything which is not true. If he was a scribe, for instance, they cry :—" Who will read his books ? Who will write the charms ? Who will teach ? " and so forth. If he was an ordinary man :—" He left his horse outside his tent, who will ride on it ? He left his gun, who will carry it ? " and so forth.[1] And women of other families who are present also ask them to speak of *their* dead relatives in a similar manner. Some of the women cry rhythmically, *Ḥáya ḥaih ḥáya ḥaih* ; and another party, *Háwa háwa.* I was told that if women scratch their faces on a person's death he will be burned in hell ; but this theory is overruled by ancient custom. Indeed, if a woman does not observe the custom she will afterwards be reprobated for it ; if she is quarrelling with another woman the latter may say to her, " You ought not to speak a word, you did not scratch your face when your brother died ". If a man, as sometimes happens, asks beforehand the women of his family to refrain from the practice on his death, they will nevertheless scratch their faces, though " only a little " ; but in such a case the dead man will not have to suffer for it. Unmarried girls and women who have only been married a year, however, are not allowed to take part in the performance of this rite, called *ndīb*, although they join in the lamentations ; and a woman who has torn her face must not prepare the funeral supper, because the forbidden act has made her *mą̈ḥrôma*, " tabooed ". It frequently occurs that the women of the family cut off their hair on the day when the death took place ; but they do it secretly, as otherwise they would be prevented from performing this unlawful rite. The shorn hair is afterwards taken to a shrine and left there.

Among the Mnáṣăra I was told that the women rub their hair and clothes, but not their faces, with cow-dung ; and on the death of a husband, father, or brother the wife, daughter, or sister also cuts off her hair. She first puts it on the roof of the tent and leaves it there for seven days, and then takes it to a shrine. In the Ḥiáina the younger women only, those

[1] For other similar chants in Dukkâla and the Raḥámna see Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 355 *sqq.*

of the child-bearing age, perform the *ndīb*, scratching their faces and rubbing them with soot and cow-dung. They also strew ashes over their heads and clothes, blacken their kerchiefs with soot, gird themselves with ropes, and play on earthenware pans as if these were tambourines. This rite is performed not only by women of the dead person's family but also by other women living in the village, who come to the house of mourning and take part in the performance, expecting their services to be returned in a like manner in the future when a death occurs in their own houses. Yet here also there are men who forbid such demonstrations of grief on their death; and I was told that their will is respected. The women of the family of the deceased, moreover, cut off a portion of their hair and put it on the roof of the house.

Among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn all the women in the village, including strangers who happen to be there, come to the room or tent in which the dead person is lying. Standing close to the body they wail and scratch their faces and cry out, all together, time after time, *Áḥḥai a wáiḥa ḥáiyḥa hā wáiḥa*; *a wáiḥa* is an exhortation to the others to scratch their faces, while *hā wáiḥa* means "here we are doing it". The scratching is so violent that the cheeks get lacerated, unless perhaps in the case of some woman who does not like to spoil her appearance and therefore scratches her face only slightly; in such a case the women of the dead person's family will scratch their faces with equal care at the funeral of one of her people. The nearest relatives or intimate friends of the dead man's wife also rub themselves with soot, ashes, mud, and fresh cow-dung, gird themselves with ropes, and dress themselves in dirty old tent-cloths. A mother or sister, or some other woman particularly fond of the deceased, may even, after tearing her cheeks, disclose her bosom and maltreat it in a similar manner. In former times, however, a woman who had been a victim to the terrible *jennîya* called the Táb'a [1] and had been cured by a shereef refrained from all these unlawful practices; but this rule is no longer observed on the death of a near relative, even though the shereef tells her to comply with it. The

[1] See *supra*, i. 400 *sqq*.

scribes also try in vain to persuade the women in general to give up these customs; and should a woman follow their advice on the death of a near relative, she would ever after be reproached by the other women. The said ceremony, which is called *aggäin* or *armûšĕn*, however, is performed in full only if the deceased had reached the age of puberty. On the death of a little child there is no such ceremony at all, except that the mother scratches her face in case the child was her first-born; while on the death of an older child the mother or sister does so slightly in other cases as well. Very old women, but not those who are merely past the age of child-bearing, refrain from scratching themselves, though they soil their faces like the other women if the deceased was a near relative. The ceremony will take place even if the person has before death asked to be spared it. If a person dies on a Friday or feast-day the women are less profuse in their expressions of grief, the men trying to dissuade them from scratching their faces. And their wailing is also less exorbitant on the death of one of their own sex than on that of a man.

After scratching their faces the women of the Aiṭ Sádděn sit down and make ejaculations like these:—"O my son (or brother), where are the scribes in whose company you were?"—if the deceased was a scribe; or, "Where are the riflemen in whose company you were?"—if he was a rifleman; or, "Where are the horsemen with whom you used to practise powder play?" On this occasion the women are wailing over their own dead relatives, and what they say may be sheer fiction. Thus a woman may exclaim, "O my son, where is your horse?" though he never owned a horse or even a donkey; or, "Where are your clothes with their golden embroideries?" though he only wore a shabby dress; or, "Where is my shereef?" or, "Where is my gazelle" (the name for a beautiful person)? however wicked or ugly he was. But these lies can only be told by strangers, whose statements may be plausible, not by women living in the village. All women belonging to the family of the deceased, with the exception of those who are very old, cut off their two plaits and hang them at the shrine to which the cemetery

is attached or on some tree outside it. If the deceased was a man, some female friend of his who is not a near relative may also cut off a tuft of her hair and hang it there, although she tries to conceal it if she is a married woman ; whereas a widow or a divorced wife may without shame sacrifice even her plaits. The cutting of the hair only takes place when the corpse has been carried to the cemetery to be buried.

Among the Ait Waráin the women tear their faces both with their nails and with bits of a sooty old pipkin. Some of them dress themselves in an old tent-cloth, though the other women do not allow them to wear it for long ; and women to whom the deceased was particularly dear cut off one or both of their plaits and deposit the severed hair at a shrine. This is also the custom among the Aiṯ Yúsi ; and if the death was due to violence it is the universal rule for the women of the slain man's family to cut off their right plait, and sometimes the left as well. Among the Aiṯ Mjilḏ the women scratch their arms and the upper part of the body. Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr the female relatives of the deceased smear their faces and clothes with cow-dung and mud taken from a pond. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi both the women of the tent and female relatives living in other tents rub themselves with the soot of an earthenware pan, ashes, and cow-dung and tear their faces and gird themselves with ropes. The ceremony of tearing the face is called by them *aijḏur*. They also loosen their plaits and cut off some of the hair and bury it in the ground. Among the neighbouring tribe of the Aṯ Buzéggu a widow, mother, daughter, or sister shaves her head completely.

When a Tangier man hears of these customs he exclaims, *A'ûdu bẹ lláh mẽn n-naḥîya u n-ndīb* (or, *mẽn saḥáṭeḥ*), " I take refuge with God from the lamentation and scratching " (or, " from his curse ") ; and during my stay among the Jbâla of Andjra, Jbel Ḥbīb, and the Sáḥel I also often heard them speaking with much contempt of the women's behaviour at funerals among their Arab neighbours. They accused them of not knowing their religion ; they called them heathen or Jews. I was told that among the Bdą́wa the women even throw dung and stones at the bier when the

dead body is carried away to the cemetery. Among some Arabs in the neighbourhood of Alcazar they throw stones into the air, saying to God, " What did you take ? You only took a corpse ". And I heard of a woman among them who, after scratching and soiling herself, went to the body of her dead husband and boxed its ears, saying angrily, " Who is going to attend to your animals ? I will not do it ".

Among the Brâber, or Central Berbers, it occurs in rare cases that men scratch their faces on the death of a dear friend ; but they do not do it so violently as the women, and they are soon stopped by the other men. In Dukkâla, or at least in some parts of that province, the men of the dead person's family are also expected to weep, those who do not do so being said to have " a black heart ", and some men even make loud lamentations. But the men of other households who come to the tent only kiss the forehead of the deceased or, if the body has already been washed and dressed, place their right hand on the shroud and then, on removing it, kiss the hand, saying, *Llah ṛaḥmăk a flān*, " May God be merciful to you, O So-and-so ".

As soon as the death becomes known it is the custom for friends to pay a visit of condolence to the family of the deceased. The condolers (in Arabic *l-'azzâyeṇ*, fem. *l-'azzâyāt*) use phrases like these :—*Ăllâh i'áḍḍam l-'âjar*, " May God make the reward great " ; *Ājârak ăllâh*, " May God reward you " ; *Ăllâh ibḍḍel l-mḥḍbba b ṣ-ṣbar*, " May God change the love for patience " ; *Ddā bāsăk* (or *bāskum*), " He took away your evil ". The answers are, respectively :— *Lläh la iwúrrik šarr*, " May God let you experience no evil " ; *Iqûlâ lek ăllâh*, " May God say the same to you " ; *Bârak ăllâhu fīk*, " May God bless you " ; *Lläh la iwúrrik bas*, " May God let you experience no evil ". Among the Aiṯ Sádděn the male condolers (*im'azzan*) who come from other villages and are not relatives say to the members of the dead person's family, *Rábbi aḏašérzaq ṣṣbar*, " May God give you patience " ; and the latter reply, *Rábbi ur ašittsn'áṯ* (or, if the reply is addressed to more than one person, *aunittsn'áṯ*) *ainná iḫḫan*, " May God not inflict on you what is bad ". Among various tribes it is the custom for the condolers to bring with

them presents of food. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz relatives from other villages bring a sheep or an ox. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the women who come to the house bring flour, while the male condolers assist the men of the family in their preparations for the funeral. Among the Iglíwa the condolers make presents of various kinds of food—such as butter, oil, eggs, meat, and fowls—but not of bread. In other tribes (Amanūz, Aglu, Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Bni 'Ăroṣ) and in towns no such presents are given. At Tangier the period for paying visits of condolence lasts till the fortieth day.

Very shortly after death the body of the deceased is washed, at least if he died at so early an hour that the burial can take place on the same day. In towns there are professional male and female washers, the former, called *ġssâla* (sing. *ġssāl*) or *ḫassâlīn* (sing. *ḫássāl*) and the latter, who are also professional midwives, *ġssâlāt*^{s} or *ḫassâlāt*^{s}. At Fez the male washers, as well as the washing board (*mâġsel*, at Tangier called *mâḫsel*) and the bier (*n'āš*), are fetched from Sîdi Fraj, a holy place with a small mosque and a madhouse with a prison for women above it. Well-to-do towns-people, however, may prefer not to make use of public washers, since it is considered important that the dead body should be washed by a person possessed of some *baraka*—a shereef or shereefa, a scribe, or a good and pious man or woman. In country places the body of a man is washed by the *fqī*, or schoolmaster, of the village or, if there is no *fqī*, by some other good and religious man, with the assistance of one or two other men; and the body of a woman is washed by the midwife of the village or some other woman of good reputation, by preference one who is in the habit of praying, with the assistance of one or two other women. Among the Iglíwa the male washers are always three; one brings the water, another pours it over the body, and the third performs the actual washing. It is generally the *fqī* of the village who does the last; but sometimes he is afraid of touching the corpse and therefore prefers pouring out the water and leaving it to one of the other men to do the washing. They call the male washers *willi ssirídnin*

(" those who wash " ; sing. *walli issirîděn*) and the female washers *tilli ssirídnin* (sing. *talli issirîděn*) ; the Shlöḥ of Aglu call them, respectively, *willi tŭggânin* (sing. *wanna itŭggan*) and *tilli tŭggânin* (sing. *talli itŭggan*) ; the Brâber of the Aiṯ Sádděn *imsîrḏěn* (sing. *amsirḏ*) and *ṯimsîrḏin* (sing. *ṯamsírḏt*). The rule that men shall be washed by men and women by women does not apply to little children, who are generally washed by women. A father may wash his little son, but parents are not allowed to wash their grown-up children nor children their parents, because decency forbids them to see each other's nakedness. The persons who take part in the washing must be in a state of ritual purity. No other person is permitted to be present when the act is performed ; and in Dukkâla I was told that should anybody else catch a glimpse of the naked body after it has been washed, the whole washing would have to be done over again, since the body would be considered to have been defiled.

The washing generally takes place in the house or tent of the dead person. Yet it does not do so in all cases. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi the corpse is washed either in the tent or at a spring or water-course. Among the Amanūz, at Aglu, and not infrequently at Demnat also, the body of a man is washed in the mosque, whereas that of a woman is washed in her house. A scribe from the Aiṯ Sádděn pointed out to me that while in his own tribe the dead are always washed in their tents or houses, the Aiṯ Nḏēr, for this purpose, take their dead to a shrine on the back of an animal, which has the belt of a woman tied round its neck so as not to be affected by the *ḇaṣ* of the dead person. At Tangier poor and homeless individuals or strangers who die inside the town are washed at the *márṣṯān*,[1] and persons, even natives, who die outside, at a special place in the cemetery close to the *sōq* or at a shrine. The washing is often accompanied with fumigation, which purifies the air and serves as a safeguard against evil spirits. In the Ḥiáina the place where the corpse is washed is fumigated with gum-lemon and agal-wood and sprinkled with salt to keep off the *jnūn* or

[1] See *supra*, i. 48.

the *ḫiäl*, of whom I shall speak below.[1] The Aiṭ Sádděn fumigate the place where the dead body was washed with agal-wood, or, in default of this, with gum-lemon and benzoin, in order to prevent the appearance of the *läḫiâl*. The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, again, burn white or black benzoin and harmel on the spot in the tent where the person died, so that it shall not be haunted by the *lḫiâl*. While the body is being washed one or two candles are often kept burning even though the washing takes place in broad daylight.

The body is washed with warm water, and certain parts of it with soap or scented soap-stone (*ġâsūl*). The person who performs the act, after washing his own hands, says the *bismillāh* and states inwardly his intention to wash the dead one:—*Allâhumma innî näwîtˢ ġasl l-mîyitˢ* He then washes the genital region very carefully with a towel, which is left there. He washes the lips and the teeth three times, and the nose the same number of times. All these parts of the body are washed with the left hand. He washes with both hands the face and the right and the left hand and arm to the elbow, all three times. He passes his wet hands once from the forehead to the nape and back again. After again wetting his fingers he puts the forefingers into the ears and passes the thumbs behind their backs. Taking water with the right hand he washes with the left the feet as high as the ankles, first the right and then the left, three times apiece or more if they are dirty. He then recites the profession of the faith, unless he has, prematurely, done so before, when passing his hands over the crown and back of the head. This ablution, which is called *l-wûḍû*, is followed by the so-called *ġasl l-mîyitˢ*. The upper part of the dead body is raised into a sitting position. The washer fills his open hands with water three times and washes the head. With his right hand he washes the inside of the right ear and with his left hand that of the left ear, and washes in a similar manner the backs of the ears. With water poured out by his assistant he then washes the remaining parts of the body in the following order: the right and the left sides from the neck to the knee; the back; the foreside from the chin

[1] *Infra*, p. 526 *sq.*

downwards to the end of the stomach, giving particular attention to the navel; and the right and the left leg from the knee to the ankle. After this he recites once more the profession of the faith. These ablutions must be performed on the day when the dead person is to be buried, even though he has died and been washed on the day before. In such a case, however, the first washing is generally of a very simple character. There may also be a preliminary washing if the death and the burial take place on the same day. At Tangier a dead body which is defiled by sexual or excremental impurity is subject to a so-called *ġasl l-'âda* (*l-'âḏa*), so as not to be abandoned by the angels. In Andjra the washing prescribed by the religious law, *l-ġasl ḏe l-farḍ ḏe l-mîyit*^{s}, is preceded by the *ġasl l-'ăráq ḏe l-mîyit*^{s}, "the washing away of the sweat of the dead one"; and if the burial is performed on the day of death there is only a short interval between these washings, during which the body is left without any other covering but such as is required by decency. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn it is shortly after death stripped of its clothes and bathed by an elderly woman or, if the deceased was a married man, by his wife.

Precautions have to be taken with the water which has been used for the washing of the corpse. It is bad to tread on it. If anybody does so the skin of his feet will chap (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän); and the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz say that it will remain in that condition till the Great Feast, when the feet may be cured by being dipped into the blood of a sacrificed animal.[1] The Aiṯ Sádděn believe that if a woman treads on water with which a corpse has been washed she will never after give birth to a child; and I have heard of a similar belief among the women of Tangier. In the Ḥiáina care is taken to prevent fowls from drinking such water; for it is believed that if a fowl did so and afterwards drank from a vessel used by the inhabitants of the house, the latter would be hurt in consequence. Magic is also practised with such water, as will be seen later on. The broom with which it has been swept off is thrown away (Fez, Tangier, Amanūz); and the same

[1] *Supra*, ii. 122.

is done with the vessel or vessels which have been used for the washing, or they are given in charity to some poor person (Tangier) or deposited in the mosque of the village (Andjra).

When the body has been washed it is dressed. Once more the big toes are, in many cases, tied together, and the jaws are bound up. At Fez the thumbs are also tied together over the breast, while at Tangier the same is done with the sleeves of the grave-shirt after the body has been dressed. In the former town I was told that cotton is inserted into the ears, nostrils, anus, and, in the case of a woman, her vulva, and is also put over the eyes and the mouth; while at Tangier cotton which has been sprinkled with camphor is inserted into the ears and nostrils, between the lips, under the armpits, and at the groins. The grave-clothes are generally made of white cotton stuff, which should be clean; but for some of the pieces, such as the drawers, shirt, and turban, the real garments may be used. It is a widespread idea that the grave-clothing should consist of seven pieces;[1] though the rule stated by Sīdi Ḫalīl that in the case of a man the number of pieces should not exceed five[2] is also recognised and observed.

At Tangier the grave-clothes of a man consist of *ṣárwal* (" drawers "), *tšâmir* (" shirt "), *'ămâma* (" turban "), which is also generally used for the tying up of the jaws, *fâfa* (over the head and the body to the knees), and a shroud called *ūjăh l-kfen*, " the outer side of the shroud "; while a woman has two additional *fäif* over the first one or an *izār* (a rectangular seamless piece of material worn by women) instead of one of them. A woman also has a *lt'äm*, or veil, over the face below the eyes, which is reckoned as part of the *'ămâma*. The grave-clothing is often sprinkled with saffron-water before the body is dressed in it and with geranium-water afterwards; or it is fumigated with agal-wood or gum-lemon before the

[1] *Cf.* Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* (Kiøbenhavn, 1779), p. 116; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, ' El-Qçar el-Kebir ', in *Archives marocaines*, ii. (Paris, 1904), p. 76.

[2] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *Muḫtaṣar*, i. 2. 20. 10 (French translation by Perron, vol. i. [Paris, 1848], p. 314).

dressing commences. Well-to-do people also put roses, jasmins, and other flowers the scent of which is liked by the angels, over the face after the body has been dressed. Unmarried persons, even little children, have their palms painted with henna; they are called *a'ráyiš l-aḥêra*, bridegrooms or brides of the other world. A very small child, however, is not dressed in the usual grave-clothes, but is only wrapped up in a piece of white calico.

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the body of either a man or a woman is dressed in *särwāl* ("drawers"), *bâlġra* ("slippers"), *bĕd'ăya* ("waistcoat"), and *šĕdd* ("turban"), while a woman has, besides, two *feif* placed round her waist, one in front and the other behind; and the whole body is then wrapped in a shroud (*kfen*). Unmarried grown-up persons have the right palm smeared with henna. In Andjra the grave-clothes of both men and women consist of seven, five, or three pieces, according to the means of the family. The three pieces are the *ṣárwal* ("drawers"), *rázza* ("turban"), and *kfen* (shroud); the five pieces include in addition a *qanḍûra* ("shirt") and a *lt^{s}äm* ("veil"); and the seven pieces, *ṣûbbāṭ* ("shoes") and an *ûja l-kfen* (a larger shroud outside the other one) as well. Unmarried girls have their hands painted with henna. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and the Ait Temsâmän the body is dressed in "drawers" (*ssarwar*, *ssâwär*), "shirt" (*šš̈ämmir*, *ttš̈ämmir*), "turban" (*ḍa'mänd*, *arázzeṭ*), and "slippers" (*ihärkûsĕn*, *ihākäs*), and is then wrapped up in a shroud (*rĕḫfĕn*, *rĕšfĕn*). Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the grave-clothes consist of *isrául* ("drawers"), *ttšāmir* ("shirt"), *ṭäšäšīṭ* ("headgear", wound round the head), *ṣṣbaiṭ* ("shoes"), *lĕkfen* (shroud), and *uḍm l lĕkfen* (the Arabic *ūjăh l-kfen*); but the two last-mentioned pieces are sewn together so as to make one piece, in which the body is sewn up. Unmarried young persons have their eyes painted with antimony and their lips with walnut root or bark. Among the Amanūz the grave-clothes of both men and women consist of five, seven, or nine pieces, namely, *ssärwal* ("drawers") or two or three *ssraul*, *aqššab* ("shirt") or two or three *iqšban*, *tagŭst* ("belt"), *rzza* ("turban"), and *lŭkfĕn* (shroud); although the body of a poor person

may simply be wrapped in a cotton sheet or shroud. Among the Iglíwa the regular number of pieces is seven. Everywhere the shroud in which the body is enveloped is knotted at head and feet. In many cases at least, the needles with which the grave-clothes have been sewn and the thread and cotton which may be left after sewing them are either thrown away or given in charity to some poor woman.

If the deceased was a *ḥajj*, that is, had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he may have brought his shroud from there, and in such a case he would have taken it to the well Zemzem and sprinkled it with its water. Very frequently the grave-clothes of a *ḥajj* are on his death sprinkled with water from the same well which he brought with him, and a little of it is also mixed with the water used for the washing of his body ; and it is the custom for persons who have made the pilgrimage to present such water to their friends to be used for the same purposes. It is considered a very meritorious act to provide a poor person with grave-clothing on his death.

At Fez, while the body is being washed and dressed, a band of scribes who have been brought from Sîdi Frạj are making recitations from the Koran in the open centre of the house ; and after they have received payment and gone away they are succeeded by another band of scribes, who continue the recitations until the body is carried out of the house. If it remains there overnight and the family of the deceased is fairly well-off, the whole Koran is recited in the room where his body is lying, often in the presence of his family. I was told that the object of the recitations is to prevent Šíṭan from troubling him ; the devil may even make the dead man sit up just as though he were alive. Not infrequently men belonging to the *mwâlīn d-dâlīl* are also called in to recite in the presence of the deceased portions of the book Dalā'īl al-Ḫairāt of al-Jazūlī, whose followers they are. If the dead person belonged to a religious order it is the custom both in Fez and elsewhere to invite members of his *ṭâifa* to his house, where they form a ring round the corpse and sing and *käirédḥû* in the usual manner, but refrain from playing, or, in the case of 'Ḍsáwa, Ḥmádša, and Jilâla, do nothing more than recite their *ḥẹzb*.

At Tangier the washing and dressing of the body are likewise accompanied with recitations from the Koran in the centre of the house. The whole Koran may be recited on this occasion and the Bůrdah and a portion of the Dalā'īl al-Ḫairāt as well; but at a poor man's funeral the whole performance will be restricted to the recitation of the 36th, the 67th, or the 20th chapter of the Koran—the *sūratu yā sīn*, the *sūratu 'l-mulk* (generally called *tˢabârak*), or the *sūratu ṭā hā*—followed by the usual *fâtˢḥa*. If the interment of the deceased is postponed till the day after he died, the whole Koran may be recited at night, or also *l-fédya l-kbîra* or *l-fédya ṣ-ṣġêra*; the former consists of the first part of the creed repeated seventy thousand times with the second part added after each hundred, and the latter of the prayer for the Prophet (*ṣalâtˢ 'ăl n-nbi*) repeated one thousand times. I was told that the object of the recitations made by the scribes is to keep off evil spirits. If the family of the deceased can afford it, the scribes are entertained with *sěksů* and meat before the bier is carried out, and alms of food and money are also given to the poor who have gathered at the house.

In country places, also, recitations from the Koran are frequently made while the dead body is still in the house or tent. There may be such recitations during the day or, if the deceased person is buried on the day after his death, at night. Among the Ait Temsâmän scribes are reciting the *tabârak* while the body is being washed and dressed, but no recitations are made at night. The case is different among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer and the Aiṯ Sádděn, as also in the Ḥiáina, if the family can afford to employ scribes for nightly recitations. In Andjra and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ these recitations may comprise the whole of the Koran,[1] but may also be restricted to the *yā sīn* alone, and the scribes are entertained with *kůsksů*. In the Ġarbîya the food with which the scribes are served before the body is carried away must be taken to them in one dish at a time only, and the empty dishes must likewise be removed one by one, lest there should be another death in the house before long. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz and the Amanūz and at Aglu, on the other

[1] *Cf.* Michaux-Bellaire, *op. cit.* p. 141 (Habṭ.).

hand, there are no recitations of the Koran either by day or night while the body of the deceased is lying in his old home.

If the burial is put off till the following day the body is left alone in the room after the scribes have gone away, or an enclosure is made for it in the tent; among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz it is placed along the back of the tent and hidden by a curtain. A candle or two and sometimes as many as four candles, or an oil-lamp, are left burning in the room or close to the corpse throughout the night. In Andjra some salt may be strewn on the candles; and at Fez the light was expressly said to serve as a protection against the *jnūn*. Among the Ait Temsâmän it must be left to burn itself out.[1] The room may be fumigated with benzoin or gum-lemon. In many places a dagger or some other object of steel or iron is put on the abdomen of the dead body (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ); among the Aiṯ Sádděn a ploughshare (*ṯagursa*) is used for this purpose. It is said to be done to prevent the abdomen from swelling; but I have also been told that its object is to keep away Šíṭan or the *jnūn* (Fez, Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ). The Amanūz prevent swelling by placing a lump of earth over the navel.

The time when the deceased is buried depends on the hour of his death. In Fez and the Ḥiáina, if a person died before *'âṣar*, he is generally interred on the same day, but if he died at a later hour the burial is as a rule put off till the next morning. At Fez and Tangier nobody is buried after sunset; but the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz and the Bni 'Ăroṣ inter people even after it has become dark. In Andjra, if the death took place before *'âṣar*, the body is if possible buried on the same day, unless the deceased was a wealthy man and his family want to give him an unusually fine funeral; but it is considered bad to keep a corpse in the house longer than is necessary. The dead person is said to be anxious to be buried as soon as possible and to "complain of his family" if it is not done. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer there is the

[1] *Cf.* Michaux-Bellaire, *op. cit.* p. 141 :—" La bougie allumée pour le lavage du corps continue à brûler jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit consumée : *on ne l'éteint pas* ".

opposite belief: the departed is too fond of his old home to like to be hurried into the grave, though his people want to bury him quickly. The burial is among them postponed till the following day even if the death occurred shortly after mid-day, and it is said never to take place after *'âṣar*. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn it may be put off till the next day though the person died in the morning—if the grave-clothes are not ready before then or if some near relative living in another village could not otherwise attend the funeral or if the cemetery is too distant, which may be the case because there is not a cemetery in the vicinity of every village. On the other hand it also happens that a person who died after *'âṣar* is buried on the same day, if everything is ready for the funeral and the cemetery is not far off; and poor people who have no near relatives are even buried after sunset. But as the Aiṯ Sádděn consider prayer indispensable at a burial—a view which is not universally shared—and no prayer must be said for some half an hour before sunset, nobody is buried at that time. The Iglíwa and the Amanûz also refrain from burying anybody when the sun is going to set, though they bury people after sunset and the latter even after it has become dark.

At Fez, before the body is taken to the grave, the relatives and friends of the deceased assemble in the house; and many other people, though only men, gather in the street outside to join the procession. The body of a man is carried out of the house on a palmetto mat (*ḥṣêra*), and is then, with the mat, placed in a bier (*n'āš*) waiting at the door. The body of a woman or a child, on the other hand, is put inside a yellow coffin (*tˢâbůtˢ*) made of wood, before it is carried to the bier. When an old man's body is taken out of the house, some *ngâgef* (sing. *nggâfa*)—free negresses whose business is to assist women on festive occasions and especially to attend weddings—trill the *zġârītˢ*, having been hired for this purpose; it is said to be a mark of respect, as there is *baraka* in an old man. At Fez and everywhere else the body is carried out of the house head foremost. At Tangier it is generally placed in the bier (*mâḥmel*) before it is carried out, and a flag brought from some shrine is often spread over the

blanket with which it is covered. If the family of the deceased is sufficiently well-off, the body of a woman or a child, and sometimes also that of a grown-up man, is laid in a coffin (*qăjár*), which has been painted with saffron, and the coffin is placed in the bier; but this is not done with a very small child, who is carried to the grave in the arms of a man. In any case a youngish woman, whether married or not, has her bier or coffin distinguished by an arched erection of cane, covered with white cotton and decorated with silk handkerchiefs and two or three belts. This is called an *'ammąrîya*, like the decorated cage in which a bride is taken to her new home. When a person has a house built for him, he often tells the builders to make the entrance door of the house so wide that a bier and an *'ammąrîya* can be taken through it. At the funeral of an unmarried person or a woman who is with child, one of the women trills the *zġârīt*ˢ when the body is carried out, as if it were a wedding. If the deceased was a married man and his widow is with child, she places her belt on the cover alongside the body, in case she has not previously given birth to a child.

In Andjra, too, the *mąḥmel*, or bier, of an unmarried girl is decorated as an *'ammąrîya*, and the *zġârītˢ* is trilled when her body is carried out; and the latter is also done in the case of a bachelor.[1] The pregnancy of a woman who has lost her husband is announced in the same way as at Tangier; and a similar custom is found among other Arabic-speaking mountain tribes[2] and the Rifians of Ṯemsâmän. In Andjra the bier is set down in the yard outside the house with the face of the dead person turned towards Mecca; scribes recite the *tˢabârak* and in many cases the Bůrdah as well; and a meal of *kůsksů* and meat is served there to them and the other people.[3] Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ the Bůrdah and the *súlka* are on this occasion recited at the funeral of a rich man and the *yā sīn* at that of a poor one, and a meal is likewise served in the yard or, if the family is poor, bread and dried figs are given to all who are present. Among the same mountaineers it is the custom to put myrtle sprigs

[1] *Cf.* Michaux-Bellaire, *op. cit.* p. 142 (Habṭ).
[2] *Ibid.* p. 142 (Habṭ).
[3] *Cf. ibid.* p. 141 (Habṭ).

underneath the dead body before it is carried away. Both among them and in Andjra it is considered necessary that the washing board should have been removed before the bier with the corpse is carried out of the house, since otherwise there would soon be another death in the family.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, also, the bier, after being carried out of the house by four men including some member of the family, is placed in the yard (*azqaq*), from which all the animals have been previously removed so as not to see or hear the dead person; it is believed that he is weeping and that animals can hear it, though men can not, and that they would become sorry if they heard it. The scribes recite the *ḥezb yastabširūna*, contained in the fourth chapter of the Koran (*sūratu 'n-nisā'*), and nobody is then allowed either to weep or talk. After the recitation all the people make *fâṭḥa*, one of the scribes asking God to be merciful to the dead person and to bestow his blessings on the living. Four persons take hold of the bier, and the women begin to cry. But if the departed was a bachelor or an unmarried girl one of the women, instead of crying, trills the *zġârīt*, here called *sriwríwen*. Before the bier is carried out of the house a meal of meat and bread made of barley without yeast is served in the yard to the scribes and all others who are there on this occasion. But many persons do not like to partake of food served at a funeral, as such food is said to remain in the stomach for forty days.

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the bier (*miṣąn*; in Mazagan called *marfa'*) with the body is taken out, not through the entrance of the tent, but through an aperture in its back. Among them also the *zġârīt* is trilled on this occasion if the deceased was a bachelor or a grown-up girl. In the Ḥiâina the carriers stop just outside the threshold and raise the bier (*n'āš*) three times and put it twice on the ground; otherwise the *bąs* would remain in the house and another of its inhabitants would soon die. If the deceased was a married man and his widow is with child, she passes once underneath the bier when it is raised, so that the people may know that the child to which she will give birth was begotten by her husband. Sometimes the Bûrdah, or part of it, is recited outside the

door by scribes, who are remunerated with money laid down on the corpse. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the corpse is carried out of the house or tent by the *fqī* and two or three other men, and is then, outside the entrance, tied to a stretcher (*íšěbḏer*) consisting of two longitudinal and two transversal poles with no board between them and no legs. Four women take hold of the stretcher and lift it over their heads three times, each time putting it down again on the ground. They then lift it a fourth time, but not so high, when it is seized by four men, who place the projecting parts of the transversal poles on their shoulders or necks and carry it away. If the deceased was a young unmarried person, whether bachelor or girl, they have not proceeded many steps before one or two women trill the *zġârīt* (*asġûrṭ*). If the deceased was a married man and his widow is with child, she passes three times in succession under the stretcher while the men are walking along with it. When the body was carried out of the house or tent the animals had been removed from the place; and subsequently any herd or flock which happens to meet the funeral procession is driven away, as it is considered bad for the animals to come near a corpse.

The dead body is carried to the cemetery head foremost. In Fez, Marráksh, and some other towns, it is carried by professional bearers, called *ṣḥḥâfa*, *zerẓâya*, *šiyyâla*, or *răffá'a*; but in Tangier, Tetuan, and smaller towns, as well as in country places, the bearers are friends of the deceased and other persons, who relieve each other one by one at frequent intervals, desirous to perform a good deed by carrying the corpse. Everywhere it is considered meritorious to accompany a dead person to his grave; there is charity in every step—*kull ḫálfa b ḥaṣâna*. At Fez, Tangier, and other towns no women take part in the procession, and the same is very frequently the case in the country—for example, in Andjra and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ and other Arabic-speaking mountain tribes,[1] among the Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and Ṯemsâmän, and among the Shlöḥ of the Amanūz and Iglíwa; whereas among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz and the Aiṭ Sádděn the women walk behind the men, wailing as before

[1] See also Michaux-Bellaire, *op. cit.* p. 141 (Habṭ).

and even scratching their faces. The procession may include one or several slaves who belonged to the deceased but were freed by his will; and in walking along, such a slave holds the certificate of freedom aloft in a cleft bamboo stick.[1] Custom varies as to the order in which the participants in the procession walk.[2] At Tangier it was formerly the rule that the male mourners and friends went first, before the bier, but now they walk behind it and the other people ahead of it. In many other places the procession is headed by a band of scribes, and after them come the men carrying the corpse (Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Amanūz); but among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the bearers go first, after them the scribes, and then the other men and boys. The pace of the procession varies; among the Aiṭ Sádděn it is faster than at Fez, among the Ait Temsâmän slower than at Tangier. While walking along the men are generally singing the profession of the faith; but another funeral chant, which is used instead of it by the Tˢijänîyin, is *Subḥân âllâh wa l-ḥamdu li llâh wä lâ ilâha illa llâhû allâhû akbár, wä lâ ḥáula wä lâ qûwwátˢa illâ bi llâh*, "Lauded be God and the praise be to God, there is no god but God, God is most great; there is neither power nor strength but with God". In towns, if the body is carried to the cemetery at the hour of the mid-day or the afternoon prayer, it is taken to the *bîtˢ l-gnâiz*, or mortuary chapel attached to a mosque, where a *fqî* leads the congregation in the prayer for the dead, *ṣalâtˢ l-jänâza*, with its four repetitions of the *takbîr* said without prostration.

If the body is heavy for its size, keeping back as it were those who carry it, the deceased is supposed to be unwilling to leave this world (Fez), or it is said of him that he must have been a bad man (Tangier). In some country places it is believed that if an accident happens to the bier on the way to the cemetery (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz), or if the funeral procession stops (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), somebody else in the village will soon die. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, when the procession passes a house, some water is thrown from it on the bier and the

[1] *Cf.* Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 380; Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story* (London, 1911), p. 157.

[2] See also Meakin, *op. cit.* p. 380.

men carrying it, in order to avert the pollution of death from the house. Among the Ait Temsâmän water is poured on the road in front of the procession; and if it is to pass a house in which there is a sick person he has to be removed, as otherwise he would die. At Tangier it is believed that if it passes a house in which there is a woman in childbed, either the mother or the child will die.[1] At Fez boys who see a funeral coming in the street hasten to cover their heads so as not to be affected with ringworm. But it is generally considered good *fäl* to meet a funeral. Once when I was sitting in a house together with two Shlöḥ and a funeral procession happened to pass, our conversation was at once interrupted. They said that in similar circumstances people who are having a meal stop eating, and that a person who is sitting out-of-doors has to stand up. All this is common custom in Sūs and among the Iglíwa, as well as at Tangier and Mazagan, but not at Fez.

On the arrival at the cemetery (Arab. *l-mqâbar*, *l-mädîna dyāl l-mqâbar* [Ḥiáina], *l-ma'môra* [Ulâd Bů'ăzîz]; Berb. *asmḍal* [Iglíwa; Amanūz, who also call it *a'ámmar*], *isnḍal* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *ṯimeḍlin* [Aṯ Ubáḫṯi], *imädran* [Aiṯ Wäryâġer], *imḍran* [Ṯemsâmän]) the bier is placed at the side of the grave (Arab. *qbar*; Berb. *läqbar* or *tigĭmmi* ["house"; Amanūz], *timḍlt* or *läqbar* [Iglíwa], *ṯinḍalṯ* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *ṯamḍëlt* [Aṯ Ubáḫṯi], *andar* [Aiṯ Wäryâġer], *anděr* [Ṯemsâmän]), and the prayer for the dead is said, unless it has been already done at a mosque; among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, however, there is no prayer if the interment takes place between *'âṣar* and sunset, and elsewhere if it does so shortly before sunset. The Amanūz, on the other hand, consider it so necessary that prayer should be said for a dead person that if no *fqī* can be found to do it at the funeral it has to be done afterwards. Among the same tribe the *fqī*, when saying the prayer, holds in his right hand some earth, which he afterwards places underneath the head of the corpse in the grave. In some places the body is, before the prayer, removed from the bier and laid on the earth which has been dug up from the grave (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz), and

[1] See *supra*, ii. 386.

this must be done even though the digging has only begun (Aiṭ Sádděn). In Andjra myrtle sprigs are put at the bottom of the grave, and among the Aiṭ Sádděn seven fresh palmetto leaves ; the myrtle has the scent of Paradise, which is liked by the angels, and there is *baraka* in the palmetto. Among the Bṇi 'Ároṣ and at Tangier there are also people who lay such leaves in the grave, but in the latter place a palmetto mat (*šěddâja*) is the proper thing to put underneath the body to protect it from the earth with its stones. The body of a woman is placed in the grave under the shelter of a *ḥâyěk*, and if she has been carried to the grave in a coffin she is also buried in it, though the blanket covering it is removed. The body is laid in the grave on its right side with the face turned towards Mecca, the shroud is opened at head and foot, other bandages are also untied, and in the case of a man the " turban " which has been drawn over the face is removed from it. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and the Ait Temsâmän the *fqī* fills his hand with earth and keeps it closed over the dead person's face, reciting in a low voice a chapter of the Koran, one of his own choice, and, still continuing the recitation, strews the earth on the face and on the shroud covering the other parts of the body ; but if water from the well Zemzem is available he sprinkles the face and the shroud with the water instead of earth, and in such a case no recitation from the Koran is made. Among the Ait Waráin, at the burial of a sucking-child, it is the custom for the mother to press a few drops of milk from her breast into a snail-shell and put it upon the infant's head, saying, " O my child, here is the milk I owe you ". Then her breasts will get dry and she will be able to conceive again.

Boards or flat stones—called in Arabic *läḥd* and in Berber *läl|ḥúḍ* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *ă^{dd}jaḥ^{t}* (Ṭemsâmän), *ikfafn* (Amanūz) —are placed across the ledges formed by the narrow trough, at the bottom of the grave, in which the body is lying, without touching it. Their number should be an odd one—three, five, seven, or nine, according to their size ; if, for example, four were sufficient to cover the body, a small one would nevertheless be added in order to avoid the even number (Aiṭ Sádděn). Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer seven boards are used, and they

believe that if this number were exceeded there would soon be another death. In several tribes it is the custom that when the sextons (Arab. *ḥăffâra*; Berb. *imĕnġázĕn* [Aiṭ Sádděn]) are filling the grave everybody present throws a handful of earth into it, which is considered a meritorious act (Aglu, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). This is not the custom at Tangier, but there some persons acquire merit by throwing three handfuls of earth into the grave. It is considered necessary that all the earth which has been dug up should be put back into the grave or placed on the top of it (Ḥiáina, Bni 'Ăroṣ), and this is said to be a very compulsory rule (Aiṭ Sádděn). In Andjra I was told that if two hoes knock against each other while the grave is being filled, somebody else in the village will soon die. In order to prevent the earth from sliding down, the mound is surrounded with a ring of stones. These stones must be put side by side and none on the top of another (Aiṭ Sádděn); in the Ḥiáina it is believed that otherwise the *ḇaṣ* would remain in the house of the deceased, and the same rule is observed by the women and children who on the third day add two more rings of stones on the grave. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the stones are brought to the cemetery on animals; and it is said that if there is not room for all of them in the circle, somebody in the village will die before long.

On this occasion water is very generally poured or sprinkled on the grave, at least if the earth is dry, and frequently on neighbouring graves as well; yet there are exceptions to the rule (Aglu, Ṯemsâmän). Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer water is poured on the grave either when closed or on the following morning; and if any water is left from the occasion when the body was washed, it is taken to the cemetery to be poured out together with the other water. As to the meaning of the custom of watering the grave I have heard different opinions. By making the earth compact it prevents an obnoxious smell from rising out of the grave and flies from entering into it. It makes God merciful to the deceased (Andjra). It quenches the thirst of the ants, and when they drink the water it is as though it were drunk by the dead person himself (Tangier). In Dukkâla I was told

that "the grave is thirsty"; my informant said that he did not know whether the water poured on it was drunk by the deceased or by angels, but he was sure that somebody drank it. In many places the sextons wash their hands over the grave after it has been filled (Ḥiáina, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Amanūz), and if water is very scarce this may even be the only water rite performed at the grave (Aiṭ Sádděn). Sometimes the other men present do the same (*ibid.*), and sometimes the sextons wash the hoes there, as well as their hands (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). In the Ġarbîya the *ḥâyĕk* with which the body was covered is sprinkled with water at the grave.

An upright stone, or sometimes a board, is placed at the head of the grave, and very frequently another one at the foot; such a stone or board, or that at the head only, is called in Arabic *l-mĕšhäd* or *š-šâhed*, "the witness", and in Berber *ššahăḏ* (Aiṭ Sádděn), *ḏämenzwiṭ* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or *ṭäměnzušṭ* (Ṭemsâmän). A woman's grave is distinguished at Tangier by three cuts in the top of the stone or board at the foot of the grave, among the Bni 'Ăroṣ by one cut. Among the Amanūz the headstone is placed transversely on the grave of a man and longitudinally on that of a woman. The same is the case with the upright stone among the Aiṭ Sádděn and in the Ḥiáina, where there is only one such stone on a grave; and in the Ḥiáina it is put at the head of the grave of a man and at the foot of that of a woman. On the interment of a woman the Aiṭ Sádděn place behind the headstone, outside the stones encircling the grave, the skin-sack (*aḫreḍ*) which she had under her head when she died; but the wool or clothes with which it was stuffed have for the sake of economy been replaced by straw, and for a similar reason an old and discarded *aḫreḍ* was, previous to her death, substituted for the one used before. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave. Elsewhere it is placed unbroken along the top of it and is left there (Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Amanūz), at Tangier for three days only. In the last-mentioned place it is considered necessary that this measure (*l-qiáṣ de l-mîyiṭ*^{c}), should be made of fresh bamboo so as to impart life to

the dead body, and for the same reason myrtle sprigs are put along the top of the grave above the chest of the deceased. The Amanūz cover the grave with branches of the thorny lotus tree (*azŭggar*) and large stones as a protection against jackals and other beasts of prey, and leave them there for four months and ten days. So also the Ait Temsâmän put thorny branches or plants on the grave, but remove them when forty days have passed.

Recitations from the Koran are made at the grave, commencing after the body has been put into it and covered with the *läḥd*. The *yā sīn* is most frequently recited on this occasion. It may be followed by the *āyatu 'l-kursī* and the so-called *ḫawatˢim l-baqara*, the last *āyah* of the second chapter; but the *tˢabârak* or the *ṭā hā* is also recited together with, or instead of, the *yā sīn*. The recitation ends with the *sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*, which is commonly repeated three times. In some places even the whole Koran is, in the case of a wealthy man, gone through at his burial. After the recitation *fâtḥa* is made. At Fez some man who has *baraka*, a shereef or a *fqī*, then says, *L-ḥamdu li llâhi rǎbbi l-'âlamīn*, "The praise be to God, the lord of the worlds", at the same time moving his hands down his face and kissing them as they pass the mouth; and the same is done by the other men or some of them. At Tangier the people say after the *fât'ḥa* has been made, *Qdäm li llāh u mẹn jā li llāh*, "Steps for the sake of God and he who came [did it] for the sake of God". In the Ḥiáina the *fqī* says to the people, *Ănṣárfŭ irḥámkum llah*, "Go away, may God be merciful to you". Among the Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz the women again cry and scratch their faces.

While the recitations are made and afterwards, food is in many places given to the people who are assembled at the grave. At Tangier bread and figs are distributed, in Andjra and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ *fṭạir* (*fṭáyạr*)—bread made without yeast—and figs, or only *fṭạir* (Andjra); this is called in Andjra *l-fṭạir ḏe n-n'ǎi ḏe l-mîyitˢ*. Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi figs are given at the grave, especially to the children, as *ṣṣaḏqaṭ*, or alms, and in default of figs small pieces of bread. The Ait Waráin give bread and figs at the grave if,

contrary to the general rule, no *sěksů* with meat is served after the burial in the house of mourning. Among the Amanūz dates, figs, almonds, and bread are distributed; while at Aglu an even more substantial meal, consisting of *sěksů* with meat and bread with butter and honey, may be served at the grave. Among the Ait Temsâmän a meal which has been previously prepared in the house of mourning is offered to the scribes and all other persons present at the grave. At Fez money is distributed among the poor who have assembled there.

Before the hoes (Arab. *fîsān*, sing. *fās*; Berb. *igelzam*, sing. *agelzim* (Amanūz, Iglíwa), *igʸzzämĕn*, sing. *agʸzzim* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *iyzzäm*, sing. *ayzzim* [Aṯ Ubáḫṯi], *irizäm*, sing. *arizim* [Ṯemsâmän]) with which the grave was dug are carried back from the cemetery, the heads may have to be removed from the handles, turned upside down, and then put back in this position (Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi).[1] In the Ḥiáina this is said to be done in order that the *bạs* may not return to the house and cause another death. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi the heads must remain reversed till the following morning, lest some person in the tent to which the hoe belongs should die. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn the hoes must not be taken into a house or tent nor be used for any kind of work for three days after the burial; while among the Amanūz neither the hoes nor any basket (*taryalt*) or spade (*tamadirt*) employed for the digging or filling of the grave must be used for the same period. The Ait Temsâmän put the hoes on the roof of the house and leave them there likewise for three days, and they do the same with the *ṯšinna*, or wooden implement with which the earth is pushed into the grave when it is filled in, and with the *ṯrašša*, or net made of esparto or hemp, in which the body was carried to the grave, in case there was no bier in the village. In Andjra the bier is taken back to the mosque upside down so that it may not be needed soon again. In the Ḥiáina it is left on the grave till the third day, when it is brought back by the women who then visit the grave; and among the

[1] See also Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Aït Seghrouchen* (Paris, 1920), p. li.

Bni 'Ăroṣ it is left there until it is required for another funeral.

In many places the people who have attended a funeral must not go back the same way as they came (Fez, Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin); if they did, the merit in their steps to the grave would be cancelled by the homeward steps along the same route (Fez). Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi they may go back the same way, but they must on no account enter anybody else's tent on their way home, as this would carry evil with it. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn they must all go to the dwelling of the dead person's family before they return to their own homes; but sometimes a person who has attended a funeral goes directly to the house or tent of an enemy in order to cause him harm, without telling him, of course, whence he came. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the whole company likewise go to the dwelling of the deceased, and there they purify themselves by dipping their fingers into the flour contained in a palmetto tray (*meïdûna*) which has been placed on the roof of the tent, so as not to carry the contagion of death into their tents. There is a similar custom among the Mnáṣăra and the Aiṯ Nḏēr. Among the Ait Waráin, if persons who have attended a funeral do not go from the cemetery to the house of mourning, they must walk about for a while before entering their own dwellings. At Fez the female guests, after leaving the house of the deceased, must not enter any other house on their way home, lest somebody there should die.

Before leaving the cemetery the family of the deceased may have to settle with persons who have performed some particular function at the funeral. In towns the sextons, scribes, and professional bearers are paid for their services. The same is the case with the professional wailing-women at Mazagan,[1] but not among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz. In the

[1] Hired wailing-women are also mentioned by Diego de Torres, *Relacion del origen y sucesso de los Xarifes* (Sevilla, 1586), p. 263; Pidou de St. Olon, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1695), p. 53; Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (London, 1725), p. 52; Braithwaite, *The History of the Revolutions in the Empire of Morocco, upon the Death of the late Emperor Muley Ishmael* (London, 1729), p. 364; Höst, *op. cit.* p. 117.

country the scribes are paid among nearly all the tribes with whose funeral customs I am acquainted. The Iglíwa, however, make an exception, while among the Amanūz they in some cases receive a small sum of money but in other cases nothing. In Dukkâla I was told that there are scribes who refuse payment, because every service rendered a dead person gratuitously will be rewarded by God. In some tribes the sextons are or may be paid, even though they do not claim any wages (Bni 'Ăroṣ, Andjra, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), but these cases seem to be rather exceptional ; and there are no hired bearers in the country. The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Ăroṣ, Andjra, Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Iglíwa, Amanūz, Aglu). Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the *fqī* and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsâmän, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

When all other persons have left the cemetery the *fqī* remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called *līlt^{s} l-wạḥdạ̄nîya*, or " the night of solitude "—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called *mläik swāl*, or " angels of asking ", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sîdna Nákir and Múnkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkâla are somewhat uncertain as to their number ; I was told that the *ṣḥāb s-swạl*, " the friends of asking ", may be three or two or only one—who can know ? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sîdna 'Azrain, that is 'Azrā'īl, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of *malaku 'l-maut*, who comes to a man at the

hour of death to carry his soul away from the body.[1] The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer); at Marráksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the *fqī* remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called *msą́ula* put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does not make the oral instruction of the *fqī* superfluous. He should answer his examiner thus: *Allâhu rabbī wä l-islâmu dīnī wä l-ka'batu qiblätī wä l-qor'ą̂nu imāmī wä Můḥammädun näbiyī*, "Allāh is my Lord and Islam is my religion and the Ka'bah is my *qiblah* and the Koran is my director and Muḥammad is my prophet" It is said that if the dead man was a scribe the Koran will give the answers on his behalf (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer); and that a man who has fallen in the holy war, and a woman who has died in child-bed (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), as also a person who has died on a Thursday after *'âṣar* or on a Friday (Tangier), will entirely escape the examination in the grave. On the other hand, the absence of burial, for example, in the case of a person who has been drowned, does not exempt the deceased from examination on the first night after his death.

In some parts of the country I found the belief that the dead person is examined on the first night, even though he still remains in his home (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). Among the Iglíwa there was a woman who spent the night in the room where her mother was dying. In the middle of the night 'Azrain came and examined the mother and found that she was a sinner. He beat her with his iron rod until she became ashes, but then he poured a little water on the ashes and she became herself again; and he went on

[1] *Koran*, xxxii. 11.

maltreating her till the hour of the morning prayer. The daughter saw all this, and was so frightened that her hair turned white.

The burial may put an end to certain taboos and be followed by a funeral banquet on the same day. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, if a person dies in the morning, nobody in the village should make a fire or eat or work until he is buried, with the exception that in the tent of his family a loaf of bread is made and given to the children to eat before the burial "in order to remove the earth from the mouth of the dead person" Again, if he dies after *'âṣar* the inhabitants of the other tents may make a fire, but not those of his own. When the people come back from the cemetery the family are supplied with *sĕksû* and meat or fowl by neighbours, and they all eat together. If any portion of this food is left it is not taken back to the tent from which it was brought, but is thrown away at some place outside the village. On this occasion the family of the deceased prepare no food. But if the burial took place in the earlier part of the day they give in the evening a supper, called *n-ṇa'i*, to the scribes and the men and women of the village, and if it took place at night they give the supper on the following evening. The *sĕksû* served on this occasion must not have been cooked more than once—otherwise it is usually cooked twice—lest somebody else should die before long. On the same night the scribes recite the whole Koran in the tent. A scribe belonging to the Ulâd Frạj in Dukkâla told me that if the funeral supper is omitted the dead person's mouth will be full of earth.

In the Ḥiáina, also, no work is done in the village until the burial is over, but there is no prohibition of making a fire or eating previous to it. On the return from the cemetery the people are entertained in the house of mourning with a meal, partly consisting of food brought by the condolers. The *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksû*) with meat which is served on this occasion should be prepared by old women who have not defiled their fingers by scratching their faces. The scribes who read the Koran are served first, and money is given to them.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn no food is prepared in the house

or tent where the death occurred before the burial, unless it is postponed till the following morning and there are little children in the family, in which case some bread is made for them ; but nobody else must eat of this bread. In the other households of the village food may be cooked before the burial ; but the villagers refrain from work even after its conclusion, till the end of the day, and it is believed that if anybody worked before then he would have to suffer for it. On the return from the cemetery the people bring food to the family of the deceased, who partake of it together with those who brought it and the guests from other villages. But on the evening of the same day or, if the burial took place in the morning, even as early as *'âṣar*, the dead person's family entertain the other people with *sěksů* and meat. This meal is called *aslam uwáḥal*, "the gulp of earth", because the deceased is supposed to have a bite of it and, if it is not served, to have a bite of earth instead ; hence his family are anxious to serve it at an early hour. There is merit in partaking of this meal ; but many people nevertheless abstain from it for fear that it might have been prepared by some woman who has scratched her face, although no such woman ought to have had anything to do with the preparation of it. No tea must be drunk on this occasion, because tea means pleasure. Poor people who cannot afford to entertain the villagers with a supper in their home simply send a dish of *sěksů* to the mosque of the village, unless they are so destitute that even this is beyond their means. Among the Ait Waráin, also, a funeral meal, consisting of *sěksů* and meat, is generally served in the house of mourning, but tea is avoided. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, as we have noticed in another connection, all grinding of corn is forbidden on the day of death, and also on the following day if the burial has to be postponed till then ; and this prohibition refers not only to the dead person's own village but to neighbouring villages as well, if inhabited by relatives.[1]

Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi no work is done in the village, and the family of the deceased neither make a fire nor eat, before he is buried. But on the evening of the day of the burial

[1] *Supra*, ii. 245.

they entertain all the men of the village with a meal consisting of *sĕksŭ* with the meat of a sheep or goat which has been slaughtered for the occasion. This supper is called *amĕnsi ušą́l*, " the supper of earth ", and the dead person is also supposed to partake of it. Among the Iglíwa the family of the deceased give a meal, consisting of a kind of hard porridge called *tarwait* (in Aglu, where it is not served at funerals, called *tagúlla*), either in their house or in the mosque of the village ; but there are persons who do not like to partake of it, considering it forbidden food. The family themselves are too sad to eat on this occasion. For the same reason, I was told, they refrain from making butter of the milk obtained on the day when the death occurred ; it is not allowed to curd but is drunk fresh.

In many places, on the other hand, there is no general funeral banquet after the burial on the same day. In Andjra and among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the family of the deceased, if in good circumstances, may ask the scribes to come back to the house to recite the *fédya* or to make recitations from the Koran or even to read the whole of it during the night, and a meal—in Andjra called *ṯ-ṭă'âm ḏe 'ăša l-qbar*—is given to them ; but this meal forms part of their fee. Nor is there any funeral meal with invited guests among the Ait Temsâmän, Bni 'Ăroṣ, or Amanūz, nor at Tangier or Fez. At Tangier the family of the dead person is in the evening supplied with food by friends, and has supper with them.

At Fez, also, the persons who live in the house of the deceased are the only ones who go back there from the cemetery. They are not allowed to eat anything but bread and honey till the evening, and then cooked food and tea have to be brought or sent to them by relatives if the deceased was a grown-up person, as in such a case no food must be cooked and no tea made in the house either on the day when the person died or on the day when he is buried. Various other rules are observed at funerals by the people of Fez. Every mattress in the house must have its cotton cover (*ṭ'almêṭa*) removed. The carpets (*zrâbi*) on the floor must be replaced by mats (*ḥṣâir*) brought from a mosque. The

people must not drink water from the bowls ordinarily used for this purpose, but from cheap earthenware vessels specially bought for this occasion. After the eating of bread and honey they must not wash their hands but should wipe them with a cotton handkerchief, the guests bringing with them their own handkerchiefs. The female guests come to the house dressed in simple white clothes and wearing no ornaments; and if any woman happened to have ochre painted on her cheeks, she had to wash it away before she went there. They must not remove their *ḥîyāk* (sing. *ḥâyĕk*) on entering the house, as they do on other occasions; and they are not called *ḥṭâṭar*, which is the name given to women guests at weddings and other family feasts, but *m'ázzīn*, "condolers". The ordinary habits of life are thus changed in various respects at a funeral. And what is done then may have to be strictly avoided at other times.[1]

After the day of burial there are still various customs and rites observed in connection with the deceased. At Fez the mats brought from the mosque are left on the floor for three days, the day of death included. During the same period nothing must be removed from the house of mourning, except the dead body itself and whatever is required for the burial; and any guest who was in the house on the night after the death occurred must spend there the two following nights as well. I was told that if these rules are not observed somebody else in the house will die before long. The Ait Waráin, again, maintain that if a guest who was in the house when the person died and who remained overnight does not spend there the two following nights also, he will carry the *bạs* with him to his own home. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn any woman who is staying as a guest in a house when somebody dies there must spend the following three nights in the house, lest the *bạs* should affect her or some other member of her family. The Amanūz consider it bad if a guest in similar circumstances does not remain till the third morning after the burial. The Shlöḥ of Aglu say that anybody who was present at the death of a person and does not spend the three subsequent nights

[1] See *supra*, i. 602 *sq.*

in the room where the death took place will dream of the deceased.

At Tangier there is a prohibition of cooking food and making tea, at any rate for grown-up people, in the house of mourning during the first three days after the day of burial. Food is then brought there by friends, who also themselves partake of the meals; but nobody comes on the fourth day, the evening of which is therefore called *līlt*^{s} *l-waḥdāniya f dār l-mîyit*^{s}, "the night of solitude in the house of the deceased". The cooking of food in the house of mourning is likewise prohibited for those three days among the Bni 'Ăroṣ and in Andjra. In all these cases, however, the general prohibition of cooking does not prevent the preparation of the *sĕksŭ* which is served at the grave or in the mosque on the morning of the third day.[1] Among the Amanūz no food must be cooked in the house on the day of burial and the two following days, neighbours providing the family with food, and I was told of a similar taboo at Amzmiz. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer refrain from making *sĕksŭ* and bread with yeast during those days. At Fez tea must not be prepared in the house of mourning for three days, among the Ait Waráin not for seven days. Among the Mnáṣăra, while the other villagers make a fire as soon as the deceased has been buried, his family were said to refrain from doing so for a day or two afterwards. In Dukkâla the family in many cases prepare no food for some days after the burial, their neighbours supplying them with meals; they were said to be too sorry to think of food. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi the family are for six days after the funeral supper entertained by relatives or friends in the tents of the latter.

For some days after a death the family of the deceased do not wash or change their clothes and the men refrain from having their heads shaved (Dukkâla [among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, however, the men were said not to abstain from shaving], Amzmiz, Iglíwa); among the Bni 'Ăroṣ and the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi these abstinences last for seven days, and among the latter, if the death had been caused by violence, for a month or two or three months. The family also abstain

[1] See *infra*, pp. 475, 477.

from work for three (Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Iglíwa, Amanūz) or a few days (Aglu); among the Iglíwa they were said to do no work for three days because they have for this period to receive condolers. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn sexual intercourse is for some days avoided in the house of mourning; and for seven days nobody in the whole village is allowed to use henna, antimony, walnut root, or soap. This rule must be observed even on the death of a little child; and it is believed that a transgression of it would be attended with very serious consequences for the transgressor.

There are mourning taboos of a longer duration. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the nearest female relatives of the deceased —a mother, grandmother, daughter, and sister—mourn for a period which is not definitely fixed, but may last for a month or two or only fifteen days. During this time they refrain from washing and changing their clothes, from washing their faces (though they may wash their hands), from having matrimonial intercourse, and from using cosmetics. When the mourning is at an end women from other tents in the village come and wash the mourners and their clothes, paint the palms of their hands and the tops of their feet with henna, and smear their teeth with walnut root. For about the same period there must be no wedding in the family. But I was also told in Dukkâla that no wedding must be celebrated by a near relative of the deceased within forty days, and the same rule is observed in many other places (Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Sáḥel, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ait Waráin, Amanūz). Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer there must be no wedding in the whole village; and at Fez, if a relative of the deceased marries shortly after the forty days have passed the wedding must be quiet, without music, and the women are not allowed to wear the usual head ornaments. At Tangier for forty days after the burial the family must not wash their clothes, nor use cosmetics, nor whitewash the house, nor have any music there, nor attend a wedding, nor visit their friends; these rules also refer to relatives by affinity and are often observed even by unrelated intimate friends and their families. On the death of a little child, however, the period of mourning is reduced to some

fifteen or twenty days. Among various tribes the family of the deceased must for forty days refrain from changing their clothes or washing them, at least with soap (Andjra, Sáḥel, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ait Waráin, Amanūz), the men from having their heads shaved (Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ait Waráin, Amanūz), and the women from using cosmetics (*ibid.*, Bni 'Ăroṣ).

Among the Aiṯ Sádděn the nearest relatives of the deceased—parents and children, brothers and sisters—mourn for about a year on the death of a man. During this period the men abstain from shaving, the women from the use of cosmetics, and both sexes from washing their clothes. No wedding must be celebrated by the mourners, and while the men may be present as passive spectators at weddings held by other families in the village, the women must not go there at all. But the period of mourning may last even longer than a year; I heard of a woman who had not yet washed her clothes although her mother had been dead for more than three years. And if a man has been killed—though not if he has been killed in war, which is regarded as equivalent to natural death—his family must mourn for him until revenge has been taken or blood-money has been accepted, in case the family was not strong enough to avenge the death of its member. If blood-money is accepted before the usual period of mourning has come to an end, that period is not shortened thereby; whereas if revenge is taken, the mourning ceases at once, independently of the time it has lasted. The family wash their clothes, the men have their heads shaved, the women paint themselves with henna, antimony, and walnut root and trill the *zġârīt*, and the avenger of blood smears both his hands with henna to the wrists, and a feast is given to invited guests. Again, if a woman dies the women of the family mourn for her also about a year, though the mourning is often less strictly observed, and in the case of a sister is frequently of shorter duration than on the death of a man; and the men of the family mourn only for two or three months or even less. The mourning for a child is the same as that for a woman, unless the child dies quite young; in such a case the mourning may be shortened to a couple of weeks, though it generally

lasts longer on the death of a first-born child. More distant relatives, such as cousins, mourn for a man perhaps three or four months.

A widow's mourning (*l-'ädda*) lasts, according to the Muhammadan law, four months and ten days; but in some places in Morocco it has been reduced by custom to four months (Aglu, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), three months and ten days (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or three months (Ṭemsâmän, Bni 'Ăroṣ). Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, on the other hand, her family would not allow her to re-marry until the period of mourning for a near relative, that is about a year, has passed, and her mourning is of a particularly rigid character. A widow who is pregnant by her former husband is nowhere permitted to marry until she has given birth to the child.

Besides being prohibited from re-marrying, a widow is subject to various other rules during her period of mourning. She must refrain from the use of cosmetics and finery, and is not allowed to attend any wedding or other feast. She should be dressed in plain white (Fez, Tangier, Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer); she may be forbidden to leave her home (Bni 'Ăroṣ, Andjra, Iglíwa, Amanūz, Aglu) or to take a bath (Andjra). Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz she has to observe the same rules as the women who are mourning for a near relative. At Fez she cannot go to a hot bath nor leave her house except on Fridays to visit the grave of her husband; and should she go to one of her friends she would probably not be received, because her visit would be considered a cause of evil. At Tangier she can only leave her house on the third day after the funeral to go to her husband's grave together with the other women, and she must not see the face of any man belonging to her family; if she is poor she may wash her clothes, but only with water without soap, and she must not speak about it. Among the Iglíwa and Amanūz and at Aglu she has to wear the clothes which she had on when her husband died, and if she washes them she must do it inside the house. Among the Iglíwa she wears on her head a piece of the cloth out of which her husband's shroud was made, partly covering her face with it; and I was informed that the same custom

also prevails among Arabic-speaking people in the neighbourhood of Marráksh. At Tangier many widows wear the shirt or drawers or some other garment belonging to their late husband's dress, or his rosary.

There are everywhere not only taboos but rites of a positive character to be observed after the day of burial has passed. In country places condolers continue to come from other villages and the former ceremonies are repeated. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the *ḥazzâ̤nāt*, or professional wailing-women, stay for three days outside the tent of mourning, at least if its inhabitants are fairly well-off, and whenever visitors come they begin to wail and rub their faces as before, the women of the family and the female visitors joining in the ceremony. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn groups of women come from neighbouring villages, and when they are at some distance from the house or tent of mourning they begin to wail and scratch their faces. When the women inside hear their lamentations they go into the yard and receive the visitors with similar expressions of grief, but they do not rub themselves with cow-dung and other dirt as on previous occasions. Male condolers also come, in groups by themselves, but they are less numerous than the women. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi the women of the deceased person's family were said to wail and rub themselves with dirt for seven days.[1]

At Fez, if the deceased was a well-to-do man, some scribes come to his house every morning for three days after the funeral and recite there some portions of the Koran for about half an hour. At Tangier there are no such recitations in the house of mourning, but on the three mornings following the day of burial scribes—or it may be a single scribe only—will go before sunrise to the grave and recite there the *yā sīn* or the *tˢabârak* as well. The men belonging to the dead person's family also visit the grave on these mornings; in summer they pour water over it on the third morning, and the women do the same in the afternoon. The family

[1] Leo Africanus says (*op. cit.* ii. 453) that the "heathenish superstitions" of the low-class women at Fez "continue for seuen whole daies together". *Cf.* Höst, *op. cit.* p. 117.

then visit the grave every day till the fortieth day, except the widow of the deceased—if he was a married man,—who has to stay at home. In Andjra and among the Bni ʿĂroṣ,[1] the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, and the Ait Temsâmän scribes likewise make recitations from the Koran at the grave on the first three mornings after the burial. In Andjra, after they have gone away, the women come there and weep and pour water on the grave; and on the third morning the scribes are entertained with *kŭsksŭ* and meat either in the mosque of the village or at the grave, a meal called *ṭ-ṭăʿâm ḍe l-mlăzmīn*, "the food of those who must", that is, the scribes who must go and read at the grave. Among the Bni ʿĂroṣ the men of the dead person's family pour water on the grave on the third morning when they come and entertain the scribes with the *kŭsksŭ l-mlăzmīn*. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, also, water is poured over the grave on the third day, and the scribes are then entertained with bread and meat in the house of mourning after finishing their recitations. In the Ḥiáina the scribes, accompanied by other grown-up men, go to the grave and read there on the morning after the burial. After this a meal consisting of *sĕksŭ* with meat is served to them in the house of mourning; this meal is called *ṣbaḥ l-qbar*, "the morning of the grave".

Ceremonial eating forms a conspicuous feature of the ritual following the day of burial. In the Ḥiáina a supper called *ʿăšaᵗˢ l-qbar*, "the supper of the grave", is on the evening after that day given in the house of mourning with the *fqī* and scribes and other people as guests. On the next morning the women and children go to the grave, taking with them figs and small loaves of bread called *bŭšiyaṛ*, which they eat at the grave in company with the poor who have assembled there. This is called *t-ᵗˢĕfrêq*, "the distribution". The women and children also bring with them stones, with which they make rings round the grave.

Among the Ulâd Bŭʿăzîz the women and children of the dead person's family likewise visit the grave on "the third day", the day of burial being counted as the first. They put on the top of it thin round loaves of bread, made with salt

[1] *Cf.* Michaux-Bellaire, *op. cit.* p. 142 (Habṭ)

butter (*smen*) and therefore called *lĕ-msémmen*, and partake of them together with anybody else who is present. I was told that no men take part in this ceremony, called *t-tfrēq* ; but at Mazagan the food, also including ordinary bread and dried figs and dates, which is taken to the grave by the women, is partly distributed to poor people of either sex who come there to eat with them.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, if the deceased was a married man his widow, and otherwise his mother, sister, or aunt, goes on the same day to the grave with dried figs or, if she has none, two or three loaves of bread, and distributes them there to the children whom she has asked to go with her ; but if there is no near female relative of the deceased this rite is not observed. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a "supper" (*iměnsi*) is then given in the house of mourning, as has been said in another connection.[1] There are similar customs among the Shlöḥ on the third day, which, however, may also be the third day after the day of burial. At Amzmiz bread and dried fruit are distributed at the grave ; some of the people present eat it there, whereas others take it with them to their homes. Among the Iglíwa *sěksů*, often a considerable quantity, is taken by the family of the deceased to the mosque of the village, where it is eaten by the other villagers, the family themselves afterwards having their meal in their own house. But one dish, with meat and salt butter though without gravy, is taken to the grave by women and children for the so-called *imensi n wad immûtn*, "the supper of the dead one". In Aglu the family of the deceased have a meal, chiefly consisting of *sěksů*, in their house with friends as guests, and entertain the scribes in the mosque ; but if they are well-to-do and have engaged a band of scribes to recite the whole Koran at the grave, the meal is served there. Among the Amanūz, on the third morning after the day of burial, a meal of *sěksů* with meat, called *lma'rûf*, is given at the grave to scribes and poor people ; the scribes make *fâṭḥa*, but there are no recitations from the Koran. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, on the same morning, the women of the dead person's family offer *iuẓan*

[1] *Supra*, ii. 248.

—that is, porridge made of pounded barley boiled in water and mixed with salt butter—to the people who come to the grave, without eating of it themselves; and it is believed that if no meal were given at the grave the deceased would have earth in his mouth. The scribes, however, do not partake of this meal but, as said above, are entertained in the house of the family after they have finished their reading at the grave. Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ the women of the family, accompanied by women friends, go in the afternoon of the same day to the grave and give bread and dried figs to all who gather there.

At Tangier, on the third morning after the day of burial before sunrise, the men of the dead person's family take to the grave *sĕksŭ*, which is eaten there by the scribes and other persons present, especially poor people, and a little of it is also thrown on the grave to be eaten by birds and insects, which is considered to confer merit on the deceased; but the men who brought it do not partake of the meal. This rite is called *nhār t-tˢeltˢîyām*, "the third day", or *ṣboḥ l-qbōr*, "the mornings of the graves". The women say that if it is not observed the mouth of the dead person will be filled with earth. On the same day in the afternoon about *'âṣar* the women of the family go to the grave with bread and figs or raisins and distribute them to the poor and other people who are gathered there, eating nothing thereof themselves. This is called *t-tˢfrēq*, or "the distribution". They also put a little of the bread and dried fruit into the earth at the head of the grave to be eaten by the ants; it is as though the dead person ate it. They sit down round the grave and chant two or three hundred times, *Lā iláha illa llāh*, adding after each hundred the words, *Seiyidunā Mŭḥammädun ṣálla lláhŭ 'aléihi wă sälläm*.

At Fez there is also a ceremonial meal on the third day after the day of burial. The female relatives of the deceased living in other houses bring to the house of mourning small tables (*miâdi*) loaded with food, one from each house. In the middle of the table (*mîda*) there is an earthenware dish (*ṭăjīn*) containing boiled meat or fowl, round the dish there are loaves of bread, and over all this there is a conical cover

(*mkeb*). The tables are brought to the house after *'âṣar*. The women who bring them are first entertained with tea, and the food is then partaken of by all the women present. This meal is called *lą̈-'ša di dār g-gnâza*, "the supper of the house of the funeral". The women visitors remain in the house overnight and go away on the following morning after they have had their breakfast. Early on the same morning the family of the deceased sènd *sĕksŭ* to the grave, where it is eaten by the poor who have assembled there. This meal given to them in charity is supposed to benefit the dead person. It is called *'ăšát^s l-qbar*, "the supper of the grave".

Among the Mnâṣăra nothing is eaten at the grave until the seventh day, the day of burial being counted as the first, when bread and dried figs are distributed there to scribes and poor people; and I found the same custom in the village l-Huawîyĕn in the Ġarbîya. Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi there is likewise no ceremonial meal after the day of burial until the sixth day. An animal is then slaughtered and a meal of *sĕksŭ* with meat is served in the tent of the family, where no food has been partaken of since the *amĕnsi ušą̈l*; and now tea is also drunk in the tent, for the first time since the death occurred.

Certain rites are often performed on the fortieth day after the burial.[1] At Tangier the morning and afternoon ceremonies of the third day are again repeated at the grave on *nhār l-árbă'in*. Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ scribes recite there in the morning the *yā sīn*, and *sĕksŭ* or only bread and figs are offered to everybody present. Among the Ait Temsâmän scribes are likewise asked to make recitations at the grave and are entertained with *sĕksŭ* or bread and meat; and afterwards the women of the dead person's family distribute there bread or dried figs to poor people and children and also pour water on the grave. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer there is reading both at the grave and in the house of mourning. The family slaughter a goat or sheep or a small ox and offer some of the meat together with bread at the grave; on this occasion neither the members of the family

[1] See also Meakin, *The Moors*, p. 384; Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 156.

nor the scribes eat anything, but after reciting a chapter of the Koran the latter go to the house and are entertained there with food. In Andjra recitations are made in the mosque on the fortieth day and a meal is served there for the scribes, but there is no distribution of food at the grave. Among the Amanūz *sĕksû* with meat and vegetables is on the same day sent to the mosque to be eaten by the scribes and schoolboys and poor people; this meal is called "the *lma'rûf* of the person who died forty days ago". And when the stones and thorny branches which were placed on the grave after the interment are removed four months and ten days afterwards, scribes are called to the house of mourning to recite the *súlka*; they are then entertained there with *sĕksû* and mutton, while the same kind of food is offered to the other people in the mosque.

There is sometimes a ceremony about a year after the death took place, in the same month though not necessarily on the same date. At Tangier a father's or a mother's death is then commemorated by the children, who invite scribes to the house to recite either the great or the small *fédya* and entertain them with a meal. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the completion of the long period of mourning, lasting for about a year, is immediately followed by a feast. The supper then given, simply called *iměnsi*, "the supper", is considered even more obligatory than the *aslam uwáḥal* on the evening of the day of burial; the latter may be omitted by poor people, but even the poorest family is expected to save enough to procure what is required for the *iměnsi*. This feast is accompanied with recitations from the Koran made by scribes, or at least by one scribe, at the grave. If the scribes arrive before *'âṣar* and the cemetery is not too far from the village, the reading at the grave precedes the supper, but otherwise it takes place on the following morning. Besides the scribes all the villagers — men, women, and children,—as also invited guests from neighbouring villages and relatives living elsewhere, are present at the feast. The skin of the sheep slaughtered for this occasion is given to the scribes, who are besides, as usual, remunerated with money.

The graves of the dead are visited on other occasions

besides those already mentioned. At Fez the relatives of the departed go to his grave on the first three Fridays subsequent to his burial, unless it took place on a Thursday, in which case the grave is not visited on the day after but on the following three Fridays. They lay on the grave myrtle sprigs, flowers, mint, and one or two palm leaves (*jrīd*). The nearest relatives also afterwards visit the grave on Fridays, though it is not necessary that they should do so every week. On these later occasions they take nothing with them to the grave; but the men recite there something from the Koran, and the women ask God to be merciful to the departed.

At Tangier the members of the deceased person's family are expected to visit the grave every Friday or Thursday afternoon after *'áṣar*, unless they are prevented from doing so by some cogent reason; the men go there by preference in the morning and the women in the afternoon. They put myrtle sprigs on the grave; and the *yā sīn*, the *tˢabârak*, or the *sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*, is recited there on these occasions, the last-mentioned chapter eleven times. To visit the graves on Fridays or Thursday afternoons is in fact a very widespread custom (Tetuan, Aṯ Ubáḫṭi, etc.).[1] In Andjra and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ myrtle sprigs are put on the grave, and recitations are often made there; and among the latter the grave is watered. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the headstone (*šâḥĕd*) is smeared with a mixture of henna, water, and dried and pounded roses and pinks, particularly at the grave of a woman; and sometimes the visitors bring with them one or two scribes, who read there and receive in return bread or money as *ṣadáqt l-mîyit*, "alms of the dead person". Among the Ait Temsâmän and the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the graves are visited by women, rarely by men; and among the latter bread or figs are given to people found at the cemetery, or water is poured at the head of the grave.

[1] See also Addison, *West Barbary* (Oxford, 1671), p. 206; Pidou de St. Olon, *op. cit.* p. 53; Braithwaite, *op. cit.* p. 365; de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788), p. 292; Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 364; *Idem*, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu*, p. 85 (Ait Wauzgit).

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the graves of relatives are visited on Fridays chiefly by women somewhat advanced in years, but not very frequently and only for a year or even a shorter time after the death of their friend. The Ait Waráin do not consider it very obligatory to go to the graves of relatives on Fridays; and among the Iglíwa most people do not care to visit them at any time. Among the Amanūz graves are visited on Friday and Monday; at Aglu on Monday and Thursday; among the Ntifa, according to M. Laoust, on Monday.[1]

On the *'āšûra* day much attention is bestowed on the dead. At Tangier bread and dried fruit or money are distributed in charity at the grave, water is poured on it or given to the poor, and small earthenware bottles (*brírdāt*^{s}) are bought at the market-place and presented to children by parents whose own children have died, one bottle on behalf of each deceased child. At Mequinez such bottles are not only given in charity but also, filled with water, placed on the graves, so that the dead, I was told, shall be able to quench their thirst on the day of resurrection. At Mazagan the cemetery is on the *'āšûra* morning visited by practically all the town, the scribes of course included. Water is poured on the graves, and bread and dried fruit are given to the poor and to the scribes, who also receive money for their recitations; and these alms are given even by people who have no relatives buried in the graveyard. At Demnat I saw the graves being watered on the same morning, and dried fruit and money are then distributed to the poor. The same is done at Amzmiz, where myrtle sprigs and henna are besides strewn on the graves; and at Marráksh, too, the graves are watered and strewn with myrtle on that morning.[2] At Fez some people pour water on the graves of their

[1] Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 309. M. Mouliéras states (*Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. [Paris, 1899], p. 426) that while the southern Jbâla visit their graves on Friday, the northern ones do so on Monday and Friday. I have not found the latter statement confirmed with regard to the Jbâla of Andjra and the Bni 'Āros.

[2] For the visiting of graves at Marráksh see also Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 364 *sq.*

deceased relatives on the *'āšûra* day, but it is not the general custom to do so.

In many country places there are similar rites on the *'āšûra* day. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the family of the deceased go to the grave early in the morning and distribute there bread and dried figs, dates, and walnuts as alms on behalf of their dead friend, and pour water on the grave; and if there is a scribe among them he will read something from the Koran. They distribute similar alms and water at the market; and if the deceased was a child the parents buy small earthenware jars and give them to children both there and in the cemetery, to fill with water and drink from. It is believed that the dead child will reward the parents for these alms by offering them the jars filled with water on the day of resurrection. In Andjra and among the Bni 'Ăroṣ scribes make recitations from the Koran at the graves, money is given them when they have finished, bread and figs are distributed to all who are present, myrtle sprigs are laid on the graves and water is poured on the latter, in Andjra by children who carry with them small earthenware jars. It is said that the pouring of water, the reading of the Koran, and the almsgiving will make God merciful to the departed. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, on the *'āšûra* morning, men and women go to the graves of their dead relatives and have there a meal of *sěksů*, bread, and figs; but they only eat food which has been brought by others, not their own food. If there is water in the neighbourhood they also pour water on the graves. It is said that if alms are not given in the cemetery on this day, the dead will suffer from hunger and thirst and weep in their graves; and should children then refrain from visiting the graves of their parents, they would be cursed by them. Among the Ait Waráin water is on the same morning poured on the graves of deceased members of the family, dried figs are distributed on their behalf, and parents who have lost a little child give small jars (*tiqṣrîyin*, sing. *taqṣrišt*) filled with water to the children of poor people as alms for the sake of the child. The Aiṭ Sádděn, who have the same custom, call these jars, which they buy at Fez, *ṭiqllûšin* (sing. *ṭaqllušṭ*) *n 'ašûra*, and the water with which

they are filled *aman n nbīr Zĕmzĕm*, "water of the well Zemzem"; but they do not visit the graves on the *'āšûra* day, of which they in fact take little notice. The Aiṭ Mjild water the graves on the *'āšûra* morning and put dried fruit on the top of them to be eaten by poor people. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi dried figs and dates are on that morning distributed on behalf of deceased members of the family. The same is done by the Amanūz and at least occasionally by the Iglíwa; they also give bread and money in charity and sometimes put myrtle sprigs on the graves, and the Amanūz, but not as a rule the Iglíwa, pour water on them. In Aglu, I was told, there is no pouring of water, but bread, dried fruit, and rice are distributed. On the other hand, the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi, like the Aiṭ Sádděn, do not visit their graves on the *'āšûra* day.[1]

The graves of deceased members of the family are also visited on the twenty-sixth (Tangier, Andjra, Bni 'Ăroṣ, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṭemsâmän, Amanūz) or twenty-seventh (Iglíwa, Aglu [2]) day of Ramaḍān; on the 'Arafa day preceding the Great Feast (Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṭemsâmän, Aiṭ Sádděn, Iglíwa, Amanūz) or on the second day of that feast (Bni 'Ăroṣ); and sometimes at the Little Feast or on the day preceding it (Aiṭ Sádděn, Aṭ Ubáḥṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṭemsâmän) and at the *mûlūd* (Aṭ Ubáḥṭi, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz *msémmen*, or thin round loaves of bread made with salt butter, are at the religious feasts distributed in the tent to the children of the family and other children as "alms of the dead" It should be added that a person who visits a grave must be clean. In Andjra I was told that if he does not remove his slippers before entering the cemetery he will have sore feet, that if he is sexually unclean he will have syphilis, and that he should be dressed in his best clothes and on no account come there without drawers.

We have seen that, on the expiration of the fast of Ramaḍān, *fĕṭra* is in some places also given on behalf of departed members of the household.[3] Among the Aiṭ

[1] See also Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 364 (Ḥáḥa).
[2] See also *ibid.* p. 365 (Marráksh).
[3] *Supra*, ii. 100 *sqq.*

Sádděn, when the men early in the morning take their *fṭra* to the mosque, they at the same time bring with them dried figs as *ṣṣḏaqṯ*, or alms, on behalf of deceased relatives. They exchange figs with one another and also give some to the boys and youths who have gathered there; or, especially if they are late, they throw their figs at people whom they find outside the mosque or anywhere else. Nobody is allowed to eat of these figs before his *fṭra* has been given away. The women likewise distribute figs or, in many cases, bread specially made for the purpose, but they do not take their alms to the mosque.

There are yet other occasions on which alms should be given on behalf of the dead, either at their graves or otherwise, namely, when they appear to their living friends in dreams (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ḥiáina), or when the latter dream of figs or other kinds of dried fruit (Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). In Andjra there is a belief that if anybody dreams of a departed relative, the soul of the latter has come to him to complain of the heavy punishment which God or his angels are inflicting on him. The dreamer must then give alms in order to relieve him of his suffering; if his grave is near, scribes are asked to go there and read, and *kŭsksŭ* or bread or money is given both to the scribes and to poor people who come to the cemetery. At Fez, if a person dreams of a dead relative who appears to him in a pitiable condition, sick or dressed in dirty clothes, he has to give charity to the poor. There is the same custom in Tangier; and if the deceased complains of hunger and thirst some *rġaif*, or thin cakes of bread made with oil or butter, and milk are sent to the *fqī* of a school to give to the children. My friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam was once told by his mother, living in that town, that her late husband appeared to her in a dream, saying that he was very hungry; and she then took a dish of *sĕksŭ* to his grave. Among the Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz, if anybody dreams of a dead person of another family complaining of hunger or thirst, he at once tells his dream to the relatives of the deceased, who give alms on his behalf. Among the Ait Waráin, if a member of the family of a dead person is visited in his dreams by the spirit of the latter who is sighing for the property he left behind, he goes

to his grave and thrusts into the head part of it a peg taken from the tent which once belonged to the deceased; the spirit of the dead man thus gets something of that which he is longing for and will henceforth leave his living relatives in peace. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz have another method of getting rid of dead people troubling them in their dreams. If a deceased who appears to them gives them something it is good *fäl*; but if he comes empty-handed the person who dreams of him gets frightened, goes to some stone outside the tent, raises it a little, mentions his dream with his mouth close to the ground, and then lets down the stone to cover up the *bạs* of the dream. This done, he addresses the dead person with the words, *Ḥăjârak išídduk*, "May your stones (that is, the *läḥd*) shut you up".

Some time after the burial, but not until forty days have elapsed, the grave may be decorated with some kind of monumental masonry, if the family of the deceased can afford the expense. At Fez an upright whitewashed *šâhed* is erected at the head, and in front of it is made a low wall (*ḥwîyẹš*), likewise whitewashed, to enclose the grave. The space inside the wall may be left covered with earth only, or it may be paved with tiles of different colours. The *šâhed* is ornamented with an engraved arch (*tˢăqwệsa*) or, if the *ḥwîyẹš* surrounds more than one grave, with as many arches as there are graves. It is often inscribed with an epitaph containing the name of the deceased and the date of his death;[1] but I was told that if anybody reads such an inscription his memory will be weakened by it. There are also graves with a *ḥwîyẹš* or a mosaic floor (*jéllīj*) without a *šâhed*. The tombs vary considerably both in type and size; Figs. 137-139 show some specimens from Fez and Rabat.[2] Of tombs erected over the graves of saints I have spoken in another connection.[3]

There are persons who arrange their own funeral in

[1] Leo Africanus, who made a collection of epitaphs both at Fez and in other parts of Barbary, says (*op. cit.* ii. 474) that their matter "is diuers, some tending to consolation, and others to sorrow".

[2] *Cf.* Höst, *op. cit.* 117 *sq.*

[3] *Supra*, i. 51 *sqq.*

advance, for fear that otherwise it might not be conducted in the proper manner. Such a person buys his grave-clothing and invites scribes to his house or tent. At Tangier he sprinkles the clothing with rose- or orange-water and fumigates it with incense, and lays it down among the scribes, who read over it the *súlka*, the great *fédya*, or the small *fédya*, and then make *fâtˢḥa*; the clothing is put in a box, and the scribes are entertained with a meal. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz and the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the scribes likewise

Fig. 137.—Cemetery at Rabat.

make their recitations with the grave-clothing in front or in the midst of them, and they are lavishly entertained. In other tribes the rites are more elaborate Among the Ait Waráin the person who arranges his funeral removes his clothes and is then washed and put in his shroud, and a band of scribes read over him. A feast is given with the scribes and other persons as guests, and poor people, too, are entertained with food. A grave is also dug; the lower trough of it is filled with barley and then covered, and the upper part is filled with earth. When the person dies the

barley is taken out and given to poor people. Until then the grave is on Fridays fumigated with benzoin, and recitations from the Koran are made there either by the person himself or by some *fqī* whom he has engaged for the purpose; and the grave-clothing is on every Friday taken out of its box and likewise fumigated with benzoin. But all this is of no avail if the person does not lead a good and pious life until his death.

The Aiṭ Sádděn believe that a person will go to Paradise if he arranges his funeral in advance, but only if he lives

FIG. 138.—Cemetery outside Bäb Fṭöḥ at Fez.

blamelessly ever after and observes the following rule. However wealthy he may be, however many animals he may possess, and though his granary be full of corn, he must buy everything that is necessary for the funeral—the grave-clothing, the sheep and corn for the funeral meal, even the matches for the making of a fire—with money which he has earned himself by work specially performed for this purpose. He gathers palmetto leaves and makes of them ropes which he sells; or if he does not know how to make ropes, he works as a hireling on another person's field, or does some other work for wages. The money must be earned by good and lawful work, it must be

lflus n lḥläl. When he has earned enough he calls a considerable number of scribes to come and read the Koran in the yard outside his house over the grave-clothing, which he has placed there on a clean kerchief bought for the purpose. While they are reading he fumigates it with agal-wood or benzoin or other good incense, and when they have finished their reading and performed the *fâṭḥa* he pays them for their services. He packs up the clothing in a box to be made use of on his death. Either before or after the reading he gives a great feast, to which he invites all the villagers and relatives

FIG. 139.—Cemetery outside Bāb Fṭ'öḥ at Fez

and friends from other villages as guests. He has asked some women to prepare the food, but they must do it willingly, not for pay. He digs himself the grave, puts inside it a bamboo cane or a thick rope of the length of his body, places stones as *lälḥûḏ* (*läḥd*) over the measure, and shovels the earth back into the grave ; or if he does not do all this himself he hires others to do it for him. No stones, however, are put on the grave. Funerals of this sort are arranged both by men and women, but they are certainly rare.

Among the Amanūz a man sometimes has his grave

dug in advance, *ikfafn* (*läḥd*) are placed over the bottom part of it, and the upper part is filled with earth. He visits the grave on Fridays and makes there recitations from the Koran; and he also has his shroud ready for use.

CHAPTER XXI

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH (*concluded*)

THE funeral and mourning rites of Morocco are on the whole very similar to those found in other Muhammadan countries. They are largely in agreement with the tenets of Islam; but there are also many customary rites which are not prescribed by the religious law, and some which are actually prohibited by it. While Islam accepted or allowed certain practices prevalent among the pagan Arabs, there were others which it in vain endeavoured to suppress.

In the Muhammadan traditions it is said that a dying person is saved from hell by repeating the profession of the faith,[1] although somebody present is exhorted to do it on his behalf so as to relieve him of the trouble.[2] On the other hand, the frequent[3] practice of reciting a chapter of the Koran beside a dying man—which among the Muhammadans of India, as in Morocco, is supposed to make him "experience an easy concentration"[4]—is deemed reprehensible by Sīdī Ḫalīl.[5] The same authority says that as soon as a Moslem has died his eyes should be closed, his chin supported, his limbs made flexible, the whole body covered with a piece of

[1] *Mishkāt*, v. 3. 2 (English translation by Matthews, vol. i. [Calcutta, 1809], p. 361).

[2] *Ibid.* v. 3. 1, 3 (vol. i. 360, 362).

[3] Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India* (Madras, 1863), p. 277; Polak, *Persien*, i. (Leipzig, 1865), p. 362.

[4] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 277.

[5] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *Muḫtaṣar*, i. 2. 20. 10 (translation by Perron, vol. i. [Paris, 1848], p. 310 *sq.*).

cloth or a large garment, and some heavy object placed on the belly.[1] Lane remarks that it is the custom in some Muhammadan countries to place a knife, or rather a sword, upon the body, though he did not hear of this custom in Egypt.[2] The other practices recommended by Sīdī Ḫalīl are certainly very widespread, if not universal in Islam. It is also common to close the mouth of the dead person,[3] to tie together his big toes [4] or ankles,[5] and to stuff the apertures of the body with cotton.[6] The custom of kissing a person who is dying or who has just expired is likewise found among the Moslems of the East ; [7] the Prophet himself kissed the forehead of one of his faithful followers when dead,[8] as Joseph kissed the face of his father's corpse.[9] In Arabia Petraea some water is dropped into the mouth of a dying person to facilitate the exit of his soul,[10] and among the Muhammadans of India *shurbut* made of sugar is for a similar

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *Muḫtaṣar*, i. 2. 20. 4 (vol. i. 294 *sq.*).

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 259 n. 1. The Malays of the Malay Peninsula place a pair of betel-nut scissors on the breast of the corpse (Skeat, *Malay Magic* [London, 1900], p. 398).

[3] Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien, 1908), p. 423 ; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 278 (Muhammadans of India) ; C. G. and Brenda Z. Seligman, 'The Kabâbîsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, ii. (Cambridge, 1918), p. 168.

[4] Lane, *op. cit.* p. 259 n. 1 ; von Wrede, *Reise in Ḥadhramaut* (Braunschweig, 1870), p. 234 ; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 278 (Muhammadans of India) ; Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World* (London, 1910), p. 110 (Persia).

[5] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 518.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 518 (Egypt) ; von Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 234 (Ḥaḍramaut) ; Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 423 (Arabia Petraea) ; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 242 ; Loir, 'Usages et coutumes au moment de la mort chez les Tunisiens', in *Revue scientifique*, ser. iv. vol. xiv. (Paris, 1900), p. 237 ; Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 401 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula).

[7] Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 242 (Palestine) ; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 96 ; Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 401 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula).

[8] Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii. (London, 1898), p. 32.

[9] *Genesis*, l. 1.

[10] Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 423.

reason poured down his throat.[1] In a song from the Libyan desert reference is made to the custom of dropping water into his mouth, which is explained by the saying that a man must not enter thirsty into the other world.[2]

The visits of relatives and friends when a person is dying and after his death are in accordance with the Muhammadan traditions, which lay it down as a duty to visit the sick [3] and promise one who consoles another in affliction a reward equal to his who suffers with patience.[4] Sīdī Ḫalīl says that it is a duty to pay a visit of condolence to the nearest relatives of the deceased and offer them religious consolation.[5] To pay visits of condolence is also a general Muhammadan custom.[6] Among the Kabyles of Jurjura, as among the Iglíwa, the regular period for such visits is that of the first three days.[7] In Palestine the condolers often bring with them presents of food.[8] The legal formula of condolence is, "May God make your reward great". In Mecca the condoler often adds, "May God compensate you with good"; and the answer is, "May God reward you with good".[9] The female condolers join in the expressions of grief exhibited

[1] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 278.

[2] Hartmann, *Lieder der Libyschen Wüste* (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausg. von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xi. no. 3 [Leipzig, 1899]), p. 69.

[3] Al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xxiii. 2 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. i. [Paris, 1903], p. 401); *Mishkāt*, v. 1. 1. (vol. i. 339 *sq.*).

[4] *Mishkāt*, v. 7. 2 (vol. i. 393).

[5] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 303).

[6] Burton, in his translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. (London, 1894), p. 180 n. 1; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 101 (Moab); Eijūb Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 88, 90, 91, 101; Thorburn, *Bannú; or our Afghán Frontier* (London, 1876), p. 170 (Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan); Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), p. 586 (Accara); Poiret, *Travels through Barbary* (London, [1791]), p. 175 (Algeria).

[7] Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. (Paris, 1873), p. 221.

[8] Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), pp. 156. 160.

[9] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889), p. 190.

by the women of the dead person's family, though they may be more moderate in their behaviour.[1]

Violent demonstrations of grief, such as shrieking and loud lamentations, scratching the face and the arms, tearing the hair, and rending or soiling the clothes, are an extremely frequent mourning rite among the women in different parts of the Moslem world.[2] Yet these practices were strictly prohibited by the Prophet.[3] He did not condemn the natural expression of sorrow; he wept himself over his son when at

[1] d'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (London, 1718), p. 270 (Carmel).

[2] Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. (Halle a. S., 1889), p. 261 *sqq.*; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. (Wien, 1877), p. 250 *sq.*; von Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 234 (Ḥaḍramaut); Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 188 (Mecca); Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London, 1830), p. 58; Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus* (Cambridge, 1871), p. 94 (Sinai); Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 427, 429 *sqq.* (Arabia Petraea); Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 96 (Moab); Wetzstein, 'Die syrische Dreschtafel', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. (Berlin, 1873), p. 295 *sqq.*; Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 586; Baldensperger, 'Birth, Marriage, and Death among the Fellahin of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1894* (London), p. 140 *sqq.*; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 128; Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 241 *sqq.* (Palestine); von Mülinen, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxx. (Leipzig, 1907), p. 174; d'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 269 *sq.* (Carmel); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 516, 517, 519, 520, 532 *sq.*; Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, ii. (Paris, 1840), p. 46 *sq.*; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 199 *sqq.*; Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 143 *sqq.* (modern Egyptians); Falls, *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* (London, 1913), p. 320; Pallme, *Travels in Kordofan* (London, 1844), p. 87 *sq.*; Tully, *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli in Africa* (London, 1816), p. 92 *sq.*; Vivian, *Tunisia and the Modern Barbary Pirates* (London, 1899), p. 80 *sq.*; Shaw, *Travels or Observations, relating to several Parts of Barbary*, i. (Edinburgh, 1808), p. 435; Pananti, *Narrative of a Residence in Algiers* (London, 1818), p. 215; Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle* (Paris & Alger, 1884), p. 265 *sq.*; Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* (Alger, 1888), p. 192; Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 169 *sqq.*, and Daumas, *La vie arabe* (Paris, 1869), p. 137 (Algeria); Lucy Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-Lore*, ii. (London, 1891), p. 491; Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs* (Edinburgh & London, 1896), p. 210 *sq.*; Polak, *op. cit.* i. 362 (Persia).

[3] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 38 *sq.* (vol. i. 419).

the point of death,[1] as also at his mother's grave.[2] "Whatever is from the eyes, which are tears, and whatever be from the heart, which is melancholy and sorrow, are from God's pleasure and compassion"; but "what is from the hands and tongue is from the devil".[3] The Prophet is also reported to have said that he was vexed "with the person who rends hair in misfortune, and raises his voice in crying, and rends the collar of his garment",[4] and that "a corpse over which lamentations are made will be punished on account of them on the day of resurrection".[5] Affliction should be borne with patience,[6] and so far as the dead person is concerned there is no reason to lament his fate. Though dreadful to an infidel, death is a favour to a Moslem, who gets rest in death from the vexations of the world and arrives at God's mercy; when he is near death, God gives him the joyful tidings that he is satisfied with him and holds him in esteem.[7] But the Prophet did not succeed in suppressing the old custom handed down from "the days of ignorance". It was deeply rooted in Semitic antiquity. In Babylonia and Assyria[8] and among the ancient Hebrews[9] sorrowing relatives tore their clothing and wailed, and so did the female mourners among the pagan Arabs.[10] Professional wailing-women, so frequent among Muhammadans,[11] existed in the earliest days of Babylonian history[12] and among the Arabs.[13]

There can be no doubt that the violent demonstrations of grief in Morocco have a Semitic origin. They are regarded

[1] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 44 (vol. i. 421); *Mishkāt*, v. 7. 1 (vol. i. 389 *sq.*).

[2] *Mishkāt*, v. 8. 1 (vol. i. 401 *sq.*).

[3] *Ibid.* v. 7. 3 (vol. i. 397). [4] *Ibid.* v. 7. 1 (vol. i. 391).

[5] *Ibid.* v. 7. 3 (vol. i. 393 *sq.*). See also al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 33 (vol. i. 414 *sqq.*).

[6] *Mishkāt*, v. 7. 2 (vol. i. 392). [7] *Ibid.* v. 2. 1 *sq.* (vol. i. 356 *sq.*).

[8] Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 603 *sq.*

[9] Keil, *Manual of Biblical Archæology*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 202.

[10] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 181; Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 251.

[11] Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 128 (Palestine); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 517, 520; Tully, *op. cit.* p. 93 (Tripoli); Loir, *loc. cit.* p. 237 (Tunis); Shaw, *op. cit.* i. 435 *sq.* (Tunis and Algeria).

[12] Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 604. [13] Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 251.

there as an "Arab" custom and, so far as I know, are found only among the Arabic-speaking tribes of the plains and among the Brâber and the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda. If it had been an original Berber custom as well, we cannot suppose that Islam would have been able to abolish it among the Shlöḥ, Rifians, and Jbâla any more than it could do so among the Arabs of the East. The same may be said of the practice of cutting the hair, which in Morocco seems to exist only where there are wailing and other excessive demonstrations of grief. This rite also prevailed among the ancient Arabs,[1] as well as in Babylonia and Assyria,[2] and has survived in various parts of the Moslem world,[3] though it was forbidden by the Prophet.[4] In Algeria it is said to occur only among families that consider themselves to be of Arabic origin.[5] The celebration of the virtues of the deceased has also persisted [6] in spite of the interdiction of the Prophet, who declared that the virtues thus ascribed to a dead person would, if he did not possess them, be subjects of reproach to him in a future state.[7]

The washing of the dead body is prescribed by the religious law,[8] which thus sanctioned an old Arab custom.[9] The water should be clean,[10] and the person who washes the body should be in a state of ritual purity.[11] The shroud

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 181 *sq.*; Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 247 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Le sacrifice de la chevelure chez les arabes', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xiv. (Paris, 1886), p. 50. [2] Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 603.

[3] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* p. 58; Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 427 (Arabia Petraea).

[4] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 38 (vol. i. 419).

[5] Morand, 'Les rites relatifs à la chevelure chez les indigènes de l'Algérie', in *Revue africaine*, xlix. (Alger, 1905), p. 238 *sq.*

[6] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 188 (Mecca); Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* (London, 1830), p. 178 *sq.*; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 97 (Moab); d'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 270 (Carmel); Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 129 (Palestine); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 520; Pananti, *op. cit.* p. 215, Daumas, *op. cit.* p. 137 *sqq.*, and Villot, *op. cit.* p. 192 (Algeria).

[7] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 520.

[8] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 8 *sqq.* (vol. i. 405 *sqq.*); *Mishkāt*, v. 4. 1 (vol. i. 370).

[9] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 178.

[10] *Mishkāt*, v. 4. 1 (vol. i. 370); Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 1 (vol. i. 285).

[11] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 10 (vol. i. 312).

should be plain white,[1] but otherwise the fashions of the grave-clothing vary in different Muhammadan countries or even in the same country, as we have seen to be the case in Morocco. Sīdī Ḫalīl says that it should not consist of more than five pieces for a man and not of more than seven pieces for a woman ;[2] but the former of these rules is by no means always observed, nor do the various pieces mentioned by him[3] quite correspond to those used in Morocco. In Tripoli the body of an unmarried woman is dressed as a bride, and, as in some parts of Morocco, the women trill the *zġârīt* when it is carried out of the house.[4] In Egypt it is the custom to trill the *zġârīt* at the funeral of a saint ;[5] and in Timbuctoo, as in Fez, the same is done on the death of a very old man,[6] who has become holy through his age.

It is a religious prescription that a Moslem should not be detained in the house of his family but be buried soon after death ;[7] and this rule was based on ancient Arabic custom.[8] The Arabs[9] and other Semites used to carry their dead to the grave on a board or litter, not in a coffin, and this custom has survived in Muhammadanism and is likewise in vogue among orthodox Jews.[10] According to Sīdī Ḫalīl, the bier used for the conveyance of the corpse of a woman should be covered by a rounded structure ;[11] in Cairo such a bier, as also that used for a boy, is furnished with a cover of wood.[12] The corpse should be carried quickly to the place of interment.[13] It should only be carried by men.[14]

[1] *Mishkāt*, v. 4. 2 (vol. i. 371). *Cf.* al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 19 (vol. i. 409).

[2] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 10 (vol. i. 314).

[3] *Ibid.* i. 2. 20. 6 (vol. i. 299 *sq.*). [4] Tully, *op. cit.* p. 90 *sq.*

[5] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 523.

[6] Dupuis-Yakouba, 'Notes sur les principales circonstances de la vie d'un tombouctien', in *Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie*, 1913 (Paris), p. 104.

[7] *Mishkāt*, v. 3. 2. (vol. i. 362). [8] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 178.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 178. [10] Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 609 n. 3.

[11] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 302).

[12] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 524.

[13] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 52 (vol. i. 424 *sq.*) ; *Mishkāt*, v. 5. 1 (vol i. 374).

[14] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 51 (vol. i. 424)

Women are not prohibited by the religious law from accompanying a bier; whether they do so or not depends on the local custom, which varies in different places. Sīdī Ḫalīl says that if they go they should close the procession, while the male mourners should walk in front of the bier;[1] but the latter rule is not generally accepted,[2] nor to my knowledge observed nowadays in Morocco. So far as men are concerned the religious law mentions the following of a bier as one among the duties which a Moslem owes to a fellow Moslem;[3] and it is said that a person who follows the bier of a Moslem and is with it till prayers are said for him and the interment is finished will be rewarded.[4] It is also considered a meritorious act to assist in carrying a bier, hence the bearers are continually relieved.[5] The custom of raising a bier three times, which is found in some parts of Morocco, is spoken of in the traditions, where it is said that "whoever follows a bier and lifts it up thrice, verily has done his duty to a bier".[6] A bier should be attended on foot,[7] though it is permissible to return from the cemetery mounted.[8] A person who is sitting should rise if he sees a funeral procession coming, and should remain standing until it has passed; and this he should do even if the dead one was a Jew.[9]

It is the general Muhammadan custom that the corpse is laid in the tomb on its right side with the face towards Mecca.[10] In Upper Egypt, if the corpse is that of a woman,

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 301 *sq.*).

[2] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 519; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 285.

[3] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 2 (vol. i. 401); *Mishkāt*, v. 1. 1 (vol. i. 339 *sq.*).

[4] *Mishkāt*, v. 5. 1 (vol. i. 375).

[5] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 190 (Mecca); Burton, *op. cit.* ii. 24 (Medina); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 519; Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 242 *sq.*, and Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 157 (Palestine); Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 280 (Muhammadans of India); Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 176 (Algeria); Lucy Garnett, *op. cit.* ii. 493 (Turkey).

[6] *Mishkāt*, v. 5. 2 (vol. i. 379).

[7] *Ibid.* v. 5. 2 (vol. i. 378 *sq.*).

[8] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 301).

[9] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 47 *sqq.* (vol. i. 423 *sq.*).

[10] Among the Muhammadans of India the face is thus turned westwards (Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 281). Among some Arabian Bedouins, however, the feet of the dead are laid towards Mecca (Doughty, *Travels*

her former street mantle is held spread out over it when taken from the bier and let down into the grave.[1] A Muhammadan grave is shallow; according to Sīdī Ḫalīl, the maximum depth should be such as just to suffice for the prevention of the escape of obnoxious emanations and for the preservation of the body from the voracity of wild beasts.[2] When the body has been placed in the recess at the bottom of the grave, slabs of stone or wood or branches are put over it to prevent the earth with which the upper part of the grave is filled from pressing upon the body;[3] to avoid such pressure is necessary according to the Muhammadan traditions.[4] Sīdī Ḫalīl says that the mourner who finds himself next to the grave should throw therein handfuls of earth;[5] but among some eastern Muhammadans, as in certain parts of Morocco, it is the custom for everybody present to do so.[6] There was a similar custom among the ancient Arabs, who also threw earth on a corpse before it was buried;[7] the Prophet, after performing prayers over a bier, cast earth upon it three times with both hands, from the side of its head.[8] He also sprinkled water on the grave of his little son Ibrāhīm, and water was sprinkled over his own grave.[9] This custom, so frequent in Morocco, is found

in Arabia Deserta, i. [Cambridge, 1888], p. 450), and in Ḥaḍramaut, according to von Wrede (*op. cit.* p. 239), the face is turned to the east.

[1] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 201.

[2] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 14 (vol. i. 323). See also *ibid.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 303).

[3] Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 171 (Algeria); Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 157 (Palestine); Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 98 (Moab); Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 282 (Muhammadans of India); etc.

[4] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 150.

[5] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 302 *sq.*).

[6] Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 94 (Sinai); Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 98 (Moab). In Ḥaḍramaut everybody present throws three handfuls of earth into the grave (von Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 235). Among the Muhammadans of India each person takes up a little earth or a clod and, having repeated over it the 112th chapter of the *Koran* or a certain passage from it, puts the earth gently into the grave or hands it to one of the persons who has descended into the grave to deposit it round the body (Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 281 *sq.*).

[7] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 180.

[8] *Mishkāt*, v. 6. 3 (vol. i. 588).

[9] *Ibid.* v. 6. 2 (vol. i. 585).

elsewhere,[1] though not everywhere,[2] in the Muhammadan world. In Arabia Petraea those who have dug the grave wash their hands over it.[3] In some parts of the same country a small vessel filled with water is at the burial placed at the head of the body.[4] In old Babylonian tombs the water jar is never absent, and side by side with it there is a bowl of clay or bronze; and in Babylonia and Assyria offerings of water, as well as of food, were made to the dead also after the burial, the son pouring out water to the memory of his father.[5]

The ancient Arabs raised mounds on the graves of their friends and made cairns or put memorial-stones on them.[6] The Prophet himself planted two large upright stones at the head and the feet of one of his faithful followers.[7] The top of his own grave was said to have been 'like a camel's back.[8] According to Sīdī Ḫalīl, the tumulus should not be raised more than one hand above the trench, and should be modelled after the shape of a camel's back; but he adds that doctors of the Law have condemned this arrangement, and have recommended that the ground surface should be left flat and without elevation.[9] In Arabia cairns are still

[1] Goldziher, 'Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (Leipzig, 1910), p. 43 *sq.*; Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 425 (Arabia Petraea); Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 98 (Moab); Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 282 (Muhammadans of India); Sykes, *op. cit.* p. 113 (Persia); Wilken, 'Über das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiens', in *Revue coloniale internationale*, ii. (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 246 (Muhammadans of the Indian Archipelago); Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 406 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula); Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 169 (Kabābīsh).

[2] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 282.

[3] Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 425; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 98 (Moab).

[4] Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 424.

[5] Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 599; *Idem*, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1911), p. 359. In ancient Egypt jars and bowls with food and drink were laid near the body (Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* [London, 1907], pp. 115, 129 *sq.*).

[6] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 180; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 232 *sqq.*

[7] Burton, *op. cit.* ii. 32.

[8] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 96. 3 (vol. i. 450).

[9] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 302).

made on graves,[1] but there is also the custom of setting up a head-stone.[2] In Palestine there are graves with a head-stone only, and others with a foot-stone as well.[3] Graves of the latter type are the rule in Moab, but among the Ṣeḥur "on ne dresse qu'une seule pierre sur la tombe d'une femme".[4] Among the Kabābīsh, in the Sudan, "there appeared to be an upright stone at the head and foot of every grave".[5] So also in Algeria[6] and among the Tuareg, both there and elsewhere,[7] two stones are put, one at the head and one at the feet, as "witnesses"; but among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar two foot-stones, as well as a head-stone, are placed on the grave of a woman, and on such a grave the stones are perpendicular to the side of the grave, whereas the stones on the grave of a man are parallel to it. Among the same people the grave is surrounded with a ring of stones.[8] This practice, so common in Morocco, seems to be less frequent among the eastern Muhammadans;[9] whereas numbers of old grave enclosures of stones, circular or elliptical in plan,[10] indicate its early prevalence in North Africa. We may therefore conclude that it is an ancient Berber custom. The same may be the case with the method of indicating the sex of the deceased by the different directions

[1] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 450; von Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 239 *sq.*

[2] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 170.

[3] Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 581; Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 144.

[4] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 98.

[5] Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 169. [6] Villot, *op. cit.* p. 193.

[7] Bissuel, *Les Touareg de l'ouest* (Alger, 1888), p. 109; Jean, *Les Touareg du Sud-Est l'Aïr* (Paris, 1909), p. 207 *sq.*; Aymard, *Les Touareg* (Paris, 1911), p. 57.

[8] Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* (Alger, 1908), p. 23.

[9] Speaking of the graves of the Bedouins of the Ḥejāz, Burton states (*op. cit.* ii. 112) that "an oval of stones surrounding a mound of earth keeps out jackals and denotes the spot". The Belqā Arabs of Moab surround the grave of a man of noted sanctity with a circle of stones and place on one side a little dolmen altar (Conder, *Heth and Moab* [London, 1885], p. 337). I have not found any other references to circles of stones surrounding the graves of eastern Muhammadans.

[10] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 183; Maciver and Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (London, 1901), p. 78 *sqq.*; Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* p. 600.

of the stones, which is also found among the Aiṭ Sádděn and in the Ḥiáina. In all parts of the Moslem world masonry tombs are erected over the graves of persons of respectability, and inscriptions are made on them.[1] According to Sīdī Ḫalīl it is permissible, as an indication of and a means of expressing gratitude, to place a tombstone or erect a piece of wood over a grave, but this monument must bear no writing indicating the name, the qualities, or the date of death of the deceased, or any other device whatever.[2] This rule, as we have seen, is transgressed in Morocco as elsewhere. In Syria there is the same belief as in Fez that the reading of an inscription on an old tomb will cause forgetfulness.[3]

According to the teaching of the Prophet it is a duty to pray for the dead.[4] The *takbīr*—that is, the expression, *Allāhu akbar*, "God is most great"—is to be pronounced four times.[5] It is a general characteristic of the prayers over the dead that they lack prostration.[6] But though obligatory, they are not universal in Islam,[7] and in Morocco also, as we have seen, there are burials without such prayers. Recitations of portions of the Koran, or of the whole of it, are frequent at Muhammadan funerals.[8] In the traditions it is even said that the *sūratu yā sīn*—so often recited at funerals in Morocco—should be repeated over a dead person[9] and the *sūratu 'l-baqarah* (the second chapter) after his interment;[10] but according to Sīdī Ḫalīl it is reprehensible to

[1] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 636 *sqq.*; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 528; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 284 *sq.* (Muhammadans of India); Polak, *op. cit.* i. 364 (Persia); Tully, *op. cit.* p. 91 (Tripoli).

[2] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 10 (vol. i. 315 *sq.*).

[3] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 107.

[4] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 57 (vol. i. 426); Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 1 (vol. i. 285).

[5] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 65 (vol. i. 429); Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 2 (vol. i. 290).

[6] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 57 (vol. i. 426).

[7] Burton, in his translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. 337 n. 3.

[8] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 78; *Idem*, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 517, 520, 524; Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 191 (Mecca).

[9] *Mishkāt*, v. 3. 2 (vol. i. 361). [10] *Ibid.* v. 6. 3 (vol. i. 387).

recite the Koran either beside the body of the believer who has departed this life or at his burial.[1] In Morocco, in spite of the general custom of making such recitations on these occasions, they are not held to be strictly obligatory. In Algeria[2] and Cairo[3] some portion of the Bûrdah is very frequently read at a funeral.

The distribution of bread, figs, or other eatables, or money, at the grave is a widespread practice among Muhammadans.[4] Among some eastern Bedouins a ewe is slaughtered at the grave and its boiled meat distributed to the funeral company ;[5] whilst in Cairo a bullock is sometimes sacrificed and its flesh given to the poor.[6] It is in many places the custom for the family of the dead person after the burial to give a feast.[7] Sîdî Ḫalîl even lays it down as a duty to

[1] Sîdî Ḫalîl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 10 (vol. i. 310 *sq.*).

[2] Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 360.

[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 517, 520.

[4] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 190 (Mecca) ; Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 425 (Arabia Petraea) ; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 159 ; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 283 (Muhammadans of India) ; Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 169 (Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan) ; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 530 ; Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 219 (Algeria).

[5] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 450 *sq.* ; Jaussen, *op. cit.* pp. 101, 352 (some Arabs of Moab) ; Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 134 (Bedouins of Palestine).

[6] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 523, 530.

[7] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 191 (Mecca, especially in former times) ; Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 94 (Sinai) ; Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 587 (Palestine) ; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 101 (Moab) ; Guys, *Un Dervich algérien en Syrie* (Paris, 1854), p. 214 (Aleppo) ; Schuyler, *op. cit.* i. 151 (Tashkent) ; Falls, *op. cit.* p. 321 (Libyan Desert) ; Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara*, p. 431, Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 23, Jean, *op. cit.* p. 208, and Aymard, *op. cit.* p. 57 (Tuareg). At Carmel the relatives of the deceased have at the grave in the evening a meal, consisting of the meat of a slaughtered animal and rice, and also give portions of the food to the poor ; this is called "the supper for the deceased" (von Mülinen, *loc. cit.* p. 174). In Tripoli those who can afford it give in the evening a quantity of hot dressed victuals to the poor, who come to fetch each their portion ; this is called "the supper of the grave" (Tully, *op. cit.* p. 93). In Algeria, after the burial, a profusion of meat and other refreshments is distributed to the friends who have attended the funeral ; this is called "the repast of the sepulchre" (Pananti, *op. cit.* p. 216).

prepare a repast for those who accompany the convoy.[1] Wellhausen says that there are no traces of a funeral meal among the ancient Arabs, nor do we know that they offered food at graves.[2] The latter custom, however, prevailed both in Babylonia and Assyria[3] and among the Hebrews.[4] Hence the idea which undoubtedly is at the bottom of the practice of distributing food at the grave and, partly at least, of the funeral repast, namely, that the deceased stands in need of food, was by no means foreign to the Semitic mind. At the same time foreign influence may have been at work. In ancient Greece, immediately after the funeral was over, the relatives partook of a feast[5] given at the house of the nearest relative;[6] whilst among the Romans a feast, called *silicernium*, was held by the grave.[7] Among the Hebrews, on the other hand, the friends of the family entertained the mourners after the funeral;[8] and this is still the case in some parts of Palestine among the Arabs.[9]

It is a fundamental article of the Moslem belief that all persons are examined by angels in their graves,[10] and this examination is said to take place as soon as the funeral party has left the graveyard.[11] The descriptions of "the punishment of the grave", *'aḏābu 'l-qabr*, vary, but they are

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 7 (vol. i. 303).

[2] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 183 n. 7.

[3] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 598 *sq.*; *Idem*, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 361 *sq.*

[4] *Deuteronomy*, xxvi. 14; *Ecclesiasticus*, xxx. 18; *Tobit*, iv. 17.

[5] Lucian, *De luctu*, 24; Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 25 (63).

[6] Demosthenes, *Pro Ctesiphonte de corona oratio*, 285, p. 321.

[7] Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *De conpendiosa doctrina* (Lipsiae, 1903), p. 48.

[8] 2 *Samuel*, iii. 35; *Ezekiel*, xxiv. 17; *Hosea*, ix. 4. See also Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica* (Basileae, 1680), p. 707; Eisenstein, 'Mourning', in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York & London), ix. 102.

[9] Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 243; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 156. Among the 'Amârīn of Arabia Petraea the relatives of the deceased eat nothing on the evening after the burial and are next day invited to another camp (Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 428).

[10] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 87 *sqq.* (vol. i. 442 *sqq.*); *Mishkāt*, i. 5 (vol. i. 38 *sqq.*).

[11] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 87. 6 (vol. i. 444).

all said to be literally true and neither imaginary nor figurative.[1] According to the tradition of 'Anas, the unbeliever " will be struck with an iron hammer, and he will roar out, which will be heard by all animals that may be near his grave, excepting man and the genii ".[2] After the burial the deceased is instructed by a special person what to say to the examining angels,[3] or a written charm placed on his head is buried with him to make it easier for him to answer their questions.[4]

After the day of burial there are various practices which are similar to, or more or less resemble, such as are found in Morocco. Among the Kabyles of Jurjura in Algeria nobody is for three days allowed to leave the village in which the death occurred,[5] and among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar a male mourner is " in theory " compelled to remain in his tent for the same length of time.[6] When I compare these rules with those prohibiting guests from leaving the house of mourning and the removal of things from it for three days—the former of which I found among some Berbers of Morocco and the latter in Fez—I am inclined to suppose that they are all of Berber origin, even though the number of days may be due to Muhammadan influence. I have found no similar rules among the eastern Muhammadans.[7]

The prohibition of making a fire and cooking in the house of mourning for three days is found in Algeria[8] and Tunis.[9] Prohibitions of this sort do not seem to be common in Islam,

[1] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 27 *sq.*; Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 87. 4 (vol. i. 443 *sq.*) :—" The punishment of the grave is a reality ".

[2] *Mishkāt*, i. 5. 1 (vol. i. 39).

[3] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 190 *sq.* (Mecca); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 529 *sq.*

[4] Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 363 *sq.* (Algeria). *Cf.* Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 171 (*ibid.*).

[5] Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 221 *sq.*; Liorel, *Kabylie du Jurjura* (Paris, [1893]), p. 426.

[6] Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 24.

[7] Among the Arabs of Sinai the family of the deceased are, on the contrary, for three days after the burial not allowed to return to their own tent (Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 101).

[8] Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 220.

[9] Bertholon and Chantre, *op. cit.* p. 586.

nor are they known to have existed among the ancient Arabs. But we meet with them in some other parts of the Mediterranean area. Among the Albanians there is no cooking in the house for three days after a death, and the family are fed by friends; our informant, von Hahn, is not certain whether there is also a prohibition against lighting a fire in the house, "as among the Romans", but he thinks it probable.[1] In the south of Italy in modern times no fire can be lighted in the house for several days,[2] and in Malta there was a similar restriction lasting for three days.[3] In Mykonos, one of the Cyclades, it is considered wrong to cook in the house of mourning; hence friends and relatives come laden with food, and lay the "bitter table".[4] So also the Maronites of Syria "dress no victuals for some time in the house of the deceased".[5] In his book on 'Peasant Life in the Holy Land' the Rev. C. T. Wilson writes:—"On the day of a death, the relations, friends, and neighbours bring food, bread, etc., to the house of the family to eat. It is supposed that those in the house of death cannot cook or attend to such things, and at first they are not supposed to eat at all, from grief, and many do not eat for some time. In some places it is the custom to thus supply food for fifteen days".[6] Again, among the Bogos, a Hamitic people of North-Eastern Africa, no fire is lighted in a house where a person has died until the dead body has been carried away,[7] and a son must fast for three days after the death of his father.[8] These facts do not justify any definite conclusions as regards the origin of the avoidance of lighting a fire or cooking for some time after a death in Morocco and Algeria, but in any case I find no reason to suppose that it is due to the influence of Muhammadan civilisation.

[1] von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, i. (Jena, 1854), pp. 151, 199.
[2] Ramage, *Nooks and By-ways of Italy* (Liverpool, 1868), p. 72.
[3] Busuttil, *Holiday Customs in Malta*, p. 131.
[4] Bent, *The Cyclades* (London, 1885), p. 221.
[5] Dandini, 'A Voyage to Mount Libanus', in Pinkerton, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, x. (London, 1811), p. 290.
[6] Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 156.
[7] Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos* (Winterthur, 1859), p. 67.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 29.

The same may be said of the custom which prevents the men belonging to the dead person's family from changing or washing their clothes and having their heads shaved. In Morocco I have found this custom particularly prominent among Berber-speaking people. It is also observed in Algeria for a period of forty days [1] or for an arbitrary length of time.[2] Speaking of the mourning ceremonies of the Kabābīsh of the Sudan, who are a congeries of divisions of various Arab tribes with a minority of Hamitic origin and a dash of negro blood, Professor and Mrs. Seligman observe :— " For forty days after a death the near relatives, including the wives or husband of the deceased, sleep in one tent, . . . on mats on the ground, spending the whole of the first month in the tent and leaving only when it is physically necessary, or to look after their animals. At the end of the month the men return to their own tents, though if they have greatly cared for the deceased it is thought that they may still abstain from their wives for some little time. This custom is called *faraš* (lit. 'mats') and is common throughout the Arabic Sudan ".[3] Mourning among men is not a characteristic of Islam.

The case is different with the mourning of women. Among the ancient Arabs a woman had to observe certain abstinences both on the death of her husband and on that of a relative,[4] and these practices passed into Islam, although the period of mourning was reduced by the Prophet. He is represented to have said :—" It is not lawful for a woman who believes in God and a future state to observe *ḥidād* for more than three days on account of the death of any one except her husband ; but for him it is incumbent upon her to observe *ḥidād* for the space of four months and ten days ".[5] By *ḥidād* is understood a woman's abstinence " from the use of perfumes, such as scented or other oils, or of ornaments,

[1] Daumas, *op. cit.* p. 143. [2] Villot, *op. cit.* p. 194 n. 1.

[3] Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 169 *sq.*

[4] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 182 ; *Idem*, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern', in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen*, 1893, no. 11, p. 454 *sq.*

[5] *Hidāyah*, iv. 12, Section (trans. by Charles Hamilton, vol. i. [London, 1791], p. 370). See also *Mishkāt*, xiii. 16. 1 (vol. ii. 134).

such as dyeing the edge of the eyelid with antimony ".[1] While in mourning a woman should also refrain from wearing coloured clothes, " except those coloured before weaving ",[2] and " a woman whose husband has died must not wear a red garment nor one coloured with red clay, nor gold or silver ornaments, nor colour her face or hands, nor use antimony ".[3] Though at liberty " to go forth during the whole day and for a short season of the night also ", a widow must not pass the night anywhere but in her own apartments.[4] After the period of four lunar months and ten days she may lawfully take another husband, provided she be not pregnant by her first husband.[5] The rule restricting the *ḥidād* of female relatives to three days is transgressed in other countries besides Morocco,[6] and the widow's period of mourning is also sometimes prolonged by local custom.[7]

The wailing of the women may last for seven days,[8] as in some parts of Morocco; sometimes for a fortnight or longer,[9] at Mecca at most for twenty days.[10] In Babylonia and Assyria the relatives of the deceased tore their clothing and lamented from three to seven days;[11] among the ancient Hebrews the mourning with its violent expressions of grief

[1] *Hidāyah*, iv. 12, Section (vol. i. 370).

[2] *Mishkāt*, xiii. 16. 1 (vol. ii. 134).

[3] *Ibid.* xiii. 16. 2 (vol. ii. 135).

[4] *Hidāyah*, iv. 12, Section (vol. i. 373).

[5] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 667; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre* (Stuttgart & Berlin, 1897), pp. 15, 77 *sqq.*

[6] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 194 (Mecca); Sykes, *op. cit.* p. 117 (Persia); Daumas, *op. cit.* p. 144 (Algeria); Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 169 *sq.* (Kabābīsh).

[7] In Timbuctoo it lasts for five months and fifteen days (Dupuis-Yakouba, *loc. cit.* p. 104), and among the Kabābīsh of the Sudan for about ten or twelve months (Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 170 *sq.*). Among the peasants of Palestine, according to Baldensperger (*loc. cit.* p. 142), a widow is expected to mourn one year.

[8] *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. 126; Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 241 *sq.* (Palestine); Falls, *op. cit.* p. 320 (Libyan Desert); Wellsted says (*Travels in Arabia*, i. [London, 1838], p. 216) that it lasts for eight days in the towns of Oman in Arabia.

[9] Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 175 *sq.* (Algeria).

[10] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 195.

[11] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 604.

lasted for seven days ;[1] and among the pagan Arabs a time of seven days seems likewise to have been considered the proper period for the lamentations of the women.[2]

The first three days after a burial, and particularly the third day, are conspicuous for ceremonial gatherings and feasting. Among the Tuareg of the South-Eastern Aïr all the persons who have attended a funeral are for three days entertained with food in the house of mourning, or, if the family of the deceased are poor, a meal is served to them on the third day.[3] Among the Kabyles of Jurjura the family give on the third day a feast to the whole village.[4] We are also told that in Algeria an abundance of food is during three days offered in the house of mourning to anybody who cares to partake of it,[5] and that during that period the same quantity of provisions as would have been required by the deceased is given to poor people.[6] Among the peasants of Upper Egypt it is customary for the female relatives and friends of the deceased " to meet together by his house on each of the first three days after the funeral, and there to perform a lamentation and a strange kind of dance. They daub their faces and bosoms and part of their dress with mud, and tie a rope-girdle, generally made of the coarse grass called 'halfa', round the waist. . . . After the third day, the women visit the tomb and place upon it their rope-girdles ; and usually a lamb or a goat is slain there, as an expiatory sacrifice, and a feast made on this occasion ".[7] At Mecca friends visit the house of mourning on the evening of the day of the funeral and on the following evening, without invitation, and are served with coffee, and on the third evening they are specially invited " to coffee " in the house.[8] In the Ḥaurān in Moab the relatives and friends

[1] *Genesis*, l. 10 ; *Ecclesiasticus*, xxii. 12.

[2] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 181.

[3] Jean, *op. cit.* p. 208.

[4] Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. cit.* ii. 221 ; Liorel, *op. cit.* p. 426.

[5] Daumas, *op. cit.* p. 143.

[6] Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 220.

[7] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 532 *sq.* Klunzinger (*op. cit.* p. 203) also speaks of social gatherings during the three days in Upper Egypt.

[8] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 191 *sqq.*

of the deceased assemble at the grave on the three mornings following upon his death (burial ?) and take coffee there.[1] At Aleppo alms are distributed at the grave on the third day.[2] Among the Muhammadans of India it is the custom for the male relatives of the deceased on the morning of the third day after the burial to take to the grave fruits, rice, and other eatables, which on the previous evening had been placed on the spot where he died, and to distribute them at the grave, and on this occasion the whole of the Koran is often read by scribes, and other ceremonies are performed as well.[3] Among the Malays of the Malay Peninsula the nearer neighbours are feasted during three days, both in the morning and evening, and every night the service called "reading the Koran to the corpse" is performed; at the end of the three days there is yet another feast, when those who are farther off are invited, and after this meal the profession of the faith is repeated.[4] Among the Turks "dishes of *loukmás*, a kind of dough-nut or *baignée*", are three days after the funeral sent round to the houses of friends, and the poor also receive their portion of these funeral cakes.[5]

There are similar ceremonies on the seventh day,[6] on the fortieth day,[7] and on the anniversary of the death.[8] Thus among the Bedouins of Carmel the relatives of the deceased have on the seventh day after the burial a meal at the grave similar to that partaken of on the first evening, and alms

[1] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 102.
[2] Guys, *op. cit.* p. 214 *sq.*
[3] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 285.
[4] Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 407.
[5] Lucy Garnett, *op. cit.* ii. 496.
[6] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 193 (Mecca); Guys, *op. cit.* p. 215 (Aleppo); Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 587 (Palestine); Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 407 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula); Lucy Garnett, *op. cit.* ii. 496 (Turks).
[7] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 193 (Mecca); Guys, *op. cit.* p. 215 (Aleppo); Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 587 (Palestine); Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 408 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula); Lucy Garnett, *op. cit.* ii. 496 (Turks). See also Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 246.
[8] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 193 (Mecca); Guys, *op. cit.* p. 215 (Aleppo); Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 288 (Muhammadans of India); Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 408 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula); Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in 'Abd el 'Aziz Zenagui, 'Récit en dialecte tlemcénien', in *Revue asiatique*, ser. x. vol. iv. (Paris, 1904), p. 100 (Tlemcen).

are again distributed to the poor.[1] Among the Muhammadans of Tashkent feasts are given to friends not only on the day of the funeral, but on the seventh day, the fortieth day, and the half-yearly and yearly anniversaries of the death, and women go to the tombs to weep and wail. Our informant, Mr. Schuyler, adds that these periods of commemorative mourning for the dead are the same as those observed in Russia among the Christians, and suggests as a possible explanation that they may have been adopted by the Russians during the epoch of Tartar ascendancy.[2] Among the Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan the relatives of the deceased pay his family visits of condolence during forty days, and on every Friday up to the fortieth day his father entertains all who come to his house.[3] Among the Muhammadans of India a new earthenware tumbler filled with water, with or without a wheaten cake, is every day for forty days placed on the spot where the deceased departed this life ; the water is left there all night and next morning poured on any green tree, and the tumbler and bread are given away. A lamp is also generally lighted on the same spot and at the place where the corpse was washed, and sometimes on the grave as well, for three, ten, or forty nights ; and on the morning of the fortieth day the ceremony of the third day is repeated at the grave.[4] Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali says in her book on the Mussulmans of India that, except with the very poor, the grave is never entirely forsaken, day or night, during the forty days of mourning.[5]

[1] von Mülinen, *loc. cit.* p. 174.

[2] Schuyler, *op. cit.* i. 151. Among the Votyak offerings are made to the deceased on the third, seventh, and fortieth days after his death, as also on the anniversary of it (Buch, 'Die Wotjäken', in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xii. [Helsingfors, 1883], p. 609). Among the Chuvash commemorative feasts are held on the third and seventh days (Georgi, *Russia*, i. [London, 1780], p. 103), and among the Cheremiss on the third, seventh, and fortieth days (*ibid.* i. 81). All these peoples are much influenced by Islam.

[3] Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 169 *sq.*

[4] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 287.

[5] Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, i. (London, 1832), p. 134.

In Timbuctoo alms of food are distributed at the grave for forty days.[1]

The customs of visiting the graves of the dead on religious feast-days [2] and on certain days of the week are extremely prevalent in Islam. At the commencement of his mission the Prophet forbade the old practice of visiting graves, but afterwards he allowed it ; [3] and of him who visits his father's or mother's grave on every Friday it is said in the traditions that his faults will be pardoned.[4] Friday is the most usual day for the visits,[5] but among the country-folks of Palestine it is customary to make them on Thursdays [6] or Thursday evenings.[7] Among the Muhammadans of India it is held meritorious for men " to go and offer *fateeha* on the grave every Friday ; but the generality of people do it on Thursday ".[8] In Algeria graves are visited on Mondays, though less frequently than on Fridays.[9] At Cairo, as at Fez, the grave of a deceased member of the family is visited on the three Fridays subsequent to the burial, and a palm branch is generally taken to be broken up and placed on the tomb ; and this ceremony is repeated on the Friday which completes

[1] Dupuis-Yakouba, *loc. cit.* p. 104.

[2] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 102 (Moab) ; Guys, *op. cit.* p. 216 (Aleppo) ; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 486, 487, 494, 532 ; Klunzinger, *op. cit.* pp. 178, 203 (Upper Egypt) ; Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 172 *sq.* (Algeria). Among the Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan, as in Morocco, people visit the graves of their dead relatives and sprinkle them with water on 10th Muḥarram (Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 149).

[3] *Mishkāt*, v. 8. 1, 3 (vol. i. 401, 403). *Cf.* Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2 20. 9 (vol. i. 310).

[4] *Mishkāt*, v. 8. 3 (vol. i. 403). See also Burton, in his translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. 68 n. 1.

[5] Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 308 (Arabia Petraea) ; Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, i. (London, 1840), p. 348 *sq.* ; Pananti, *op. cit.* p. 217, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *loc. cit.* p. 100 (Algeria).

[6] Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 143 *sq.* ; *Idem*, ' Religion of the Fellahin of Palestine ', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893* (London), p. 317.

[7] Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, pp. 28, 159 *sq.* ; von Mülinen, *loc. cit.* p. 174 (Carmel).

[8] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 288.

[9] Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 220.

or next follows the first period of forty days after the funeral. In Cairo, however, these visits are only performed by the women of the family ;[1] and in the Muhammadan world generally it is the women who are the chief visitors of graves.[2]

As for the custom of Cairo and Fez of laying palm leaves on graves, it should be noticed that the planting of two palm branches on a grave is recommended in the Muhammadan traditions, after the example of the Prophet. Once when he passed two graves he heard the crying of two dead persons who were tortured there for minor offences. He then took a green palm branch, broke it into pieces, and planted one piece on each grave. When he was asked why he did so he answered, " In the hope that they will feel some relief as long as these branches remain unwithered ".[3] In the Northern Sudan there is the custom of placing on the grave a palm branch from a tree which once belonged to the deceased. Our informant observes that the carrying of green leaves or branches was a feature of the investiture of sheikhs, and that kings and queens on the pyramid chapels at Meroe are represented carrying palm branches.[4] In modern Egypt sprigs of myrtle, roses, or other flowers are also laid on the graves of relatives.[5] In certain parts of Algeria " on plante toujours quelques oignons de scylles sur les tombes ".[6]

Among the Muhammadans of India, as in Morocco, there are persons who prepare their own winding-sheets, keeping them always ready.[7] Some among the opulent have their graves dug in advance, fill the grave up with sand or some kind of grain, and, in the latter case, annually distribute the grain in charity and replace it by a fresh supply.[8]

[1] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 532.

[2] In Timbuctoo, however, women never go to cemeteries or tombs (Dupuis-Yakouba, *loc. cit.* p. 104).

[3] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 82 (vol. i. 439).

[4] Crowfoot, *Wedding Customs in the Northern Sudan* (reprinted from *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. v. no. 1 [Khartoum, 1922]), p. 27.

[5] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 70 *sq.*

[6] Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 364.

[7] Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *op. cit.* i. 130 n. *.

[8] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 282.

There is a curious resemblance between this practice and one found among the Ait Waráin.

This survey of facts bears testimony to the overwhelming influence which Muhammadan doctrine and custom have exercised upon the funeral and mourning rites of Morocco. But at the same time we must not take for granted that every rite practised there which is also found among the eastern Muhammadans was first imported by the bearers of Islam. All these rites are not peculiar to Muhammadanism, and some of them may equally well have existed among the pre-Muhammadan Berbers. The ancient Greeks [1] and Romans [2] closed the eyes of a person who was at the point of death. Visits of condolence, offerings at graves, and funeral banquets are very widespread. So are rites arising from the fear of the pollution of death, which may lead to similar practices in different cases. Muhammadans in India pour the water with which the corpse has been washed into a hole in the earth to prevent people from treading on it,[3] but this does not prove anything with regard to the precautions taken with such water in Morocco ; similar precautions are very frequent in Europe.[4] In Syria, if a funeral procession passes a house in which there is a sick person or one who is lying in bed, a glass filled with water mixed with salt must be emptied on the road,[5] and in Moab " on répand de l'eau derrière un cadavre qu'on emporte au cimetière, ' pour couper le mal ' " ;[6] but who would therefore assert that the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and Ait Temsâmän in the Rīf must have learned from the Arabs their custom of pouring water over a bier, or in front of a funeral procession, passing

[1] Hermann-Blümner, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalterthümer* (Freiburg i. B. & Tübingen, 1882), p. 362.

[2] Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, i. (Leipzig, 1886), p. 346.

[3] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 278.

[4] Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1900), § 732, p. 462 *sq.* ; Sartori, ' Das Wasser im Totengebrauche ', in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xviii. (Berlin, 1908), p. 359 ; Rosén, *Om dödsrike och dödsbruk i fornnordisk religion* (Lund, 1918), p. 169 *sqq.*

[5] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 89.

[6] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 71. *Cf. ibid.* p. 105.

a house? To throw water after a corpse is a widespread European funeral rite.[1] There are also in Morocco certain prophylactic and purificatory customs to which I have found no parallels among the eastern Muhammadans—which does not prove, of course, that such customs are altogether absent among them. Among the Muhammadan Hausa of Tunis the mourners wash their hands on their return from the grave,[2] and in the Libyan desert all who have come in contact with the corpse perform ablutions after the burial;[3] but among the Asiatic Moslems I have found no counterpart to the purification rite practised among some tribes of Morocco by those who have attended a funeral.[4] On the other hand, there were similar rites among Indo-European peoples. In ancient India the mourners, on their return from the place where the dead body was burned, purified themselves by touching water, fire, cow-dung, mustard seed, or barley corns.[5] In Rome, when those who had accompanied the funeral returned home, they underwent a purification called *suffitio*, which consisted in being sprinkled with water and stepping over a fire.[6] In Greece, immediately after a death, a vessel of consecrated water, which must be brought from another house, was placed before the door, and every one who left the dwelling sprinkled himself from it in order to free himself from the pollution of death;[7] and

[1] Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 737, p. 465; Sartori, *loc. cit.* p. 364 *sq.*; Rosén, *op. cit.* p. 167 *sqq.*

[2] Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori* (London, [1914]), p. 128.

[3] Falls, *op. cit.* p. 321.

[4] Nor have I found among them the rule that those who have attended a funeral must go back another way than they came, or that they must go back to the house of mourning before they return to their homes. But in Syria there is a custom resembling that in Fez, according to which female guests at a funeral must not enter anybody else's house on their way home. A person who has paid a visit of condolence is there subject to a similar rule, although, if he for some reason or other is prevented from going home before he visits somebody else, he may go to a public bath or a coffee-house instead, and is then no longer supposed to carry misfortune with him (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 90 *sq.*).

[5] Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), p. 577 *sq.*

[6] Festus, *De verborum significatu* (Lipsiae, 1903), p. 3, *s.v.* Aqua et igni.

[7] Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 1033; Euripides, *Alcestis*, 88 *sqq.*; Pollux, *Onomasticum* (Amstelaedami, 1706), viii. 65.

when the burying or burning was ended, the house and its inhabitants had to be purified by means of incense and sprinkling or washing with consecrated water before the relatives and friends of the deceased could return there and partake of the funeral banquet.[1] Purification with water after a burial is still found in many parts of Europe.[2]

In various respects besides those already mentioned the funeral customs of Morocco and other Muhammadan countries resemble those of Europe. In Greece [3] and Rome [4] there were lamentations and wailing, tearing of the hair, laceration of the cheeks, and rending of clothes ; and there was also the custom of cutting the hair.[5] The deceased was praised.[6] In Rome earth was thrown on the face of the corpse.[7] In Greece water was poured on the grave,[8] and on the third day offerings were made to the dead.[9] In Teutonic lands we also find many customs similar to those noticed above. The deceased is kissed by his family.[10] His big toes or his legs are tied together.[11] A light is kept

[1] Hermann-Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 365 ; Blümner, *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks* (London, etc., 1910), p. 255 ; Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (München, 1898), p. 147.

[2] Sartori, *loc. cit.* p. 369 ; Hartland, ' Death and Disposal of the Dead (Introductory) ', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iv. (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 434.

[3] Lucian, *De luctu*, 12 ; Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 23 (59) ; Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, ii. (Berlin, 1882), p. 114 ; Blümner, *op. cit.* pp. 246, 248 *sq.*

[4] Cicero, *op. cit.* ii. 23 (59) ; Propertius, *Elegiae*. ii. 13. 27 ; Varro, quoted by Servius, *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidos*, iii. 67.

[5] Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, ii. 913 ; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge, 1902), p. 245 ; Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 251 ; Propertius, *op. cit.* i. 17. 21 ; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 562.

[6] Schmidt, *op. cit.* ii. 122 *sq.* ; Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, i. (London, 1890), p. 891 *sq.*

[7] Cicero, *op. cit.* ii. 22 (57).

[8] Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (Kristiania, 1915), p. 108 ; Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1910), pp. 36, 180.

[9] Pollux, *op. cit.* viii. 146 ; Schmidt, *op. cit.* ii. 118 ; Hermann-Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 372 ; Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 256.

[10] Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. (Leipzig, 1910), p. 141.

[11] Kristensen, *Gamle folks fortællinger om det jyske almueliv*, iv. (Aarhus, 1893), p. 89 ; Rosén, *op. cit.* p. 163.

burning in the room in which he is lying.[1] A pair of open scissors, an axe, a sickle, or some other object of steel is laid on his chest.[2] The corpse is taken out of the house through some other aperture than the door.[3] On the threshold or close to it the coffin is lowered and raised three times.[4] The hearse must not stop on the way to the cemetery lest some of those following it should soon die.[5] Relatives and friends throw three handfuls of earth into the grave before it is filled.[6] After the burial there is a funeral meal.[7] Until the body is interred nothing must be lent or given away from the house of mourning, and all work must, so far as possible, be abstained from.[8] The funeral of a maiden or an unmarried young man is in some way or other made to resemble a wedding.[9]

These similarities may in a large measure be directly due to culture contact or even to a common origin. But here again we should remember that similar customs may grow up under similar conditions, and between Semites and Indo-Europeans there has been from very ancient times a mental and cultural affinity which may easily have led to similar developments without direct transmission. Many identical, or almost identical, funeral and mourning rites are found among peoples living in very different parts of the world and not known to have had any communication with each other.[10] This should teach us to be careful in our con-

[1] Sartori, 'Feuer und Licht im Totengebrauche', in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xvii. (Berlin, 1907), p. 363 *sqq.*

[2] Hyltén-Cavallius, *Wärend och Wirdarne*, i. (Stockholm, 1863), p. 457; Feilberg, 'The Corpse-door: a Danish Survival', in *Folk-Lore*, xviii. (London, 1907), p. 366; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 137 n. 47.

[3] Gudmundsson and Kålund, 'Sitte. 1. Skandinavische Verhältnisse', in Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, iii. (Strassburg, 1900), p. 426 *sq.*; Feilberg, *loc. cit.* pp. 364, 370 *sq.*; Rosén, *op. cit.* p. 190 *sqq.*; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 143.

[4] Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 736, p. 464; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 143; Feilberg, *loc. cit.* p. 366.

[5] Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 738, p. 466.

[6] Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 150.

[7] *Ibid.* i. 155; Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 740, p. 467.

[8] Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 730, p. 461; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 140.

[9] Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 152 *sq.*

[10] Abundant evidence of this is found, *e.g.*, in Frazer, 'Certain

clusions also when we find identical customs among peoples who have been in contact with one another or even belong to the same sphere of culture.

Even when there can be no doubt as to the source from which a certain funeral or mourning rite practised in Morocco has been derived, its ultimate origin is obviously not explained thereby. Like all other actions and deliberate abstinences, the funeral and mourning rites are of course rooted in mental facts, and to explain them one must find out these facts. In some cases the task is easy, in other cases the explanation must be more or less conjectural. The motives may often be complex. A general motive is the desire to behave in accordance with custom; Lucian cynically said that "the feelings of the bereaved party are in fact guided solely by custom and convention".[1] But the custom itself has a psychical origin; and this may certainly be different from that ascribed to it by the natives themselves, or from the interpretation given it by Islam.

Some degree of affection for the nearest relatives is a normal sentiment in mankind whenever the members of one family keep together, and if one of them dies sorrow is consequently felt by the rest. Weeping, crying, or lamentation is a very natural expression of this emotion; hence when they occur in the ritual connected with the death of a near relative there can be no reasonable doubt as to the emotional origin of the rite, however conventional the expression of grief may be. The ceremonial character of the practice is particularly obvious in the wailing of condolers

Burial Customs as illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul', in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xv. (London, 1886); *Idem*, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (London, 1913–24); *Idem*, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, vol. iii. (London, 1919), pt. iv. ch. iv. 'Cuttings for the Dead'; Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii. (London, 1895), ch. xiii.; *Idem*, *Ritual and Belief* (London, 1914), 'The Philosophy of Mourning Clothes'; Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii. (London, 1917), ch. xlv.; Hastings, *op. cit.* iv. (Edinburgh, 1911), 'Death and Disposal of the Dead'; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1911).

[1] Lucian, *op. cit.* 1.

and of hired mourners. Speaking of the dismal lamentations of women in Algeria, Poiret observes that "these very women, a moment after, throw aside that external appearance of the deepest grief, talk and laugh together, and afterwards return to their former wailings".[1] The excessiveness of these demonstrations of grief harmonised well with the extremely gloomy view which the ancient Semites held about death.[2] But the noise may also serve some definite object. It may perhaps, like the practice of fumigation,[3] be a means of driving away either evil spirits or the soul of the dead person himself. Among some peoples the loud wailing is expressly said to expel demons,[4] and the Muhammadan *jinn* are on the one hand fond of molesting dead people before they are buried, and on the other hand frightened by loud sounds. In ancient times the deceased may, moreover, have been thought to be pleased with the manifestation of desperate grief on the part of his friends, although the Muhammadan theory is that he will have to suffer for it. In any case the wailing also has an honorific character, which is shown by the fact that it varies according to rank and social status. In his description of the wailing over the dead in Algeria Poiret says:—"These cries are proportioned to their dignity. When a person mourns for a superior, he howls with all his might; for an equal, his noise is not quite so loud. Chiefs give vent only to a few sighs, unless it be for another chief. All this is generally prescribed".[5] In Morocco, as we have seen, the violent demonstrations of grief are influenced by the sex and age of the deceased,[6] and though practised in other cases, may be refrained from on

[1] Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 170.

[2] *Cf.* Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 605 *sqq.*; *Idem, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 365; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 185.

[3] See *infra*, p. 526.

[4] van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), p. 217; Hartland, 'Death and Disposal of the Dead (Introductory)', in Hastings, *op. cit.* iv. 417; Robertson Smith (*op. cit.* p. 432 n. 2) made the suggestion that shouting in mourning was primarily directed to the driving away of evil influences.

[5] Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 175.

[6] The same is the case in Moab (Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 100 *sq.*).

the death of a little child.[1] Parents have, indeed, good reason to be resigned to the loss of their child. The dead infant has met with the *baṣ*, or misfortune, which would otherwise have fallen upon its father or mother.[2] Moreover, "the little child will be useful to its parents on the day of resurrection"—*Ṣ-ṣâbi yḗnfa' wâldih fĕ l-aḥêra* (Fez). It will go to Paradise and prepare there a comfortable bed for them (Andjra). This is in agreement with the Muhammadan tradition that the death of three or two children or even of one child will admit the parents into Paradise.[3] If they are resigned to the will of God they will soon have another child; for patience is rewarded by God—*Li ṣbar râbbi iḥâllṣû* (Dukkâla).

Connected with the wailing are the customs of rubbing or dirtying the face, hair, or clothes with cow-dung, soot, ashes, or mud; of dressing in a dirty old tent-cloth; of girding oneself with a rope; and of scratching or tearing the cheeks, the bosom, or the arms to the effusion of blood.[4] Nobody could deny that such actions may be genuine expressions of sorrow and therefore also conventional methods of displaying this emotion. There is in sorrow a tendency to augment the sufferings.[5] Spenser says in his *Faerie Queene*:

> "She wilfully her sorrow did augment,
> And offred hope of comfort did despise:
> Her golden lockes most cruelly she rent,
> And scratcht her face with ghastly dreriment".[6]

But here again the conventional expression of grief may be, or may have been, at the same time intended to serve as a protection against evil influences. Soot is sometimes used in Morocco as a prophylactic against *jnūn*,[7] cow-dung is supposed to contain purificatory virtue,[8] the laceration to the

[1] *Supra*, i. 440.
[2] *Supra*, i. 607 *sq.*
[3] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 6 (vol. i. 404 *sq.*); *Mishkāt*, v. 7 (vol. i. 391, 392, 398 *sq.*).
[4] *Supra*, ii. 437 *sqq.*
[5] *Cf.* Shand, *The Foundations of Character* (London, 1914), p. 320 *sqq.*
[6] Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, ii. 1. 15.
[7] *Supra*, i. 307.
[8] *Supra*, ii 294.

effusion of blood may perhaps be a method of warding off the contagion of death,[1] and the dressing in an old tent-cloth may serve a similar object. It is no doubt difficult to believe that the desire of a sorrowful mind to increase its own suffering could directly lead to actions which are at the same time intended to avert a danger, but in ritual performances prophylactic practices may simulate natural manifestations of grief. The deceased, at any rate, may have been supposed to be deceived by such counterfeit expressions of sorrow in his friends. Robertson Smith maintained that the laceration of the flesh among the ancient Semites and other peoples was intended to create an enduring blood covenant between the living and the dead,[2] but this hypothesis is not adequately supported by evidence ;[3] the Semites did not even, like some other peoples,[4] let the blood come into contact with the corpse. The self-bleedings of mourners may in some cases serve the object of refreshing the dead with the warm red sap of life ;[5] but there is nothing to show that the ancient Arabs really looked upon the scratching of the face and the body to the effusion of blood as a blood offering to the deceased. It was a rite restricted to the female mourners ;[6] and this agrees well with the emotional origin of the rite.

The cutting of the hair in mourning is likewise regarded as a sign of sorrow, and so it may have been from the beginning. It occurs hand in hand with the rites just mentioned and has the same general character. Wellhausen even suggests that it was a mitigation of the earlier practice of tearing the hair.[7] But in this case also a practice which is readily taken for a natural manifestation of grief may have been adopted in ritual performance for a definite purpose, namely, to ward off the contagion of death. Hair-cutting

[1] *Cf.* Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911), p. 107.
[2] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 322 *sq.*
[3] *Cf.* Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 301.
[4] Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 321 *sqq.*
[5] Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 476, ii. 547 ; Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 301 *sq.*
[6] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 181.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 182.

is among many peoples used as a means of purification after a death or on other occasions,[1] and in Islam, as we have seen, the first shaving of the child has a purificatory character.[2] In Morocco the shorn hair is put on the roof of the house or tent or deposited at a shrine or buried in the ground, and nowhere, so far as I know, is it dedicated to the dead relative ; but among the ancient Arabs it was placed at the grave,[3] and this is still the case among the Arabs of Moab.[4] This might seem to give some support to the suggestion that the cutting of the hair was intended to strengthen the deceased in accordance with the notion that a person's strength is in his hair.[5] But from no part of the world has direct evidence been produced in favour of this suggestion, and that the offering of hair to the dead had such an object among the ancient Arabs seems particularly improbable because the practice was confined to the women.[6] In affection there is a tendency to seek for contact with its object, and a woman who deposits her shorn locks on the grave of her dead husband or relative therefore performs a rite which may be readily explained as the token of an emotion which she is expected to feel on that occasion. Another expression of affection, real or feigned, which consists in still more intimate contact with the deceased, is the kissing or touching of the corpse. But in this case hope of reward may also be present in the mind of the mourner : the kiss given to a dead father or mother is said to result in a parental blessing or to be accompanied with a prayer for forgiveness.[7]

Sorrow is represented as the reason why the family of the deceased refrain from partaking of food or from busying themselves with preparing it ; [8] and it seems impossible to doubt that the loss of appetite which accompanies grief is largely at the bottom of the mourning fast, which is found

[1] Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 283 *sqq*.

[2] *Supra*, ii. 413.

[3] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 182 ; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 248.

[4] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 94 ; Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 427.

[5] Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 302 *sq*.

[6] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 324 n. 1.

[7] *Supra*, ii. 435.

[8] *Supra*, ii. 468, 470.

in many different parts of the world.[1] But it is also obvious that the abstinence from food after a death is connected with superstitious fear.[2] The dead body is regarded as a seat of infection, which defiles anything in its immediate neighbourhood, and this infection is of course considered particularly dangerous if it is allowed to enter into the bowels. The family of the deceased may have to refrain from making a fire and eating until the body is buried ; and the same may be the case with the other villagers as well, if the death occurred in the morning.[3] But a more frequent rule is that no food must be cooked in the house of mourning, and the duration of this taboo may coincide with the period during which the soul of the dead person is still supposed to hover about earth.[4] There is no reason to suppose that the abstinence from cooking is a survival of a previous mourning fast : it is evidently rooted in the idea that the cooking might contaminate the food if done in a polluted house or by a polluted individual. We have noticed that there are persons who do not like to partake of food served at a funeral,[5] and that if any portion of the food brought by a neighbour is left it is not taken back to his tent but thrown away at some place outside the village.[6] The custom of drinking the milk obtained on the day when the death took place without letting it curd, to make butter of it,[7] may be due to fear of polluting the churn, although the native explanation is that the people do so because they are sorry. A similar reason is assigned for the strict taboo imposed on the drinking or making of tea,[8] and this is more likely to be correct considering that tea is looked upon as a luxury.

The mourners must also refrain from the use of cosmetics and soap, from changing and washing their clothes and even from washing the face, from shaving the head, from whitewashing the house, from having any music there, from celebrating a marriage and even attending one, and from visiting friends. A woman on the death of her husband may

[1] See Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 298 *sqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 303 *sqq.* [3] *Supra*, ii. 466 *sq.* [4] *Supra*, ii. 468, 470.
[5] *Supra*, ii. 454, 468. [6] *Supra*, ii. 466. [7] *Supra*, ii. 468.
[8] *Supra*, ii. 467, 468, 470.

besides be forbidden to wear coloured garments, to leave her house, and to take a bath.[1] Such abstinences, implying self-neglect or avoidance of enjoyment, are natural expressions of grief and may therefore readily lead to ceremonial rules of mourning. In the mourning of a widow we may also trace the idea that her attachment to her husband should not be broken off at once. For a certain period after his death she is prohibited from re-marrying ;[2] and sometimes she wears one of his garments or his rosary or a piece of the cloth out of which his shroud was made, partly covering her face with it.[3] But the unusual external appearance or costume of the widow and other mourners also gives notice to the world of their peculiar condition.[4]

The abstinences observed after a death, however, may also be precautions against imaginary dangers. Mourners are considered to be polluted, more or less in proportion to the intimacy of their relationship to the deceased, and his widow more than anybody else. The death-pollution with which they are affected is contagious, and they may consequently be dangerous to others. Should a widow go to see any of her friends before her period of mourning has come to an end, she would probably not be received.[5] Moreover, unclean individuals are not only a danger to others but, like holy persons, they are also themselves in danger : they are in a delicate condition which imposes upon them various precautions.[6] The abstinences of mourners may partly be precautions of this sort ; we have noticed that even on

[1] *Supra*, ii. 470 *sqq.* [2] *Supra*, ii. 473.

[3] *Supra*, ii. 473 *sq.* For the custom of veiling the face in mourning see Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, p. 251 *sqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Hartland, *op. cit.* p. 235 *sqq.* Sir James Frazer (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. 73 ; *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 99) has conjectured that mourning costume was originally a disguise adopted to protect the surviving relatives from the dreaded ghost of the recently departed. In support of this conjecture he quotes two cases in which the living are stated to disguise themselves to escape the notice of the dead ; but, as Dr. Hartland observes (*op. cit.* p. 255 *sq.*), even this scanty evidence is not free from ambiguity.

[5] *Supra*, ii. 473.

[6] *Cf.* Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 224, etc. ; Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 307 *sq.*

the death of a little child a transgression of the rule which forbids the use of cosmetics and soap is supposed to be attended with very serious consequences for the transgressor.[1] The custom which demands that a guest who was in the house when the death occurred, or who spent there the first night after, shall stay on till the third night has passed deserves mention in this connection. If it is not observed it is sometimes said that the guest will carry the *bas* with him to his own home, but sometimes also that a woman guest herself or some other member of her family will be affected by it, or that somebody in the house of mourning will soon die. The last-mentioned belief is in conformity with the idea that the same would happen if anything were removed from the house during the first three days, except the dead body and whatever is required for the burial.[2] In other words, the family of the deceased would be exposed to danger by a change in their surroundings, as in some cases they would be if they did anything in order to change their appearance.

Like other abstinences incumbent upon the survivors, those from work and sexual intercourse [3] may also have a mixed origin.[4] Inactivity is a natural accompaniment of sorrow ; work done before the dead body is buried, or shortly after, might be supposed to be contaminated by the death-pollution ; and at the same time the delicate state of a polluted individual may require that he should rest. We have seen that work, or certain kinds of work, should be avoided on holy days or in holy periods, as being unsuccessful or even dangerous to the performer ; [5] and there is a close affinity between the holy and the unclean. Indeed, I was expressly told that should any person in the village work before the day of burial has passed, he would have to suffer for it.[6] There may be similar reasons for the taboo imposed

[1] *Supra*, ii. 471. [2] *Supra*, ii. 469. [3] *Supra*, ii. 466, 467, 471.
[4] *Cf.* Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 283, 284, 306.
[5] *Supra*, i. 224.
[6] *Supra*, ii. 467. In Bulgaria there is a belief that if anybody in the house of mourning works before the burial, or even on the day after it, he will have chapped hands (Strausz, *Die Bulgaren* [Leipzig, 1898], p. 451 *sq.*).

upon sexual intercourse. On the one hand, the sexual instinct is dulled by grief ; on the other hand, its gratification is in various circumstances considered to be dangerous either to those who indulge in it [1] or to the offspring.[2] But I have not heard what would happen if this taboo were transgressed.

Closely akin to the rites which are conventional expressions of sorrow are those which are supposed to benefit the deceased either before or after his soul has left the body : all these rites are, or pretend to be, manifestations of affection. I say, pretend to be ; for the desire to benefit the dead person, like the sorrow caused by his death, may be mixed with other motives, nay, certain rites the sole object of which was originally to serve the interests of the survivors were afterwards interpreted as beneficial to the dead. I have elsewhere pointed out the frequent occurrence of such an interpretation in the history of funeral rites " The dead are not only beings whom it is dangerous to offend and useful to please, but they are also very easily duped. No wonder therefore that the living are anxious to put the most amiable interpretation upon their conduct, trying to persuade the ghost, as also one another, that they do what they do for *his* benefit, not for their own ".[3]

The kind offices of friends begin when a person is dying. Water is said to be dripped into his mouth to moisten the throat, or honey in order to make death easier, or water and honey as a safeguard against the devil ; [4] both water and *baraka*, as we have seen, are on various occasions used to keep off the *jnūn*.[5] Or butter, honey, and water are put into the mouth of the dying person in order that he shall not die hungry or thirsty. Recitations from the Koran make his death easy, and the profession of the faith said in front of his face will save him from hell.[6] According to a

[1] *Supra*, i. 388, ii. 4 *sq.* ; Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 334 *sqq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 410, ii. 5 ; Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 244, 255, 256, 265 *sq.*

[3] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 548.

[4] *Supra*, ii. 434 *sq.*

[5] *Supra*, i. 311 *sqq.*

[6] *Supra*, ii. 434 *sq.*

commentary on Sīdī Ḫalīl, the latter drives away the evil spirits who come to watch for his last breath.[1]

When the person is dead his friends try in various ways to ward off evil spirits. The *jnūn* are afraid of light: one or two candles are lighted at the place where the dead body is lying,[2] and are kept burning while it is washed even though the washing is performed in broad daylight;[3] and if the deceased remains in his old home overnight the room must be illuminated, and sometimes the candles are strewn with salt.[4] The evil spirits are afraid of holy words and of steel and iron: hence chapters of the Koran or the whole of it are recited, or other religious recitations made, to ward them off or to prevent the devil from troubling the dead person;[5] and an object of steel or iron is placed on the corpse.[6] The *jnūn* are likewise kept off or put to flight by the burning of incense in the room where the body is lying,[7] and the place where it is washed is also fumigated and sometimes sprinkled with salt.[8] But if these practices protect the dead against evil influences they may at the same time protect the living. The fumigation and the sprinkling with salt of the place where the corpse is washed in the Ḥiáina were said to keep off the *jnūn* or the *ḫiâl*. The latter was called a *jenn*; but elsewhere it is looked upon in a different light. The Aiṭ Sádděn, who fumigate the place where the corpse has been washed with agal-wood or with benzoin and gum-lemon in order to prevent the appearance of the *läḫiâl*, say that this is the soul of the dead person, appearing at night like a pillar of smoke rising towards the sky and so high that nobody can see the top of it. So also the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, who fumigate the place in the tent where the person died with white or black benzoin and harmel to prevent its being haunted by the *lḫiâl*, describe the latter as the soul of the deceased, looking like a very tall pillar of smoke which rises as high as the rainbow and which appears white to those who have been good to the dead person and black to those who have

[1] Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 4 (vol. i. 294).
[2] *Supra*, ii. 436. [3] *Supra*, ii. 445. [4] *Supra*, ii. 451.
[5] *Supra*, ii. 449 *sq.* [6] *Supra*, ii. 451. [7] *Supra*, ii. 436, 451
[8] *Supra*, ii. 444 *sq.*

been bad to him. But whether white or black, the *lḥiâl* should be driven away by shooting. Otherwise it will produce the same effect as tickling : it will make the person to whom it appears laugh, and he will laugh till he dies.

The object of washing the corpse is to remove impurities, and the qualifications required of the person who performs this act—cleanness and piety or *baraka* [1]—are held to be essential to its efficacy. By stuffing the apertures of the body [2] defilement or evil influences are prevented from entering into it.[3] The grave-clothes will keep it clean, and, besides, are required by decency ; [4] they should be seven [5] on account of the magic virtue ascribed to that number, or their number must in any case be an odd one [6] because even numbers are unlucky. They are sprinkled with water from the well Zemzem [7] on account of its *baraka*, and for the same reason a few drops of such water are used for the washing of the body.[8]

The deceased is longing for his grave and should therefore be buried as soon as possible ; but according to another opinion it is his family that, contrary to his wishes, are anxious to hasten the burial,[9] and sometimes, on account of his unwillingness to leave this world, he tries to keep back those who carry him,[10] perhaps because he was a bad man.[11] The Prophet is related to have said that it is good to carry the dead hurriedly to the grave in order that the righteous person may reach happiness quickly, and if he be a bad man it is well to put wickedness away from one's

[1] *Supra*, ii. 443 *sq.* [2] *Supra*, ii. 447.

[3] Speaking of the Arabs of Moab, M. Jaussen observes (*op. cit.* p. 97), " On ferme . . . toutes les ouvertures du corps ' afin de le conserver pur ', disent quelques-uns, ' pour empêcher les *ǧinns* de s'en emparer ', prétendent les autres ".

[4] In his description of the funeral rites in Tripoli Tully says (*op. cit.* p. 91 *sq.*) that one reason for the great importance attached to the dressing of the dead is that they are supposed on Fridays to visit their relatives and friends in neighbouring graves.

[5] *Supra*, ii. 447 *sqq.* [6] *Supra*, ii. 447 *sqq.* [7] *Supra*, ii. 449.

[8] *Supra*, ii. 449. [9] *Supra*, ii. 451 *sq.*

[10] *Supra*, ii. 456. There is a similar belief in Moab (Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 100).

[11] *Supra*, ii. 456.

shoulders.[1] The idea that the dead person wants to be buried soon and benefits by it has no doubt arisen from the wishes of the living : the rapid decomposition in a hot climate, the poor home accommodations of the majority of the people, and superstitious dread, all combine to make them anxious to get rid of the corpse as soon as they can.[2] And fear of contagion is also a motive for the haste with which the corpse is often carried to the grave. In Morocco, as we have seen,[3] the pace varies, but the general rule in Islam is to carry the dead quickly to the place of interment.[4]

To take part in the funeral procession, to carry the bier, and other acts connected with a funeral which are performed gratuitously, are looked upon as kindnesses shown to the deceased. But the performers profit by them : these services entail religious reward, and, being pleasing to the survivors, are meant to be reciprocated by the latter. The death-pollution infecting those who attend a funeral is diluted by being spread over a large number, and by being relieved at short intervals the bearers become less exposed to the contagion which may be contracted by contact with the corpse.[5] The funeral chant, which is kept up by the procession without pause or break, may not only benefit the dead but safeguard the living ; and the same may be the case with the recitations from the Koran made on various occasions in connection with a death. The theory is that the merit of the performance is transferred to the soul of the deceased.[6] Other spiritual benefits bestowed upon the dead are the invocation of God's mercy, the recitations of the profession of the faith and the Bûrdah or some other religious book, and the prayer for the dead, which, according to the traditions, will be accepted.[7]

[1] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xxiii. 52 (vol. i. 424 *sq.*) ; *Mishkāt*, v. 5. 1 (vol. i. 374).

[2] *Cf.* Lane-Poole, ' Death and Disposal of the Dead (Muhammadan)', in Hastings, *op. cit.* iv. 501 ; Pierotti, *op. cit.* p. 242 ; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 278.

[3] *Supra*, ii. 456. [4] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 44.

[5] *Cf.* Doutté, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu*, p. 230 *sq.*

[6] *Cf.* Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 78 ; Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 285.

[7] *Mishkāt*, v. 5. 1 (vol. i. 377).

The practices of taking the bier to the mortuary chapel attached to a mosque,[1] of turning the face of the deceased when laid in his grave [2]—as on some previous occasions [3]—towards Mecca, and of instructing him what to say to the examining angels,[4] are all intended to contribute to his comfort. For a similar purpose the dead are buried in the vicinity of a shrine.

When the deceased has been laid in his place of rest it is an act of kindness to him, which will be rewarded, to throw earth into the grave [5] or to help to fill it.[6] The earth which the *fqī* keeps in his hand while saying the prayer or reciting a chapter of the Koran, and which he then either places underneath the head of the corpse or strews on the dead person's face and shroud, must be particularly beneficial to him; this is proved by the fact that sprinkling with Zemzem water may serve as a substitute.[7] But care must be taken to prevent the earth from pressing upon the body,[8] because the latter is still conscious of pain.[9] The number of boards or stones which are for this purpose placed over the recess in which it is lying must be an odd one or seven.[10] Among various peoples the customs of burying the dead and of providing the graves with mounds, tombstones, or enclosures, are avowedly intended to prevent the dead from walking,[11] and similar intentions have been ascribed to early Semites.[12] The Moors jokingly say that the Jews put big stones on their graves lest the dead should get up and walk, whereas their own dead never do such a thing. It should be remembered that the putrefactive process itself is a sufficient motive for disposing of the dead body in some way or other, and that burial and the covering of the grave with

[1] *Supra*, ii. 456. [2] *Supra*, ii. 458. [3] *Supra*, ii. 435, 453.
[4] *Supra*, ii. 464 *sq.* [5] *Supra*, ii. 459. [6] *Supra*, ii. 464.
[7] *Supra*, ii. 457 *sq.* [8] *Supra*, ii. 458.
[9] See Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 150. [10] *Supra*, ii. 458 *sq.*
[11] Frazer, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. 64 *sqq.*; Preuss, *Die Begräbnisarten der Amerikaner und Nordostasiaten* (Königsberg, 1894), p. 292 *sq.*; Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 543 *sq.*
[12] Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 361 *sq.*

earth or stones protect the body from being devoured by beasts or birds. Muhammadans are anxious to afford to their dead such protection,[1] and both in Morocco[2] and elsewhere[3] are expressly said to make use of stones and thorny branches for this purpose. So also the ancient Arabs took special care to construct the grave so that it could not be violated by the hyenas.[4] The sprinkling of the grave with henna,[5] and the smearing of its headstone with a mixture of henna, water, and dried and pounded roses and pinks[6] may also be mentioned among the kindnesses shown to the dead.

The custom of pouring water over the grave has been interpreted by Goldziher as a method of protecting the dead person from evil spirits ;[7] but I can find no direct evidence supporting this suggestion, although water was sometimes used among the ancient Arabs,[8] as it is still in Morocco,[9] as a protection against demoniacal influences. It seems to me more probable that the water which was poured over graves was, largely at least, meant to provide the dead with drink. The Arabs thought that the departed souls were thirsty,[10] and sometimes they poured wine over the graves of their friends.[11] One motive assigned in Morocco for the practice of dripping water into the mouth of a dying person is that it prevents him from feeling thirsty when he departs this life, which would be bad for him.[12] It is sometimes said that water is poured on the grave because " the grave is thirsty ", and that it is drunk by somebody—by the deceased or by

[1] *Supra*, ii. 498

[2] *Supra*, ii. 461 ; Destaing, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Aït Seghrouchen* (Paris, 1920), p. li.

[3] Poiret, *op. cit.* p. 171 (Algeria) ; d'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 267 (Carmel) ; Polak, *op. cit.* i. 363 *sq.* (Persia).

[4] Nöldeke, ' Arabs (Ancient) ', in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 672.

[5] *Supra*, ii. 481. [6] *Supra*, ii. 480.

[7] Goldziher, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. 42 *sqq.*

[8] *Supra*, i. 375. [9] *Supra*, i. 313 *sq.*

[10] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 182, 185.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 182 ; Goldziher, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. 44 n. 3.

[12] *Supra*, ii. 435.

angels ;[1] or that when the water quenches the thirst of the ants it is as though it were drunk by the dead person.[2] The dead appear to their friends in dreams, complaining of hunger or thirst, and the latter have to give alms in consequence.[3] To distribute drinking water among the poor is a favourite mode of charity on behalf of departed relatives, particularly on the *'ăšûra* day, when water is also frequently poured over graves. If alms are not given at the cemetery on that day, the dead will suffer from hunger and thirst and weep in their graves. If parents who have lost a child distribute small jars to children to fill with water and drink from, the dead child will reward them on the day of resurrection by offering them the jars filled with water. It is also said that bottles of water are placed on the graves so that the dead shall be able to quench their thirst on the same occasion.[4] We have previously noticed that side by side with the water-jar in old Babylonian tombs there is a bowl,[5] which was evidently intended to serve as a drinking vessel. The Berbers of Tidikelt, who put at the headstone a pitcher on the burial of a man and a pipkin on that of a woman, maintain that the former will be used by the dead person in drinking and the latter in the preparation of food.[6] In Palestine the hollows scooped in the top of the tombs "are for gathering of rainwater for the souls of the departed to drink".[7] In his essay on the funeral customs of Tunis M. Loir writes, "Au pied du mausolée se trouve une petite excavation destinée à recevoir les eaux du ciel pour abreuver les oiseaux, forme sous laquelle peut s'être incarnée l'âme d'un croyant".[8] The custom of pouring water over a grave, however, may also perhaps be connected with an idea that the deceased is still in need of an ablution.[9] This is suggested by the case

[1] *Supra*, ii. 459 *sq.* [2] *Supra*, ii. 459. [3] *Supra*, ii. 484.
[4] *Supra*, ii. 481 *sqq.* [5] *Supra*, ii. 499.
[6] Voinot, *Le Tidikelt* (Oran, 1909), p. 112.
[7] Baldensperger, 'Peasant Folklore of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893* (London), p. 217.
[8] Loir, *loc. cit.* p. 238.
[9] *Cf.* Pfannenschmid, *Germanische Erntefeste im heidnischen und christlichen Cultus* (Hannover, 1878), p. 167 ; Sartori, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xviii. 367, 377.

in which any water which was left from the occasion when the body was washed is taken to the cemetery and poured over the grave together with other water.[1]

Old Arab poets often express the wish that the graves of their friends may be watered with abundant rain, whilst a curse sometimes takes the form of a prayer that no rain may fall upon the grave of the individual concerned. The water is said to refresh the dead or their bones, or reference is made to the verdure with which the grave is to be covered.[2] Goldziher maintains that these ideas are later interpretations of a custom the original object of which was to protect the dead from evil influences. But might not the notion that the dead are refreshed with water be more naturally explained by the belief that they were in need of drink or perhaps also of a bath? At the same time water is the source of life, and the verdure brought forth by it may have been supposed to have some sympathetic effect upon the dead, imparting to them vital energy. A similar idea may account for the custom of placing myrtle sprigs, fresh palm- or palmetto-leaves, or flowers underneath the body [3] or on the top of the grave.[4] This explanation was in fact spontaneously given me by a native scribe, who also emphasised that the bamboo cane with which the dead body is measured and which is afterwards laid on the grave should be fresh so as to instil life into the body.[5]

[1] *Supra*, ii. 459.

[2] Goldziher, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. 20 *sqq.*; Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 672; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 182.

[3] *Supra*, ii. 453, 454, 458.

[4] *Supra*, ii. 80, 461, 480-483, 511 *sq.* A writer on Morocco says that women on Fridays, when the soul is supposed to return to the body, "spread the Graves with sweet Flowers and green Boughs on purpose to refresh it, and to adorn the Grave" (Addison, *West Barbary* [Oxford, 1671], p. 206). *Cf.* Crowfoot, *op. cit.* p. 27. Goldziher suggests (in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. 43) that the idea of relieving the sufferings of the tortured dead by planting pieces of a broken palm-branch on their graves (see *supra*, ii. 511 *sq.*) is an Islamic interpretation of "the ancient belief that the moist element affords protection against the evil spirits". M. Doutté (*Merrâkech*, p. 364; *cf. ibid.* p. 104), again, explains the custom of planting flowers on tombs by the belief "que l'âme passe dans ces végétaux et y souffre moins".

[5] *Supra*, ii. 460 *sq.*

As the water rites are sometimes expressly said to provide the dead with drink, so the eating rites are associated with their need of food. We have seen that the dead feel hunger as well as thirst, and that almsgiving is in some cases necessary to gratify their needs.[1] Like offerings made to gods,[2] so also offerings made to the dead[3] have among many peoples become alms given to the poor, and in Muhammadanism[4] as well as in early Christianity[5] such alms are considered to confer merit upon the deceased.[6] The alms are really given by him because the offerings were made to him;[7] very frequently they are distributed at the grave or even put on the top of it. But there are also obvious traces of the idea that the dead person himself partakes of the food eaten ceremonially in connection with his death, whether the meal takes place at the grave or in his old home. The loaf of bread given to the children before the burial is said to remove the earth from his mouth.[8] The funeral supper is called "the gulp of earth",[9] or "the supper of earth".[10] The deceased is actually said to join in it,[11] and if it were omitted he would have earth in his mouth.[12] The same would happen if there were no meal at the grave on the third day,[13] and this meal is sometimes called "the supper of the dead one".[14] When the ants eat the pieces of bread and the dried fruit which for this purpose are put into the earth at the head of the grave, it is as though the dead person ate them.[15] How closely he is associated with the insects in his grave also

[1] *Supra*, ii. 482, 484.

[2] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 565 *sqq*.

[3] *Ibid*. ii. 550 *sqq*.

[4] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 530; Daumas, *op. cit*. p. 143 (Algeria).

[5] Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebestätigkeit*, i. (Stuttgart, 1882), p. 281.

[6] As to the popularity of dried figs in almsgiving on behalf of the dead I was told in Dukkâla that there is merit in every seed.

[7] In Palestine the placing of cooked food on the grave for the poor is supposed to be reckoned in the other world "as though done by the dead person, and so adding to his merit" (Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 159).

[8] *Supra*, ii. 466. [9] *Supra*, ii. 467. [10] *Supra*, ii. 468.

[11] *Supra*, ii. 467 *sq*. [12] *Supra*, ii. 466 *sq*. [13] *Supra*, ii. 477.

[14] *Supra*, ii. 476. [15] *Supra*, ii. 477.

appears from the words uttered by the women of Tangier when they leave the grave of a dead relative after paying a visit to it:—*Ălláh iráḥmăk u yĕrḥam d-dûda lli klätˁ mĕnnĕk*, "May God be merciful to you and to the worms which ate of you".

The deceased is able to join in the meals arranged by his friends because his *rōḥ*, or soul, does not go away at once, and, after doing so, comes back on special occasions. It stays in the grave till the afternoon of the third day and then proceeds to the Bárzaḫ, or limbo in which the souls spend the time between death and the resurrection.[1] Three days are the proper period of rest for a traveller,[2] and, as the Prophet said, "the grave is the first stage of the journey to eternity".[3] But there are also other opinions as to the whereabout of the soul after it has departed from the body. At Tangier I was told it remains in the grave for forty days and only then goes to the Bărzaḫ, though the women say that it stays in the house for the first three days. The Iglíwa believe that the deceased visits his old home on the third day, but without being seen by anybody. At Aglu his soul is said to come back to the body in the grave during the first eight days. I have also heard that it will be back there on the fortieth day; and on this day, too, food is distributed at the grave. The dead are said to visit their former homes on Thursdays, though nobody can see them (Tangier, Andjra); and in Andjra their families should therefore have good food for supper every Thursday. The soul of a dead person is, moreover, supposed to be in his grave every Friday (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ait Waráin), or to come there on Thursday at *'âṣar* (Tangier, Bni 'Ăroṣ)—some people say as early as Thursday morning (Aiṯ Wäryâġer) or on Wednesday at *'âṣar* (Andjra)—and leave it on Friday at *'âṣar* (*ibid.*, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) or sunset (Tangier) or as soon as the grave has been visited by members of the family (Bni 'Ăroṣ). At Tangier it is believed that the

[1] As to the Islamic ideas about the Barzaḫ (meaning a "bar"), which are based on a passage of the *Koran* (xxiii. 102), see Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 38 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, i. 542, 547. *Cf.* Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 177.

[3] *Mishkāt*, i. 5. 2 (vol. i. 41).

soul is in the grave from daybreak till sunset on the *'āšûra* and 'Arafa days and between the daybreaks of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān ; and elsewhere also it is supposed to be there on occasions when it is the custom for the relatives of the deceased to visit his grave. His soul can see them, though they do not see the soul, and it is sorry if they do not come to the grave.

There are similar ideas among the Muhammadans of the East. Among them also we find the belief that the spirit of the deceased remains with, or hovers over, the body for three days.[1] Speaking of the diverse opinions of the Moslems respecting the state of souls in the interval between death and the judgement, Sale observes :—" Some say they stay near the sepulchres, with liberty, however, of going wherever they please ; which they confirm from Mohammed's manner of saluting them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard those salutations as well as the living, though they could not answer. . . . Others say they stay near the graves for seven days ; but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain ".[2] At Ma'ān in Moab the spirit of the deceased is supposed to rove about the grave for seven days, to come back and rejoice when a sacrifice is offered there, and to visit its old home from time to time.[3] Among the Muhammadans of India, who every day for forty days place a new earthenware tumbler filled with water, with or without a wheaten cake, on the spot where the deceased departed this life, " some foolish women believe that on the fortieth day the soul of the dead leaves the house, if it has not done so previously ; and if it has, it returns to it on that day ".[4] The Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan, like some of the Moors, believe that the spirits of the departed revisit their earthly homes on Friday eve ; hence the mother of the house cooks some choice food for them on that occasion and sends it to the mosque before dark, since it is considered

[1] Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 177.

[2] Sale, *The Preliminary Discourse* (preceding his translation of the *Koran*), sec. iv. (London, 1888, p. 60 *sq.*).

[3] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 103. [4] Jaffur Shurreef, *op. cit.* p. 287.

proper that the spirits should be able to return to their graves in daylight.[1] Lane states that it is a general belief that the souls of the faithful visit their respective graves every Friday.[2] "According to some they return to their bodies on Friday, after the period of the afternoon prayers, and on Saturday and Monday; or on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday; and remain until sunrise".[3] The country people of Palestine, who go and sit among the graves on Thursdays, believe that the spirits of the dead are there on those days.[4] In Algeria "les Arabes sont persuadés que lorsqu'ils visitent les tombes des défunts, les âmes de ceux-ci en sortent pour se tenir avec eux".[5]

The meals connected with a death, however, are hardly explained in full by the dead person's need of food. Some of them, as we have seen, have the character of almsgiving—to which much religious importance is attached by Islam—on behalf of the deceased. Others, which are partaken of by his old friends, are farewell banquets given in his honour; and his family may also feel the need of, and find consolation in, the company of their relatives and friends. It has, moreover, been suggested that such meals serve the purpose of strengthening the ties which unite the villagers or kinsmen, who have lost a member of their group. M. van Gennep observes:—"Les repas consécutifs aux funérailles et ceux des fêtes commémoratives . . . ont pour but de renouer entre tous les membres d'un groupement survivant, et parfois avec le défunt, la chaîne qui s'est trouvée brisée par la disparition d'un des chaînons. Souvent un repas de cet ordre a lieu aussi lors de la levée du deuil".[6]

A peculiar kind of food offering, though more apparent than real, is the milk which a mother presses from her breast into a snail-shell to put on the head of her dead child at the burial. In the word she utters she pretends to give

[1] Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 148.
[2] *Cf.* Tully, *op. cit.* p. 91 (Tripoli); Pananti, *op. cit.* p. 217 (Algeria).
[3] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 265.
[4] Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 160.
[5] Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 220.
[6] van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 235.

to the infant its due, but according to the native explanation she only performs a magic rite intended to make her breasts dry ; [1] and it is doubtful if the rite in question ever had any other meaning. There is a counterpart to it in Tanembar and Timorlaut, two of the Moluccas, where the mother on the death of a child under two years of age milks her breast into its mouth.[2] This has been interpreted as a genuine food offering ; [3] but similar rites may spring from different motives in different cases.

According to Pidou de Saint Olon, who wrote a book on Morocco at the end of the seventeenth century, meat is laid on the graves and money and jewels are buried with the dead, " that they may not want in the next world the conveniences they had in this ". [4] A still earlier writer, Diego de Torres, speaks of the practice of burying money and jewels with the dead as widespread ; [5] and M. Doutté asserts that nowadays " on inhume quelquefois un enfant ou une femme avec ses bracelets et autres bijoux ".[6] I have not myself heard of the existence of any such practice, but on the contrary I have been emphatically assured that the only things ever buried with a dead person are his rosary and the *msą̈ula*, or paper containing the answers he should give to the examining angel, and that if he wears round his finger a ring which cannot be removed otherwise, the finger has to be cut off (Tangier). But we have noticed that other kinds of property are sometimes offered to the dead, though the offerings can hardly be called generous. On the interment of a woman the skin-sack which she had under her head when she died is deposited behind the headstone of the grave, but only after it has been made as valueless as possible.[7] And if a dead person appears in a dream sighing for the property he left

[1] *Supra*, ii. 458.

[2] Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* ('s-Gravenhage, 1886), p. 306.

[3] Hartland, in Hastings, *op. cit.* iv. 428.

[4] Pidou de St. Olon, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1695), p. 54.

[5] Diego de Torres, *Relacion del origen y sucesso de los Xarifes* (Sevilla, 1586), p. 264.

[6] Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 363.

[7] *Supra*, ii. 460.

behind, the only thing he gets is a peg from his old tent.[1]

The custom of making the funeral of an unmarried person resemble a wedding [2] should also be mentioned among the rites intended to benefit the dead. It is a substitute for marriage. And marriage, as we have seen, is looked upon as a religious duty, and of a grown-up man who dies a bachelor it is said that he does not find the road to Paradise but will rise again with the evil spirits.[3]

Some of the rites are of a distinctly honorific character. Foremost among these is the praise bestowed on the deceased while he is still lying in his old home. The trilling of the *zġârīt*[s] when the body of an old man is carried out of the house is a mark of reverence.[4] A bier must be attended on foot,[5] and any one who is sitting when a funeral convoy is coming should rise and remain standing until it has passed.[6] Those who visit a grave should be dressed in their best clothes; they must be sexually clean and remove their slippers before entering the cemetery.[7] A graveyard has the character of a mosque.

The survivors must also take care to prevent people from causing harm to their dead friend. His charms are deposited at a shrine (Tangier, Dukkâla, Aiṭ Sádděn, Iglíwa, Aglu), or hung up in an inaccessible place or put into a hole in the wall (Iglíwa), or kept in the house (Fez), or buried in the ground though not in the grave, or, better still, burned (Tangier, Aiṭ Sádděn). This is done in order that nobody may get hold of them or tread on or step over them. There may be a similar motive for the custom of placing the bamboo cane with which the body was measured on the grave, or of breaking it and putting the pieces there;[8] in Andjra I was told that if anybody should take away the measure the dead person would beat him with it. To walk upon or pass over a grave is forbidden by Islam;[9] it is supposed to be bad

[1] *Supra*, ii. 484 *sq.* [2] *Supra*, ii. 448, 453 *sqq.* [3] *Supra*, i. 46 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, ii. 452. [5] *Supra*, ii. 497. [6] *Supra*, ii. 457, 497.
[7] *Supra*, ii. 483. [8] *Supra*, ii. 460.
[9] *Mishkāt*, v. 6. 2 (vol. i. 585); Sīdī Ḫalīl, *op. cit.* i. 2. 20. 14 (vol. i. 321).

both for the deceased and for the transgressor (Tangier). Nobody must sit on the top of a grave; to do so would be as objectionable as to sit on the dead person's stomach, and he would dislike it. He also prefers that anybody who sits down at his grave should face him, so as not to have to turn his head (*ibid.*). Jews are not permitted to visit a Moorish cemetery, nor should Christians be allowed to go there, because the dead are troubled if an infidel trespasses on their place of rest.[1]

Besides practices which are, or are pretended to be, expressions of sorrow and such as are regarded as beneficial to the dead, there are others which are plainly and without pretext intended to protect the living from evil influences.

When a person is at the point of death, or as soon as life appears extinct, his eyes and mouth are closed, lest somebody else of his family or kin should die.[2] Similar motives are assigned for these customs elsewhere.[3] Sartori's suggestion that they were originally intended to prevent the departed soul from returning to the body [4] may possibly derive support from the belief that if a person dies with his eyes open his soul goes out through the eyes, and if he dies with his mouth open through the mouth (Tangier). By binding up the jaws [5] the mouth is kept closed. Among some peoples the big toes, feet, legs, thumbs, or hands of the body are tied together for the obvious or avowed purpose of preventing the dead from troubling the living.[6] But a conjecture that the customs of tying together the big toes or ankles and the thumbs of the deceased in Morocco and other Muhammadan countries [7] have had a similar origin would not be borne out by the ideas nowadays held there about the dead, nor by

[1] *Cf.* Addison, *op. cit.* p. 208; Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (London, 1725), p. 54; Lemprière, *A Tour from Gibraltar to . . . Morocco* (London, 1793), p. 341; Drummond Hay, *Western Barbary* (London, 1844), p. 3. On the other hand I was told that if a Muhammadan walks on a Jewish grave he gives relief to the infidel in it, who is in torture, and that for this reason he should keep away from the grave.

[2] *Supra*, ii. 435.

[3] Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 725, p. 458; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 131 *sq.* (Germany).

[4] Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 132 n. 2.

[5] *Supra*, ii. 435, 447.

[6] Rosén, *op. cit.* p. 163 *sqq.*

[7] *Supra*, ii. 435, 447, 491.

anything we know of ancient Arab or Berber beliefs. We have seen that in Morocco the bandages are untied at the burial.[1] But it is sometimes said that if the toes were not tied together somebody else in the house or tent would die.[2]

Many of the rites besides those already discussed are obviously or presumably intended to ward off the pollution of death. The mattresses are removed from the room in which a person dies,[3] evidently to avoid infection. Every mattress in the house has its cotton cover taken off. The carpets on the floors are replaced by mats brought from a mosque. The people drink water from vessels specially bought for this occasion, and after eating they do not wash their hands but wipe them with a handkerchief [4]—presumably in order to avoid polluting the vessels ordinarily used for these purposes. And the women guests do not remove their *ḥîyāk*, as they do in other cases,[5] perhaps because they regard them as a means of protection. At the same time it was pointed out to me with reference to these and some other customs that the ordinary habits of life are changed at a funeral. Hand in hand with efforts to avoid the contagion of death in particular cases there seems to be the feeling that a deviation from the usual mode of life after a death will serve as a safeguard for the future, because the similarity of habits might carry with it a repetition of the fateful event. The danger of such a similarity is particularly accentuated in the rule that practices which are characteristic of a funeral should be avoided on other occasions : if a mattress were left without a covering at any other time somebody in the house would soon die, and honey must not be served at a wedding because it is regularly eaten at a funeral.[6]

Immediately on the death of a person any little child who is in the house is removed to another place.[7] One reason given for this custom is that infants can hear the talk and crying of the dead and, as I was told by a man from the Ait Waráin, would go mad or die in consequence. But it seems that their delicacy, which makes them particularly exposed

[1] *Supra*, ii. 458. [2] *Supra*, ii. 435. [3] *Supra*, ii. 436.
[4] *Supra*, ii. 468 *sq.* [5] *Supra*, ii. 469. [6] *Supra*, i. 602 *sq.*
[7] *Supra*, ii. 434.

to the death-contagion, also has something to do with the custom. It is likewise said that before the deceased is carried out of the house the animals are removed from the yard, because they would be sorry when they heard his weeping ;[1] that animals can hear it though men can not, was an old Arab belief.[2] But I was also told that animals must not be allowed to come near a corpse because it would be bad for them ;[3] and the animal which carries the body to the shrine where it is to be washed has the belt of a woman tied round its neck so as not to be affected by the *bạs* of the dead person.[4] Grinding may be prohibited in a village where there is a death, and even in neighbouring villages, so as to escape contamination ; or the wheat which is distributed among the relatives of the deceased is only ground between *'âṣar* and sunset, when grinding is otherwise avoided,[5] presumably because it is considered to be in some measure polluted by death and therefore unfit to be ground at the same time as other corn, or also in accordance with the principle which requires a change of habits at a funeral.

For fear of contagion the *fqī* of the village, instead of washing the corpse with his own hands, sometimes prefers pouring out the water, leaving it to somebody else to do the washing.[6] It is injurious to come into contact with water which has been used for such a purpose ; and if a fowl drinks of it and afterwards drinks from a vessel used by the inmates of the house, the latter will suffer harm.[7] The vessels which have been employed for the washing of the body are also defiled, and have to be disposed of. In Fez, where I was told that the water with which a corpse has been washed must not be trodden upon because it would make the deceased angry, the idea that such water is polluted nevertheless shows itself in the custom of getting rid of the broom with which it was swept away.[8]

The widespread custom of carrying out the body through some other aperture than the entrance of the dwelling,

[1] *Supra*, ii. 454.
[2] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 186.
[3] *Supra*, ii. 455. [4] *Supra*, ii. 444. [5] *Supra*, ii. 245
[6] *Supra*, ii. 443 [7] *Supra*, ii. 446. [8] *Supra*, ii. 446 *sq*

which I have only found among one tribe in Morocco,[1] has generally been interpreted as a means of preventing the ghost from finding his way back to the old home ; but, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[2] various facts indicate that it also may have sprung from a desire to keep the ordinary exit free from pollution. Sometimes the door of the house must not be used by living persons who are regarded as unclean, such as mourners, girls at puberty, and men who have polluted themselves by partaking of human flesh ; whilst in other instances ordinary people are prohibited from using a door through which a sacred person has passed, obviously because contact with his sanctity is considered dangerous. Among the Arabs in olden days those who were returned from Mecca entered their houses not by the door but by a hole made in the back wall ; [3] this practice, however, was forbidden by Muḥammad.[4] The dead body of Mûläi l-Ḥaṣaṇ was taken into Rabat through a hole which had been bored in the town wall for this purpose, the general rule being that the corpse of a person who has died in the country cannot be brought into a Moorish town. There is no reason to suppose that the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz take out the corpse through an aperture in the back of the tent in order to prevent the dead person from revisiting his old home ; on the contrary, such an idea would be quite foreign to Moorish conceptions about the dead.

When the bier has been carried out it is raised three times, so that the *b̤aṣ* shall not remain in the house and cause the death of another of its inhabitants.[5] When the funeral procession passes a house water is thrown from it on the bier and the men who are carrying it, or poured on the road in front of the procession. If the people in the house are having a meal they stop eating ; we have noticed how easily food is polluted by the contagion of death. If there is a sick person in a house passed by the bier he will die, and if there is a

[1] *Supra*, ii. 454.

[2] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 537 *sq*.

[3] Palmer, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vi. (Oxford, 1880), p. 27 n. 1. *Cf*. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 122 *sq*.

[4] *Koran*, ii. 185.

[5] *Supra*, ii. 454.

woman in childbed either she or the child will die. When the boys in the street see the procession coming they cover their heads at once so as not to be affected with ringworm.[1] The *ḥâyĕḳ* with which the body was covered is sprinkled with water at the grave. When the grave has been filled the sextons, and sometimes the other men as well, wash their hands over it, and the hoes are likewise washed.[2] For three days they are not used for any kind of work, and the same is the case with any basket and spade employed for the digging or filling of the grave. Nor must the hoes be taken into a house or tent for three days, or they are put on the roof of the house and left there for the same period; and so are the wooden implement with which the earth was pushed into the grave and the net in which the body was carried to the cemetery in case there was no bier in the village.[3] Among the Aṯ Yá'la, in the neighbourhood of Ujda, nobody but perchance an immigrant from another tribe would lend his hoe to another person for the purpose of digging a grave. In Morocco, as among many peoples in different parts of the world,[4] the tools with which the grave is made are regarded as contaminated with death. The same is the case with the bier, which is left at the grave till the third day or until it is required for another funeral.[5]

When the people leave the cemetery they must not go back the same way as they came. Though it is said that the merit in their steps to the grave would be cancelled by the homeward steps along the same route,[6] I have little doubt that the real motive for the custom is a desire to avoid the road which was defiled by the corpse; this is certainly suggested by similar practices on some other occasions.[7] Those who

[1] *Supra*, ii. 456 *sq.* [2] *Supra*, ii. 460. [3] *Supra*, ii. 462.
[4] Hartland, in Hastings, *op. cit.* iv. 431.
[5] *Supra*, ii. 462 *sq.* [6] *Supra*, ii. 463.
[7] *Supra*, i. 506, ii. 114. According to the Zoroastrian Vendîdâd (viii. 14 *sqq.* [*The Sacred Books of the East*, iv., Oxford, 1895, p. 99]) a spirit of death is breathing all along the way which a corpse has passed; hence no man, no flock, no being whatever that belongs to the world of Ahura Mazda is allowed to go that way until the deadly breath has been blown away to hell (see also Darmesteter, 'Introduction to the Vendîdâd', in *The Sacred Books of the East*, iv. [Oxford, 1880], p. lxxiv *sq.*).

have attended a burial may let the pollution evaporate by walking about for a while before they enter their dwellings. Or they must necessarily return to the house or tent of mourning, which seems to absorb the *ḅąs* ; for if they first went to any other place, including their own home, they would pollute it. They may also have to purify themselves on their return to the dead person's tent by touching flour. On their way home they must not enter anybody else's dwelling, as this would carry evil with it ; and the same is the case with persons who have been guests in the house of mourning.[1] It is of course for fear of contagion that a corpse must not be brought into a town.[2]

A death may be supposed to lead to another death not only because the corpse is regarded as a seat of contagion but because the failure to observe a certain rule, or some other untoward event, at the funeral suggests another funeral to come. The food with which the scribes are served before the body is carried away must be taken to them in one dish at a time only, and the empty dishes must likewise be removed one by one, lest there should be another death in the house before long.[3] Among the Ulåd Bů'ăzîz the *sĕksů* served at the funeral supper must not be cooked twice, as there otherwise would soon be another funeral supper ; just as among the same tribe the *sĕksů* at a wedding must not be cooked twice lest the husband should take another wife. If the funeral procession stops on the way to the cemetery there will be another death in the village—it may be waiting for another corpse, or the fresh start may mean another funeral procession ; and any accident which happens to the bier is likewise a portent of another death.[4] The board on which the body was washed must be carried out of the room before the bier with the dead body.[5] When the latter has been lowered into the grave the number of boards placed above it must not exceed seven. While the grave is being filled two hoes must not knock against each other. All the stones which were brought to the cemetery must find place in the row which is made round the mound, and no stone must

[1] *Supra*, ii. 463. [2] *Supra*, ii. 542 [3] *Supra*, ii. 450.
[4] *Supra*, ii. 456. [5] *Supra*, ii. 454.

be laid on the top of another.[1] The bier must be taken back to the mosque upside down.[2] If any one of these rules were not observed there would soon be another death in the family or the village: the washing board left behind would be waiting for another corpse, the hoes knocking against each other and the superfluous board or stone would, as it were, be calling for another grave, the bier would be ready for another funeral. Similar ideas are no doubt connected with the custom of reversing the heads of the hoes with which the grave was dug;[3] and with the very compulsory rules that before the prayer is said the body must be laid on the earth which has been dug up from the grave,[4] and that subsequently all the earth which was dug up when the grave was made must be put over the corpse.[5] At Fez I was told that if a person dies on a Thursday at so early an hour that he can be buried on the same day, he will soon have a follower among the other members of the family living in the house. I heard no explanation of this belief, but it is perhaps connected with the idea that it is good for a person to die on the evening of that day, a little before sunset or later, in which case he is buried on Friday morning.

A large number of funeral and mourning rites among peoples in different parts of the world have been interpreted by students of customs as methods of protecting the living from the attacks or unwelcome visits of the dead man's ghost. Some of these rites are in my opinion equally well or better explained as means of warding off the pollution of death,[6] but in other cases the theory is substantiated by actual native beliefs. The only funeral rite in Morocco which I have found associated with fear of the dead person's soul is the fumigation of the place where he died or where his body was washed among the Berbers of the Aiṭ Sádděn and Aṭ Ubáḫṭi; there is a similar rite in the Ḥiáina, but, as already said, the mysterious being it is intended to keep off is there represented as a *jenn*, though named by the same term as is used by those

[1] *Supra*, ii. 458 *sq.* [2] *Supra*, ii. 462. [3] *Supra*, ii. 462.
[4] *Supra*, ii. 457 *sq.* [5] *Supra*, ii. 459.
[6] *Cf.* Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 536 *sqq.*; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), p. 95 *sqq.*

Berbers for the soul of the deceased.[1] The general absence in Morocco of rites intended to protect the living from the mischievous doings of the dead is due to the simple fact that there is no need for such rites.

Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes ; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends ; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody,[2] and they come not as enemies but as friends. In Andjra I was told that on Thursdays, when the dead visit their old homes, the men ought not to quarrel with their wives or children because the dead want to see their families happy. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness. Sometimes dead persons appear as birds ; at Amzmiz I heard of a woman who after her death came to her old house three times in the shape of a pigeon. Very frequently the soul of a deceased visits one of his old friends in a dream ; but then he does not do so for any malevolent purpose, though his friends may try to keep him off. In many cases he appears in the dream because he is unhappy and in need of help, or as a foreshadowing of some future event, good or evil ; [3] if he calls his friend it is a certain sign that the latter will die, but this does not mean that he wants to cause his death. That the living are on friendly terms with their departed relatives appears from the feasts they give in their honour and the visits they pay to their graves.

The dead, however, may get angry if they are offended, and may inflict punishment on the offender. If children do not visit the graves of their parents they may be cursed by them ; [4] but on the other hand the blessing of a dead parent also rises from below the earth—*Dá'waṯˢ l-wālîdin tˢṭla' měn tˢaḥtˢ t-tˢrāb* (Tangier). If anybody interferes with the measure on the grave the dead person may beat him with it.[5]

[1] *Supra*, ii. 526. [2] *Supra*, ii. 534. [3] *Supra*, ii. 47, 50, 484 *sq.*
[4] *Supra*, ii. 482. [5] *Supra*, ii. 538.

To persons who pass a cemetery at night the dead may even be dangerous without any further provocation. My Berber scribe from Glawi told me that the common people are afraid of doing so lest the dead should get up and catch them and take them with them into their graves, and he admitted that he himself was afraid of passing a cemetery at night. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by *jnūn* who come out of the ground in the dark. In Dukkâla I heard that many persons do not dare to go to such places at night for fear of being struck by *jnūn*, but some people also seemed to have the idea that the dead might get up from their graves ; I was told, however, that a scribe has no such fear, and that travelling strangers sometimes even prefer spending the night in a cemetery to be safe from robbers. In Andjra, also, strangers occasionally spend the night in a cemetery, hoping to be protected by the *mwâlīn l-qbōr*, " the masters of the graves ", that is, the dead, among whom there is probably some saint ; once when a person who was persecuted by enemies slept at a grave his pursuers passed by without noticing him. At Tangier cemeteries, especially old ones which are no longer used, are regarded as much haunted by the *mwâlīn l-arḍ*, " the masters of the ground " (*jnūn*), and people keep away from them when it is dark. Yet there are persons who go at night to rob a newly buried corpse of its shroud in order to make money by selling it ; such a person, who is called *nebbāš l-qbōr*, is himself supposed to be *mejnûn*, or possessed by *jnūn*, and therefore to have nothing to fear. At Fez I was told that cemeteries are haunted neither by the dead nor by *jnūn*, but that people are nevertheless afraid of visiting them ; and the same I have heard elsewhere.

A cemetery may for various reasons be an uncanny place. It is a widespread belief that the voices of the *mû'áddabīn*, or those who are punished by angels, may be heard from their graves ; though it is also said that they can only be heard by little children and animals (Fez) or by good people (Aglu), or that what is heard is not the voice of the person who is punished but the sounds of the strokes inflicted by the punishing angel (Dukkâla). Sometimes

there is also a suspicion that the buried man may be still alive. In Dukkâla a buried person was once dug up by a courageous scribe because a strange noise was heard from his grave for three or four days, and when I was staying in Dukkâla he was said to be still alive. There is a tale that the late grand-vizier Bba Ḥmed was heard growling in his grave and was consequently removed to another place; no wonder, said the people, that he was dissatisfied since he had left a great fortune behind. Sometimes a light is seen from a grave. In the Arabic-speaking mountain tribe of Ġzâwa the grave of a girl who had been killed by her family because she had been guilty of fornication was seen burning for three days as a punishment for her crime, and it is still seen burning for some days every year. An Arab from Ras Buibiša (Cape Juby), right opposite to the Canaries, told me that persons who are punished in their graves may get up and appear luminous with bodies like those of animals but without heads, and that he had himself seen such phantoms.

The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones, which is called in Arabic *kárkōr l-mǎġdōr* (or *mǎġḍōr*), "the cairn of him who was treacherously attacked", or (in Andjra) *l-máqtˁla ḍe l-mǎġdōr*, "the place where he who was treacherously attacked was killed"; the Berbers of the Aiṭ Yúsi call it *agʸrur* (meaning "cairn") *umǎġḍōr*. In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Aiṭ Yúsi, Amzmiz, Demnat, Iglíwa). Among the Ait Waráin some passers-by throw a stone on the cairn, others do not, but a near relative of the murdered person always does so when passing the place before his death has been avenged. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi I saw two cairns of this kind consisting of a few stones only; it is not the custom among them to throw stones on such cairns, but if the relatives of the murdered man find his cairn upset they restore it and at the same time add a few new stones. In

Andjra travellers often throw a myrtle sprig instead of a stone. Both there and elsewhere the cairn of a *mắġdōr* is decidedly smaller than the cairn of a saint.

As to the meaning of these practices I have heard different opinions expressed by the natives. Some people maintain that the object of the cairn is merely to warn travellers to be on their guard against robbers. According to others, the stones put at the place are meant to transfer blessings to the murdered person. The throwing of the stone is often accompanied with some phrase like these :— *Ălláh iráḥmak yā hād l-mắġdōr*, " May God be merciful to you, O this *mắġdōr* " (Ḥiáina) ; *Ălláh iráḥmăk yā flān*, or, if the name of the murdered person is not known, *yā ġrīb*, " May God be merciful to you, O So-and-so ", or, " O stranger " (Andjra). Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the person who passes such a cairn says, without adding a stone to it, *Ăhna fīn māt flān mskīn, llah iráḥmû*, " Here it is that So-and-so died, poor fellow ; may God be merciful to him ". But a scribe from the Ḥiáina told me that the throwing of the stone on the cairn, in spite of the invocation which accompanies it, is really meant to keep back the *bạs*, or evil ; and exactly the same explanation was given me by a man from the Shāwîa—the person who passes the cairn puts a stone on it in order to prevent the *bạs* of the murdered man from affecting him, by making it stay where it is. This explanation is supported by the fact that the stones are in the first instance laid so that they cover up the blood, as also by the general belief that the place is haunted.

The soul (*rōḥ*) of the murdered man is there (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz), and passers-by may hear him groan (Aiṭ Yúsi). A Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that once when he passed a cairn of this sort he saw a partridge coming out of it and then running to and fro in front of him. He got a fright and took to his heels, but the partridge continued to run ahead until it suddenly disappeared in a pillar of smoke, from which he heard a groaning. The partridge was the soul, or *läḥiâl*, of the murdered man, which may appear in the shape of all sorts of animals or birds. The same Berber said that there is a place on the border between the Aiṭ

Sádděn and the Ait Waráin, where many men were killed in a fight some years ago and there are many cairns in consequence. He who passes the place at night hears the voices of the dead warriors repeating the last words they said before they died, and he throws there a stone. In the Ḥiáina *lä-ḫiäl l-máġdōr* is said to be, not the soul of a murdered man, but a *jẹnn* who haunts an uninhabited place where somebody has been killed, even though it happened long ago. It appears in the shape of an animal, such as a he-goat, horse, donkey, dog, cat, or hare ; but if the person who sees it knocks a knife against a stone, or if he wears a certain charm, it will take to flight. In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is *meskûn*, or haunted by *jnūn*. A scribe from the Aiṭ Wäryâġer denied that it is *meskûn*, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

Among Berber-speaking tribes there seem to be more definite traces of the belief that the dead may in certain circumstances appear to the living, apart from their apparition in dreams, than among the Arabic-speaking people of Morocco. This is suggested by some of the facts mentioned above, and others may be added in support of the same conjecture. At Amzmiz the dead were said not only to be heard from their graves but also to be frequently seen as shades ; and M. Doutté asserts that among the Ait Wauzgit " beaucoup disent qu'ils se lèvent la nuit et rôdent en se plaignant autour des habitations ".[1] The Berber idea of a female demon who lives in cemeteries [2] also deserves mention in this connection. Among the Tuareg some tribes are said to believe in ghosts, and many people affirm that they have seen phantoms wandering at night in the cemeteries.[3] At el-Eṣnam, near Ghadames, women go to certain graves known as those of the Zabbar, where they call upon the spirit resident among the graves ; this spirit, called Idebni, appears in the form of a giant with eyes like those of a camel, and answers such questions as are put to him concerning absent husbands and other things.[4] According to Pom-

[1] Doutté, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu*, p. 85.
[2] *Supra*, i. 404 *sqq.* [3] Jean, *op. cit.* p. 228.
[4] Duveyrier, *op. cit.* p. 415 ; Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 63.

ponius Mela, the Augilae in the Cyrenaica had no other gods but the ghosts of dead men ; [1] and the Nasamonians swore by the dead, laying their hands on the sepulchres of those considered to have been pre-eminently just and good [2] They also lay down on the graves of their ancestors and received dreams for answers.[3] We hear nothing about unfriendly relations between the living and the dead.

The same may be said of the ancient Arabs. According to a statement of Nöldeke already quoted in another connection, the belief which exists among many primitive races, that the dead are malevolent, is one of which no traces are to be found among those Arabs.[4] They, too, maintained friendly relations with their dead. They visited and took refuge at their graves,[5] and even pitched a tent there to stay in.[6] The dead also appeared to the living in dreams, as they do among the Arabs of to-day ; [7] the Prophet said, " He who sees me (in a dream) sees the reality ".[8] Of some of the Arabic-speaking Muhammadans in the East we are told that they see no apparitions.[9] But Lane states that in Egypt many absurd stories are related of the ghosts of dead persons and that the fear they inspire is great, though there are some persons " who hold them in no degree of dread " [10] Doughty tells us that among certain Bedouins the spirits of wicked men are supposed to haunt eternally their places of burial.[11] Arabs fear to pass by cemeteries in the dark,[12] and among the peasants of Palestine " the sepulchres of the dead are avoided like the plague ".[13] At Ma'ān in Moab the spirit of a dead person visiting his old home " ne fait point de mal à ses parents, mais porte parfois préjudice aux

[1] Mela, *De chorographia* (*situ orbis*), i. 8.
[2] *Supra*, i. 514. [3] *Supra*, ii. 57.
[4] Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 673.
[5] Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 236 *sqq.*
[6] *Ibid.* i. 254 *sqq.* ; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 183.
[7] Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 449 (Arabia Petraea).
[8] Al-Buḫārī, *op. cit.* xci. 10. 4 *sq.* (vol. iv. 454 *sq.*).
[9] Niebuhr, quoted by Burton, *op. cit.* ii. 153 n. 1 ; Lady Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii. (London, 1879), p. 223.
[10] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236
[11] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 170. [12] Burton, *op. cit.* ii. 153 n. 1.
[13] Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 130.

étrangers ".[1] But there is nothing which makes one suspect that in the East, any more than in Morocco and among the Berbers generally, the rites which are intended to protect the living from evil influences connected with a death have sprung from a belief in malevolent tendencies in the dead.[2]

We have seen that the people are in close and permanent contact with their dead saints, who are looked upon as friendly beings by whose assistance misfortune may be averted or positive benefits secured. On the other hand, the souls of the ordinary dead rarely exercise any influence at all upon the fate of the living, either for good or for evil. They are not malevolent, but they are incapable of benefiting their friends ; indeed, they are themselves in need of help. Yet though the souls of the departed are practically of no use, their bodies or things connected with them are frequently utilised in magical practices on account of the destructive energy with which they are saturated.

In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of *sĕksû*, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the *sĕksû* with it. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making *sĕksû*. At Aglu a jealous wife goes at night to the grave of a recently buried person, taking with her some flour, which she touches with the unearthed hand of the dead body and afterwards, mixed with water, makes into dough upon the back of a donkey, saying, " So-and-so, when I tell you to go, go, and when I tell you to stop, stop ". In all these cases the *sĕksû* or the bread made of the dough is given to the husband to eat of, with the result, it is believed, that it will kill his passion for the rival. Similar practices are resorted to for the purpose of " killing a husband's heart ", to make him obedient to his wife or indifferent to her behaviour (Iglíwa). Among the Tsūl the wife goes, accompanied by another

[1] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 103.

[2] *Cf.* Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 255 (ancient Arabs).

woman, to the cemetery one night when the moon is at full, taking with her a dish containing semolina for the preparation of *sĕksŭ* and a pitcher filled with water; the water is poured into the dish, a dead body which has been buried on the same day is unearthed, and the dish is stirred with its hand. In the Ḥiáina an old woman sometimes goes to the cemetery, likewise at the full of the moon, carrying with her some semolina in a dish and water to pour over it, unearths a recently buried corpse, and paints its right hand and foot with henna, its right eye with antimony, and the teeth on the right side of its mouth with walnut root. She stirs the dish with the right hand of the dead body, all the time reciting an incantation in " the devil's language " ; and after the moon, which must shine on the dish, has produced there a sort of foam, she covers the corpse with earth and leaves the grave. On the following day she puts the contents of the dish in the sun, and when the semolina has become dry she uses it to compel people to comply with her wishes, since a person who eats of it will become silly.

Among the Ait Waráin the following practice is in vogue among the witches. On a night when the moon is at her full the witch goes to a cemetery, carrying a pipkin filled with water, a dish containing semolina, a ladle, and a *mạdun* (in Arabic *késkạs*), or steamer used for the making of *sĕksŭ*. She procures a skull from an old grave and two stones of equal height, places them close to the grave of a recently buried man (not woman), and unearths his body. She puts the pipkin, with the steamer over it, to stand on the skull and the two stones, lights a fire underneath it, and, when the water begins to boil, recites an incantation, which produces a wonderful effect. The moon falls down from the sky and, when it touches the earth, is transformed into a growling camel. The woman takes the foam from its mouth, mixes it with the semolina in the dish, stirs the mixture with the right hand of the dead person, and pours it into the steamer. When the *sĕksŭ* is ready she tells the camel—that is, the moon—to go back to its place in the sky; but it refuses to do so unless she promises to give it the person who is most dear to her—a son or sister or anybody else whom she

loves best. She then has to make such a promise, although that person will die in consequence ; and if she has no dear friend to offer, the camel will take out one of her eyes. The *sĕksŭ* which has been prepared in these gruesome circumstances contains all sorts of evil properties, which are used for sorcerous practices. Portions of it are sold to other women, who make an undesirable husband or a rival eat of it, with the result that the husband will die or be compelled to dissolve the marriage and that the rival will suffer from a constant flow of blood from her genitals, or with some other disastrous result. If the woman wants to kill her husband the witch will tell her on what day he will die after eating the bewitched food. A woman from the Tsūl told me of a kindred practice which she, when a child, had seen performed by her grandmother at night in the yard of the house. The old woman recited an incantation over a dish filled with water, with the result that the moon, which was then at full, descended into the dish. My informant was quite positive that it did so : it suddenly disappeared from its place in the firmament, while the dish began to shine and the water in it to bubble as though it were boiling. The old woman poured some of the water into a bucket and carried it, well covered up, into the house. On the following morning she brought a little earth from the cemetery of the village, mixed it with semolina, and made *sĕksŭ* of the mixture with water from the bucket. She then trafficked in this *sĕksŭ* with women who wanted their husbands to give them full liberties ; for when a man ate of it " his heart died ".[1]

Among the Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz a married woman who wants to revenge herself on an offensive husband digs up a bone of a dead person, pounds it and mixes the powder with flour, makes bread of the mixture, and gives it to the husband to eat ; he will become ill and finally die in consequence. In Andjra a husband takes revenge on an unfaithful wife, or a wife on an unfaithful husband, in the following manner.

[1] Mr. Hilton-Simpson speaks of a somewhat similar practice in his book *Among Hill-Folk of Algeria* (London, 1921 ; p. 47 *sq.*), the moon descending into a dish of water, growling like a camel, and producing a sort of foam in the water.

He or she gathers some parings of a dead person's nails either before or after he has been buried, some earth from the head side of a grave, some urine of a Jew, the skin of a toad, the slough of a snake, an egg, and some dandruff. All this is mixed together, and a portion of the mixture is given in food to the unfaithful wife or husband, who will become mad before long. In the same district, if a man wants to prevent another man from having sexual intercourse with his wife, he procures water which has been used for the washing of a dead person and mixes it with some food or drink, which he gives to the man to partake of; this will kill his unlawful passion. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn such water is used by women in witchcraft: it is given to a woman to drink for the purpose of making her sterile. Among the Ait Temsâmän a married woman stealthily induces her husband to wash his hands with it before eating in order to deprive them of all their strength, so that he shall be unable to beat her. At Tangier the women say that if a man drinks such water "his heart will die". It is used there for the purpose of killing a person's love, and is also secretly given to a woman to stop her weeping for a dead friend.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn a person who wants to prevent another from marrying asks the *fqī* who dresses a dead body to procure for him a piece of the shroud in which the body has been wrapped. On that piece the *fqī*, or some other scribe, has to write the name of the person who is to be bewitched, as also the name of that person's mother, designating him or her as the son or daughter of such or such a woman. He then buries it in the grave of a stranger (*ṭinḍalṭ ûġrib*), and prays and reads over it just as he would do at a funeral; but when he goes away from the grave he must take care not to look behind. When this has been done the person in question will never marry, unless he or she can induce the scribe who buried the piece of the shroud to remove the *aṭqqaf* (*ṭˢqāf*) by removing the rag from the grave. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a woman who is anxious to prevent her husband from having intercourse with other women, or from contracting a new marriage, takes a piece of the shroud of a dead person, wraps up in it a charm which she

has procured from a scribe, and buries it underneath the entrance of the tent so that her husband may walk over it. When he has done this she puts it inside the horn of a goat and takes the horn to an old grave of some unknown person, a so-called *qbar mənsi* (elsewhere also called *qbar l-mənsi*), muttering the profession of the faith as she walks there, and buries it in the grave. This will for ever prevent the husband from having an erection when he sees another woman.[1] At Tangier and elsewhere a woman, in order to prevent another woman from marrying, asks a scribe to write a *ṭˢqāf* for such a purpose, puts it in a place where the woman will walk over it, and buries it in a *qbar mənsi* ; then she will never marry, unless she is able to procure a counter-charm, which is expensive. At Fez all sorts of witchcraft are practised by burying a person's hair or parings of his nails in the earth of a *qbar mənsi* ; and a small stone, taken from such a grave and inscribed with a *jḗdwḛl* and a verse of the Koran, is put underneath the head of a person to make him oversleep himself. In the same town a pinch of earth from a grave is together with a written charm buried at the door of a bridegroom's room in order to make him impotent. Among the Ait Temsâmän a married woman prevents her husband from beating her by burying a bamboo cane in a cemetery, where it is left for a night, and then putting it into his bed while he is asleep ; it will kill, as it were, his hands and his heart.

The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn a cure for toothache is likewise to stroke the teeth with the finger of a dead person not yet buried, and a swollen stomach is rubbed with his hand. In Andjra a robber or thief protects himself from being caught by putting into his bag the little finger of the right hand of a dead person, or by tying to the cord of his bag such a finger together with some earth from an ant-hill, wrapped in paper and sewn up in a small case. In the same district, if a person

[1] See also *supra*, i. 575.

suffers from fever, a small piece of the cloth out of which a shroud has been made is burned and the smoke is inhaled by the patient. Among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina an unmarried girl procures from the *fqī* who dresses a corpse a piece of the shroud and hangs it on her person, in order to get married soon ; the magic virtue of the shroud, as it were, will kill her unmarried state.[1] Among the same people the needle with which a corpse has been sewn up in its shroud is used by women as a charm against witchcraft. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn such a needle is put into one of the new slippers worn by the bridegroom during the wedding to protect him against *atqqaf*. At Tangier a person who has become the victim of witchcraft cures himself by burning a human bone and inhaling the smoke. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a holy man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag ; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.[2] Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the sterilising effect attributed to a corpse may induce some woman who is anxious to avoid pregnancy—as a girl who has had sexual intercourse—to remain behind after a burial when the other people have left the grave, in order to avert the event she fears by stepping three times over the grave ; but all the steps must be made in the same direction, since otherwise the return step would counteract the effect of the earlier step. In Andjra, if a little child is in the habit of eating earth, some earth is brought from a *qbar ménsi* and put on the top of its feet ; and it is believed that if the child by itself takes a portion of it and eats it, but not if another person puts such earth into its mouth, it will get rid of the bad habit. In the same district it is the

[1] *Cf. supra*, ii. 195.

[2] For another case in which the grave of a stranger is used for curative purposes see *supra*, ii. 248.

custom to rub the body of a person who has been struck by *jnūn* with earth brought from a *qbar ménsi*, but he may also be cured by making a sacrifice at such a grave, just as though it were a shrine; the grave, however, must not be situated in a cemetery.[1]

There is also curative virtue in the grave of a person who has been murdered or at the spot where he has been killed. In Andjra earth from such a grave, mixed with water, is sprinkled on the joints of a person who has been hurt by *jnūn*. In the Ḥiáina similar earth is mixed with coriander seed and water and the mixture drunk on three consecutive days after sunset as a cure for illness caused by such spirits. Among the Ait Waráin, who bury a murdered stranger at the place where his body is found and make a ring of stones on the grave, persons suffering from fever go and lie down inside the ring and leave there a hot loaf of bread if they feel hot and a cold loaf if they feel cold, thus ridding themselves of the *bạs*. My informant said that if he had to visit such a place he would enter the ring, kiss the head part of the grave, rub himself with some of its earth and eat a little of it, put a loaf of bread on the grave, sleep there for a while, tie a piece of his turban to the stones or to a stick, add a stone to the ring, and then go away. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, if a person has fever, a vessel filled with water is placed on a cairn which has been piled on a spot where the body of a murdered stranger has been found and buried; it is left there overnight, and on the following morning the patient is washed with the water. It is also the custom among them to take a child suffering from whooping-cough to such a place in the morning before sunrise, and to touch its throat with a knife pretending to slaughter it; he who holds the knife says to the whooping-cough, *Qtĕlnạk ki tĕqtĕl hād l-mắġḍōr*, "We killed you as this *mắġḍōr* was killed". In many places persons suffering from fever cure themselves by sleeping on the cairn of a *mắġḍōr* (Beni Ăḥsen, Dukkâla, Andjra, Amzmiz). In the Ḥiáina a person troubled with headache or some other complaint goes to a *kórkār l-mắġḍōr*

[1] For a practice of burying an egg and a needle in an unclaimed grave in order to stop an over-supply of rain see *supra*, ii. 278.

and rests his head on it, and, before leaving the place, throws two or three stones on the cairn, asking God to be merciful to the murdered man ; and if a patient is too ill to go there himself, a stone is brought from the cairn and his body is touched with it, after which the stone is carried back to its former place. The curative power attributed to a place where a person has been murdered, or to his grave, is partly due to an association between the idea of killing a man and that of killing an illness, and partly also, no doubt, to the uncanny character of the place.

It appears from what has been said above that the observance of the established funeral and mourning rites is held to be of importance both to the person who died and to his surviving friends. For the former it is considered a great misfortune to be deprived of a proper funeral ; hence the practice of arranging one's own funeral in advance. I was told by people from Sūs that travellers who sleep in the Sahara are disturbed by the wailings of the dead whose bodies were thrown in the sand without washing and proper burial rites. Yet there is the consoling belief that certain persons, though not buried at all, will go to Paradise by virtue of their mode of death. In Dukkâla this is said to be the case with one who has been drowned and one who has been burned to death, because the sins of the former are washed away by the water and those of the latter removed by the fire. The same bliss is in store for a person who has been killed, except in war between Moslemin, and for a dead stranger from afar :—*Ibá'ăd mĕn n-nār kậma bá'ăd mĕn blậdŭ*, " He will be far from hell-fire as he was far from his country ". At Fez I was told that besides these persons there are yet some others who go to Paradise after death, namely, one who has died from the falling of a wall or a roof, one who has smashed his brain by falling from a building, and one who has fallen in war with infidels. Every one of these persons is regarded as a *šáhĕd*, or " martyr ". Elsewhere in Morocco I have heard similar beliefs ; and all over the country it is said that a woman who has died in childbed will go to Paradise. Some people maintain that she will become a *ḥōrîya* or *lhōrît* (Dukkâla, Ait Waráin), but this is

denied by others (Fez, &c.), in accordance with the Koranic doctrine that the *ḥūr* (sing. *ḥaura*), or women of Paradise, are " maids of modest glances whom no man nor *jinn* has deflowered before ".[1]

These beliefs as to persons who will go to Paradise are supported by the Muḥammadan traditions, according to which there are the following kinds of martyrdom : to die from a plague, from pleurisy, or from a complaint in the bowels ; to be drowned ; to be burned to death ; to die from the falling of a wall ; to be killed in the cause of God, in war with the enemies of the religion ; and, in the case of a woman, to die in childbed.[2] It is, moreover, said that " dying when travelling is like a martyrdom " ; and that " when a servant dies anywhere but at his birth-place, he will obtain a space in Paradise, equal to the distance from the place of his birth to the place of his death ".[3]

[1] *Koran*, lv. 56.
[2] *Mishkāt*, v. 1. 1 *sq.* (vol. i. 344, 347).
[3] *Ibid.* v. 1. 3 (vol. i. 353 *sq.*).

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